CORREGGIO

HIS LIFE AND WORK

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CORREGGIO

CORREGGIO

BY

CORRADO RICCI

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

In the plates accompanying the present volume I have given reproductions of all the works of Correggio whose genuineness is unquestionable, besides a certain number of others which there are good grounds in my opinion for ascribing to him. As these works are scattered all over the world, and many of them are in private hands, the task of collecting the photographs has been considerable; and, if I may hope to have succeeded in my intention, I owe it entirely to the courtesy of those who have given me assistance. In addition to much help in other ways, Adolfo Venturi placed at my disposal the "illustrative material" gathered together in the course of researches extending over many years for his great work upon Correggio which was published in a sumptuous edition at Rome two years ago. I offer him my thanks here, and I desire at the same time to express my gratitude for reproductions information, suggestions, and advice to Marchese Guiscardo Barbò(Milan), to Selwyn Brinton and to Collins, Baker, & Co. (London), to G. Bouchès (Paris), to Carlo Calisse, and Lorenzino Cesano (Rome), Gino Chierici (Naples), Luigi Corsini (Bologna), Alessandro Frattini (Rome), Odoardo H. Giglioli (Florence), O. Ginoulhiac (Milan), Gustav Glück (Vienna), George F. Hill (London), Frank Jewett Mather (Princeton, U. S. A.), Roberto Longhi (Rome), Amedeo Majuri (Naples), Ettore Modigliani (Milan), Otello Siliprandi (Reggio Emilia), Antonio Sorrentino (Parma), Ernst Steinmann, and Gorham P. Stevens (Rome), and Hermann Voss (Berlin).

In the text I have endeavoured to be brief, simple, orderly, and clear. On this account I have separated the history of the painter – his life and activity – from that of the individual paint-

ings themselves; the latter being, indeed, a subject with which the artist's biography has nothing at all to do. I have not, however, omitted all reference to the varied fortune of his fame during the three centuries which followed his death.

A desire to know all the literature dealing with my subject, in so far as this might be possible, led me to compile a Bibliography, but, as the reader will readily understand when he considers the celebrity and greatness of the artist, it is too extensive to find a place in a volume of this size. It will therefore be printed separately.

The Bibliography contains references to a very large number of articles printed either in newspapers – not all of these being without interest – or in Reviews – some, dealing with special subjects, of great importance; and to many volumes of a popular, informative character, now and then well put together and entertaining. But the chief authorities for the biography remain the "Life of Correggio" by Giorgio Vasari, and the other Lives written in the light of more accurate research and of constant discoveries of fresh paintings and documents from the end of the eighteenth century onwards. I allude to the Lives composed by Girolamo Tiraboschi (1786), *by Luigi Pungileoni* (1817-1821), *by Julius Meyer* (1871), *by Georg Gronau* (1907), *and by Adolfo Venturi* (1927). *Among the more recent works which have entered into the field of real criticism I venture to include the volume published by myself at London and Berlin in* 1896.

While I have not neglected to consult this abundant literature, I have nevertheless in writing the present book kept chiefly to the documents, which I have read in their original form, and to the direct examination of the artist's works. Those which I have not seen with my own eyes are very few in number and of slight importance. It was my good fortune to be able to study the great works in Parma at my leisure and in peculiarly favourable circumstances, for, as Director of the Picture Gallery, I found myself during a period of five years in " contact " with the most extensive and celebrated paintings of the Master. I was able then (and also more recently) to examine the frescoes of the Camera di San Paolo, of San Giovanni Evangelista, and of the

Cathedral, spending long hours upon the scaffoldings erected for the work of repairs, and discussing questions of art and restoration with the experts. Moreover, availing myself of an opportunity to accompany Luigi Cavenaghi on to the platforms set up in the Stanze *of Raphael and underneath the vault of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, I had occasion to verify with him, and literally, as we say, to " touch with my hand," the truth that Correggio's technique in fresco in all his works at Parma, including the vault of the Camera di San Paolo, is substantially different from what I may call the " Roman " technique of Raphael and of Michelangelo.*

Lastly, I have made an attempt to place the works of Correggio in chronological order, though I make no claim, be it noted, that this order is conclusive. In every instance where I have quoted dates for which no independent and unexceptionable testimony was to be found in authentic documents, I have placed an interrogation mark against them. In this way I trust that I have avoided a failing only too common in artistic criticism – that of turning conjectures into unqualified assertions.

CORRADO RICCI

Rome, September, 1929.

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THE BIRTH AND FAMILY OF CORREGGIO

THE controversy called forth by the question as to the date of Correggio's birth, unlike most discussions of the kind, was no punctilio of nice scholarship over a day, a month, or a year. In fixing the point of departure of our painter's art, the answer to this question was clearly of great importance. To Allegri's biographers, the mural inscription under the outer portico of the Monastery of Saint Francis at Correggio, recording that the artist died in 1534, aged forty years, afforded a proof that he was born in 1494. This inscription, however, was set up more than a century after the Master's death at the charge of a certain Girolamo Conti, who has thus related as a fact what Vasari had previously affirmed with a degree of approximation, namely, that Correggio died "in the fortieth year of his age *or thereabouts*." On the other hand, it must be recognised that indirect evidence was not entirely wanting to give support to the date of 1494. In a document, drawn up on February 1, 1519, Correggio is described as "*egregio et discreto juvene*"; and hence it was observed, had he been born in 1489, at the date of this document he would have been thirty years old, a man of mature age to whom the description of "youth" could hardly be applied. This argument lost its force when it was pointed out that here, as was customary, the period of youth had been calculated in accordance with the Aristotelian principle which extended that time of life from twenty to thirty-five. A second piece of evidence was found in the contract for the *Madonna of St. Francis* – the painting now at Dresden – in which the artist is said to undertake the commission "*cum consensu ejus patris presentis*." The date of the contract is

August 30, 1514. If, then, as appeared to be the case, Correggio was still under age in 1514, he could not have been born (so it was thought) before 1494. But, as Luzio has recently shown, this argument was founded upon an error. The age at which a man attained his majority was not twenty-one, but twenty-five. In 1514 Antonio Allegri was still unmarried and living in his father's house; and thus he was amenable to a paragraph in the Statutes of Correggio which enacted that sons living under their father at home might not contract without their father's consent and without leave of the judge until they had reached the age of twenty-five years; whereas the judge's leave was no longer necessary, when once thay had passed their twenty-fifth birthday. From the absence of all reference to the intervention of the judge in this document we must conclude that on August 30, 1514, Antonio Allegri had already completed his twenty-fifth year, and that, consequently, he was born before August 30, 1489.

The name of the artist's father was Pellegrino, and in christening his son, Pellegrino revived, according to the custom of those days, the name of his own father, Antonio. The mother of Antonio was one Bernardina Piazzoli or degli Aromani, as she is also called; her dowry, we learn, consisted of a hundred *lire* of Correggio. The painter's birthplace, situated in the quarter known as Borgovecchio – perhaps one of the houses that had sprung up in 1371 or immediately afterwards in order to provide homes for the fugitives from the destruction of Campagnola – had been purchased for the Allegri family by Jacopo in 1446. Jacopo had restored and enlarged the house, without modifying its primitive meanness to any great extent, for when the messengers charged to draw up the agreement for the *Madonna of St. Francis* visited Antonio there in 1514, they were constrained to transact their business with him in his bedroom upon the ground floor – evidence that this one room served him both as workshop and sleeping place. Like most ground floors in the mid-valley of the Po, the room must have been exceedingly damp.

Further additions were made to the house in 1529 through the purchase for twenty-five ducats of some small adjoining premises. By this time the artist's earnings as a painter were considerable, and such as to have put it within his power to acquire a more dignified dwelling; but Antonio loved his father's house, his habits were frugal, and so he would never consent to leave the home where his ancestors had lived for generations, where his own parents continued to live, where he had himself been born and the first visions of art had gladdened him, and where, moreover, he was destined, while still quite young, to die. To his son, we should have thought, the house thus dearly loved must surely have seemed a sacred place; but either he could not or he would not exclude it from the dilapidation of all his possessions, and in 1550 he sold it away. Thus it passed from one owner to another, until in 1850 it became the property of the Municipality of Correggio.

The meanness of this dwelling-place has appeared to some writers, from the seventeenth century onwards, to refute the easy circumstances and the wealth attributed by others to Correggio's lot; nay, it has been alleged in support of historians who have woven nothing less than an entire legend out of his poverty. Although we shall have to return to this point later on, when we come to speak of the artist's character, it is well to insist at once that, at the time when he was born there, hunger had not knocked at the door of the Allegri. In the will drawn up by Antonio's great-grandfather in 1485 we have proof that the latter had added to the property left by his father Jacopo, and had improved the position of the family. His son Lorenzo had been a painter who added to the revenues from his land at Ponte Sanguineto by the earnings of his craft; while Pellegrino, the father of our Antonio, appears to have been a man of varied and marked activity, attending to his business in comestibles and small wares, making fresh purchases of land, and watching carefully the interests of his son, engaged in tasks so different. Without entering into needless detail of his small purchases and leases – they have been particularly discussed by numerous writers already – we may cast up the sum of Pellegrino's property in land, after the additions made through the dowry of his wife and the earnings of his son, as consisting at the time of Antonio's death of no less than one hundred and twenty acres (on the scale of Reggio), distributed over various communes in the neighbourhood of Correggio; and when in 1538 he drew up his will, Pellegrino was able to assign to his grand-daughter, the daughter of our artist and at that time in her fifteenth year, the very substantial dowry of two hundred and forty gold *scudi*, apart from sundry other bequests. Within five months after the death of Correggio, Alessandro Caccia, the Governor of Parma, wrote to the Duke of Mantua: "I learn that the heirs have been left with a good substance – *buona facultà*." This phrase is equally removed from all exaggeration whether in respect of poverty or of wealth.

THE LORDS OF CORREGGIO.

Not only do some writers tell us that Antonio Allegri was born in abject poverty, but they go on to add that it was "in a lonely, out-of-the-way place" and even "in an obscure village of Emilia." Now, so far from being a village, or obscure, out-of-the-way, and lonely, Correggio formed an honoured part of that ample group of Emilian cities in which the wonderful Italian Renaissance had been diffused and now continued to spread, passing swiftly through the magnificent Courts that were scattered here and there in the lower and central valley of the Po. The house of Este was conspicuous in this regard at Ferrara, the princes of Gonzaga and the Bentivoglio at Mantua and Bologna. A number of other families – the Terelli at Guastalla and Montechiarùgolo, a second branch of the Gonzagas at Novellara, the Pio family at Carpi, that of Pico at Mirandola, the Boiardi at Scandiano, the Rossi at Parma, the Pallavicini at Busseto and Cortemaggiore, and, not to mention other lesser lights, the Lords of Correggio itself – all alike took their part in this triumph of culture and the arts, of elegant living and chivalrous pursuits. Nor were the lords of Correggio less eager than the neighbouring princes in their desire to ennoble the city over which they bore rule by assembling there a goodly number of scholars and artists. Hence the truth is that Antonio grew up to youth in no contemptible corner of Bœotia, but in a city, small indeed, yet where he could observe many artists at their various crafts, and take his own part in the creation of works of importance. What masters he had in grammar, what schools he visited as a boy, are matters upon which we have no knowledge. Pungileoni follows a merely personal fancy when he narrates that "to Giovanni Berni of Piacenza fell the good fortune of having him (Antonio) as his pupil in the elementary principles of Polite Letters, and to Battista Marastoni of Modena that of leading him to the secret recesses of Eloquence and the Muses." A discovery that those two masters were living in Correggio about the year 1500 was excuse enough for Pungileoni to found this information upon it, as also the second piece of news that, ripened in years, our painter "was industrious to enrich his mind with philosophic ideas, wherein he had for his preceptor the physician Gian Battista Lombardi." Honest Pungileoni has scarcely resisted a temptation to translate Correggio from the history of art to that of literature, and to place him among the learned men of his time; whereas the even handwriting and fairly accurate spelling of Correggio's autographs prove no more than that his father had been careful to entrust him to some respectable schoolmaster. Even so, a reconciliation between this fact and the assertions of Pungileoni has not been left untried. Thus Bigi relates that Pellegrino had, indeed, a keen desire for his son to study and to graduate as a doctor, but that the son, led by his native genius, played truant from school, leaving his parents to be as angry as they chose! This, however, is an old story, and it is told of an infinite number of artists, some of them, be it said, without genius.

In short, then, we discern no poverty or solitariness in Correggio, nor any want of literary or artistic converse and activity. How indeed should a house like that of the Lords of Correggio, which had been established there since about the year 1000, and, after firmly basing its power, had spread abroad until by dint of political sagacity and military power it had for a time held sway over Parma and Guastalla, fall, at the very period when intellectual ferment was at its height throughout all Italy, to a level wretchedly below that of the other families ruling in the Italian Courts, and, in particular, below its very neighbours ? In point of fact, we find the daughters of the Lords of Correggio sought in marriage by the Scaligers, the princes of Carpi, the Carraresi, and the Boiardi, while the Lords of Correggio took their wives from the houses of Visconti, Gonzaga and Este, and from those of the Rangoni, of Mirandola, and of some others no less illustrious.

For upwards of two hundred years the rule of the Lords of Correggio continued strong and courageous, but their importance only began to manifest itself and merit a history when, during the wars of Lombardy, Giberto was acclaimed Lord of Parma. A century of violence and rapidly changing fortunes did not allow the firm consolidation of newly won dominions, and Giberto found himself unable to keep hold of the newly acquired state for long. But his valour is unquestionably seen in the fact that, after being driven out by the Guelfs, he soon contrived his way back to Parma, and succeeded in holding the city for intervals more or less long in spite of fiery struggles with the Rossi and the Sanvitale factions. It was during one of these periodical reconquests that he won the battle celebrated in a *canzone* by Petrarch, whose acquaintance Giberto had previously made at Avignon, and upon whom he subsequently conferred an archdiaconate, receiving in exchange the dedication of the "*De Remediis utriusque Fortunae.*" Certainly, the sale of Parma to the Visconti forms no fair page in the life of Giberto, but traffic in cities and populations was too commonly practised at the time for us with our changed standards to lay a relentless indictment against him for the transaction. Besides, after the lapse of two centuries, there was to come from Correggio to Parma one able to compensate her for that old bitter experience, repaying all the debt with the radiance of art.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century the ruling house stood strong by the valour of its princes and by the protection afforded to them by greater lords and sovereigns.

Borso served various states as *condottiere*, and was wounded at Argenta while fighting for the Estensi against Venice. Statesman no less than man of the sword, he was sent by Lodovico il Moro on an embassy to Matthias, King of Hungary, and we find him acting as Lodovico's counsellor in 1484. Giberto, Borso's brother, on the other hand, was protected by Venice and entered the league formed by her with Milan, Florence, and Ferrara against the Pope and the King of Naples. Thus, in 1478, after the Pazzi Conspiracy, Giberto was forced to fight against Sixtus IV in Tuscany. Such were the two warrior-princes in whose hands lay the fortunes of Correggio at the time of Antonio Allegri's birth; and to their Court, not long afterwards, came Veronica Gambara – one of those women distinguished for culture, for courtesy, and for love of the arts, to whom the Renaissance owed so much of its splendour.

ART IN CORREGGIO AND THE MASTERS OF ANTONIO ALLEGRI

We have spoken above of the opportunities for watching various craftsmen at work – not only painters, but sculptors, architects, goldsmiths, weavers of tapestry, and makers of pottery – that lay within the reach of Antonio as a boy at Correggio. Clearly, the number of good workmen must have been small; yet for a city of no great extent and during this short period of time the list remains remarkable.

The skill of some of these craftsmen is attested by historical records. A certain Bernardo di Luchino painted the Council Chamber at Reggio, and it is probable that the Bartolomeo de Coreza whom we find working for the Court of Novellara in 1498 is to be identified with the Milanese artist Bartolomeo di Giovanni who lived at Correggio. The words "de Coreza" form no argument against this supposition, for it was the custom in documents to name the place where an artist habitually resided or from which he drew his origin.

Another artist undoubtedly of some merit was Bartolomeo of Ferrara, called Brason. By his will drawn up in 1509 he left all his property in the territories of Correggio and Ferrara to his wife, with the obligation of refunding to the church of San Domenico a certain sum that he had received for a Crucifixion left unpainted. But he lived on for some years afterwards, and in 1514 he find him commissioned by the Confraternity of St. Mary to paint a second Crucifixion and to restore an image of St. Peter Martyr.

Baldassarre Lusenti, again, at the order of Isotta of Correggio – daughter of the famous Nicolò, expert embroidress, and nun of the Convent of Corpus Christi – painted in fresco a chapel dedicated to St. Ursula; and when Caterina Torelli, the widow of Gian Pietro Gonzaga, decided to beautify certain rooms in her palace at Novellara, preparing there a retiring-chamber for Costanza, the daughter of Giberto of Correggio and affianced bride to Alessandro Gonzaga, painters from Correggio were entrusted with the work, among them being a certain "maestro Antonio" and a "maestro Latino." The accounts of the expenses paid by the Gonzaga family for lodging these "painters from Coreza and their company" extend from 1515 to 1518. It is unfortunate that all the paintings executed by these artists in the Dominican Convent, the Church and Hospital of Sant'Antonio, the Monastery of Corpus Domini, the Convent of the Capuchin Friars, and the Church of San Francesco have perished, with the exception of a figure of St. Lucy in the last.

In 1507 Francesca of Brandenburg, who had been left a widow by Giberto three years previously, built the stately palace which has recently been restored and which still makes a noble show with its interior loggia still standing and the outer gateway finely ornamented in relief. While he was as yet but a lad, Correggio must have witnessed the laying of the foundations, the gradual rise and decoration of the fabric with statues and paintings; and here he was destined in manhood to enjoy the lofty spiritual welcome of Veronica Gambara. One of the rooms still keeps its original decoration of a wide frieze and a panelled ceiling. An interwoven pattern of ornaments in chiaroscuro, boldly illuminated against a dark blue ground, runs through the room, showing the figure of Neptune accompanied by mischievous young satyrs, sirens playing upon instruments, griffins, shields, and the date 1508. Some writers have claimed to see exclusively Ferrarese influences at work in this painting, whereas in reality the influence of Mantegna is far more noticeable. At all events, the hand of Cesare of Reggio is unmistakable; and Cesare, as soon as the decoration was completed, repeated the same scheme of grotesques and ornaments in chiaroscuro upon the vault and in the lunettes of the sacristy of San Giovanni Evangelista at Parma.

But among the numerous artists whose names have come down to us, Antonio Bartolotti, known as Tognino, occupies the most important place. Many writers have regarded him as Correggio's first master. Born shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century, Bartolotti lived until 1527, and we have various references to works executed by him for the Franciscans and for the Church of S. Maria della Misericordia. Hence it is probable that the "master Antonio" who worked in the Castle of Novellara between 1514 and 1518 was Antonio Bartolotti, and not Correggio, although without further aid from works and documents the common Christian name leaves the question somewhat doubtful.

The most natural supposition is that our boy Antonio fell in love with painting and made his first efforts with the brush in a workshop belonging to his own family, the workshop of his uncle Lorenzo and of his cousin Quirino. Obviously, the exercise of an art at home, whatever the nature of the art may be, has always and everywhere proved of the greatest possible benefit in fostering the inclination of a growing child. How often do we find sculptors and painters sons or nephews of sculptors and painters! How many musicians are the sons or nephews of musicians! Without passing the confines of Emilia, we may point to the Loschi and the Mazzola at Parma; the Francia, the Carracci and the Gandolfi at Bologna; the Erri at Modena, the Dossi at Ferrara, and the Longhi at Ravenna. How, then, is it possible, when we come to consider the beginnings of Correggio's artistic education, not to perceive the importance of the fact that Lorenzo Allegri, his father's brother, was a painter, and that so, too, was Quirino, Lorenzo's son? How can we fail to suppose that, as they grew up in their play together, the two young cousins must certainly have competed in their first attempts at drawing and painting?

Yet merely because Rinaldo Corso wrote of Lorenzo that " desiring to make a lion, he painted a she-goat and wrote the word ' lion ' above it," it has been argued that Lorenzo could not possibly have taught his nephew, a boy with a precocious aptitude for painting, his first strokes with the pencil and the preparation and use of colours. We will grant that among the many works assigned by our documents to Lorenzo, some are of an humble character; but, on the other hand, we learn that in 1503 he painted the Chapel of the Indulgences and a panel for San Francesco, the church protected and supported by the Lords of the city. To Lorenzo, moreover, may belong the paintings that were preserved until the middle of the eighteenth century in a saloon of the Palace formerly occupied by Giberto, where the coats-of-arms of that prince and of the Lords of Mirandola were to be seen with certain frescoes of mythological subjects, one of these last bearing the inscription: " Laurentius P. "* (pinxit). Unfortunately, all these have now disappeared; but, though we may not be in a position to pronounce a final judgment upon Lorenzo's art, we are still entitled not to found our opinion of it upon Corso's jest. To transfer the matter under discussion to a far different plane and to take examples from far higher values, what judgment should we form of the "Divina Commedia," had this been lost, if we gave credence only to Cecco of Ascoli, who wrote that Dante sang "after the manner of frogs" ? What notion of Gentile Bellini's art would be left to us, if we had no other testimony than that of Strazzola's verses, to wit, that Gentile, "wishing to depict a tender lamb, painted a cat with scratching claws" ? Or – not to give too many instances – what would be our conception of Correggio himself, if nothing else of him was left to us than the traditional *mot* of the canon who described the paintings of

Parma Cathedral as a "hash of frogs"? Lorenzo was assuredly no artist, but Rinaldo Corso's raillery fails to prove that he may not have been the first to perceive Antonio's bent and to place a stick of charcoal between his tiny fingers. Lorenzo lived on until December, 1527 – long enough for him to know of his nephew's greatness in painting. It must not, however, be thought that we ascribe any weight to Lorenzo's instruction, regarded from the point of view of art; it was, indeed, in a far different school that Correggio grew up to artistic maturity; but this much had to be said, first, because it was impossible to omit all reference to Lorenzo, a painter belonging to the artist's own family; and secondly, because we could not ignore the fact that the spark which first kindled the artist's passion, however tiny that spark may have been, was struck, so to say, upon the domestic hearth.

At this point Tommasino Lancillotto, the chronicler of Modena, intervenes in the argument, informing us in a note that "Francesco dal Bianco, a famous painter in his time, was master of the divine colourist, Antonio of Correggio." This information from a contemporary is both entirely credible in itself and consonant with the facts of history. Francesco Ferrari-Bianchi, who kept a reputable and much frequented workshop at Modena – that is to say, at no great distance from Correggio – died in 1510; and hence it is chronologically possible that the youthful Allegri was among his pupils. He may perhaps have been with Francesco at some time between 1503 and 1505. Moreover, a certain Emilian quality in Correggio's early work seems to point to the influence of this delicate Modenese painter.

But it was from a far different master and in a far different artistic centre that Correggio received the impulse for his soaring flight: that centre was Mantua, and the master was Mantegna. Something, too, as we shall see presently, he owed to Lorenzo Costa, who succeeded to Mantegna's place at the Court of Mantua after the latter's death. Here the older critics triumph again. With the exception of Vasari, who omitted to indicate any artist as having been Correggio's master, the others have as a rule mentioned precisely these two names, Mantua and Mantegna. Francesco Scannelli, for example, in his work entitled *Microcosmo della Pittura*, printed at Cesena in 1657, declared that "the chief authorities upon painting are of opinion that from his earliest years this great master (Correggio) was nourished upon the solid teachings of the learned Mantegna." Yet, in spite of the fact that the same information was given by Ratti, Mengs, and other critics down to Meyer, since it appeared certain that Correggio was born in 1494, and since it *was* certain that Mantegna died in 1506 – on the thirteenth of September, like Dante – Allegri was regarded as having been far too young to have enjoyed, or, at all events, to have profited by Mantegna's instruction. Even the possibility that, if not the direct teaching of Mantegna, at least the study of the great Venetian's works might have shown the young artist from Emilia the way by which he should go, was at that time abandoned – with the result that Correggio was orientated towards Ferrara and kept generally within the ambit of Emilia even to the point of being included amongst the disciples of Francia.

Now it is a fact that Emilian influences cannot be excluded from the artistic productions of Correggio's youth. They lay in his native blood, and he had experienced them in Ferrari-Bianchi's workshop. This is proved at once by the contrast between the fusing and vigour of his colour and the "acidulated, strident" colour, as Longhi expresses it, of Mantegna: and again the frail sweetness of Correggio's drawing is in marked contrast with what Vasari has rightly called the "somewhat cutting, crude, and sharp" drawing of Mantegna. But what he drew from Mantegna was something entirely different – the wisdom and boldness of the Venetian's figurative perspective. And it was this, joined to the plastic force of chiaroscuro, first revealed to him by the works of Leonardo, which led Correggio to the miracle of the cupola of Parma Cathedral, where that perspective and that chiaroscuro together reached a height that has no equal.

We will not pause here to relate the history of Mantegna's painting or of that of the Emilian school, nor will we now inquire into their respective characteristics. The truth of the matter will sufficiently appear, if we indicate the various traces of these influences occurring in Correggio's paintings as they come singly before us. Certainly, in view of the fact established to-day that Correggio was born in 1489, if not earlier, we may reasonably suppose that Mantegna received him into his workshop in 1505, and that he remained with him for part of the following year. Correggio was at that time a youth of sixteen or seventeen – the age at which large numbers of pupils, many of them far less promising, were commonly admitted.

It should also be noted that the appearance in some of Allegri's youthful works of elements derived from Costa suggest that after Mantegna's death he passed to the workshop of the former. But, whether the teaching was direct or not, one thing is certain – and it appears evident in the very first works of the artist – namely, that it was at Mantua that the genius of Correggio spread its pinions for the stupendous flight.

FIRST WORKS.

Mantegnesque in a supreme degree is the small panel representing the *Madonna and Child* (plate I), now at London in possession of the Barrymore family. It was formerly ascribed simply to the "School of Mantegna," and rightly so: for such it really is, as Mantegna's was the school from which Correggio came. But Correggio's characteristics are clearly visible in the slight softening of the contours, a softening which we would dare to call "atmospheric"; in the fingers of the somewhat slender hands (a feature due to the Emilian tradition) and in the manner of illuminating them; in the dark, almost bewildered eyes; and in a certain pleasing softness in the flesh – this last not a Mantegnesque trait. A comparison of the Child in this painting with that of the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, (plate III), formerly belonging to Gustavo Frizzoni and now the property of Ing. Bonomi, is, in our view, enough to remove all doubt. A further comparison of the treatment of the extremities and the broken handling of the tightly drawn drapery may be made with the small *Madonna* of the Uffizi Gallery (plate XIII) the Strasburg *Judith* (plate XII), and the *Marriage of St. Catherine* at Detroit (plate XV). The robe of the Madonna in the last-named picture is gathered into folds at the feet in exactly the same manner as the robe of the Barrymore Madonna is gathered at the side. But even more than by the drawing and by a certain note – pre-eminently "Correggesque" – of tender motherly solicitude that nothing disturb the Child at His eager sucking, the name of our painter is suggested by the colour – a colour as of grasses and pressed flowers, with lilac as the predominating hue (compare the *Càmpori Madonna*, plate XXIV) – and by the faint shadows creating a most delicate relief.

This being so, we believe that of all the existing works of Correggio the Barrymore *Madonna* may be the earliest and the most closely associated with Mantegna's teaching, and hence it may be assigned to the year 1506.

Nearest to it in point of time are two pictures now in Milan: a *Madonna and Child*, with saints, (plate II) and a *Marriage of St. Catherine* (plate III). In the first of these – the property of Marchese Guiscardo Barbò – the figures of the Madonna and Child, although presented in an inverse attitude, are clearly derived from Mantegna's *Madonna and Child between Two Saints*, a picture which passed from Mantua into the possession of Cardinal Cesare Monti at Milan in the seventeenth century and is now in the London National Gallery. The Child closely resembles and is almost identical with the Child in the *Madonna of Victory* (cf. plate, page 56), the famous picture by Mantegna in the Louvre, which, as we shall see presently, furnished Correggio with so many inspirations. In the small Barbò picture we find Mantegnesque types in the St. Elizabeth, in the little St. John the Baptist, and again, though less marked, in the St. Joseph, who recalls the figure of St. Paul in the *ancona* of San Zeno. But here, too, Mantegna's bold, incisive handling is changed to a lighter mode of greater fusion, and the colour is likewise softened and broken up into a greater number of shades and vibrations.

A similar blending of Mantegnesque and Emilian elements is perceptible in the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* (plate III) at Milan, the property of Ing. Bonomi. Here, as we said, the Child seems both in type and in pictorial treatment to be the brother of the Child in the Barrymore *Madonna* (plate I). Borrowed from Mantegna are the festoon of leafage and fruit engarlanding the niche in the background, the footstool and the disc forming the upper part of the throne – exactly as in the *Madonna of Victory* and in the San Zeno triptych – and the minute folds of St. Catherine's robe. Notice too how the Emilian features – for example, the form of the hands and the chromatic vivacity – are taken for preference from Costa.

From working in oils our artist soon passed to fresco, and painted in the Church of San Quirino at Correggio a *Madonna and Child*, with saints, (plate IV),which, after being sadly ruined in circumstances to be described farther on, is now preserved in the Galleria Estense at Modena. Although this painting had been attributed for upwards of three centuries to Correggio, a fantastical interpretation of certain letters in the cartel, which is seen below to the right and is itself much damaged, induced critics suddenly to assign it to Antonio Bartolotti. Only quite lately has criticism gone back to the right track, reasonably finding in what remains of the original lettering a sufficient justification for the first tradition. The wonted Mantegnesque note is evident in the espalier of lemon branches and in the figure of the Divine Child; the pictorial treatment of the Virgin and SS. Francis and Quirinus places them with the figures in the Bonomi small panel. An exceedingly graceful detail is that of the two white rabbits gambolling to the left of the picture with a curiously "knowing" air. Here we see already developed the altogether modern spirit of observation which will make Correggio perhaps the greatest " animal painter " of his century, expressing in these two timid creatures – we shall find them again in other paintings of the Master – all the stupid inquisitiveness characteristic of their kind.

And now we find our young painter back again in Mantua, working, still in fresco, in the Church of Sant'Andrea, at first upon the decoration of the pendentives in Mantegna's Mortuary Chapel, and later in the atrium. As happened with the fresco in the Galleria Estense at Modena, the attribution of these Mantuan frescoes to Correggio was almost swept away by a blast of the wild, research-ridden criticism which considered and still considers it a proof of perspicacity to be for ever raising doubts about what the past has put on record.

That Correggio had painted in this Chapel was an ancient tradition: nay, more, it was a definite statement already adopted by Donesmondi, the historian of Mantua who flourished between the closing years of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. "There were," he tells us, "certain angels in chiaroscuro," who held up a "shield which received the light from below," and they appeared "exactly as if in relief." It is matter for regret that these angels have disappeared, for it would have been interesting to see how much Correggio had borrowed from the *putti* in chiaroscuro who hold up the discs on the vault of Mantegna's *Camera degli Sposi*, and how he was slowly preparing himself for the marvellous chiaroscuro effects obtained in the *Camera di San Paolo*. Still, here also the Mantegnesque features in the Evangelists are tempered by greater elegance and suavity.

The espalier of lemons appears once more behind each figure as in the San Quirino fresco. The forehead of St. Mark is unusually round and illumined by a high light, and his hands are done in Costa's manner. Throughout there is an evident desire to give movement and life to each single detail – a characteristic which will be seen still more clearly as we proceed. St. Matthew, inspired, converses with the angel; St. Luke paints intently, while the ox lifts up his head and bellows; the lion roars at St. Mark's side without distracting the Evangelist from his deep reading; the eagle screams behind St. John. It is interesting to observe how, in order to leave the entire figures visible, the painter has not made the reading-desks full, but has represented them as supported each by a single column. This, too, is a hint taken from Mantegna, who gave a similar book-rest to his St. Luke in the famous polyptych of St. Justina, now in the Brera Gallery.

The two rounds on opposite sides of the pronaos of this Church of St. Andrew – that on the right representing the *Madonna and Child* with saints (plate IX); the other, facing it, *Christ laid in the Sepulchre* (plate X) – appear to us, from the greater wisdom shown in the drawing and in the composition, to be of somewhat later date. Unfortunately, their actual condition renders any detailed examination impossible, but the statement made by Donesmondi and by Cadioli that these two rounds were the work of Correggio is well borne out by the appearance and sentiment of the swooning Madonna, St. Joseph, and the Infant Christ.

But to continue. The Picture Gallery of the Museum of History and Art in Vienna has lately acquired a small *Madonna* (plate XI), painted in profile, and with a broad fold of the mantle draped about her head. Seated with her back to a curtain, she directs her gaze, full of watchful care, towards her Infant Son, and He turns on the right to look at His Mother with an expression of tender love. There is all Correggio in this picture: in the forms, the sentiment, the colouring.

With the profile of this Madonna a female type of exceeding delicacy enters into the art of Correggio: the nose is thin and a trifle long, the lips are just parted, the forehead is high and straight. It is a type that reappears in other paintings of the same date – in the *Judith* (plate XII) of Strasburg, the small *Madonna* (plate XIII) of the Uffizi, the *St. Catherine* (plate XV) of Detroit, the *Bolognini Madonna*, (plate XXV) and *The Four Saints* (plate XVII) of New York. The *Judith* of Strasburg (plate XII), represented in the act of thrusting the head of Holofernes into a sack held by her handmaid, is a direct derivation from the Judiths of Mantegna. The handmaid, with her flattened nose and thick mouth and lips, is a mulatto type; her head-dress is Oriental. But how clumsy, how hard and heavy, is the hand of Judith holding the head of the fierce captain of the Assyrian host! What a distance separates this mediocre picture from the noble Judiths of Mantegna, whom we admire in the Pembroke Collection in London, in a drawing in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, and even in the school-copy belonging to the Dublin Art Gallery! Yet we cannot deny the picture a place among Correggio's youthful works, particularly on account of the heroine's gracious countenance and the manner of her dress, both of which are repeated in the *St. Catherine* of Detroit. The picture has even a peculiar interest as being the first painting of the artist in which the scene takes place by night, under the light of the torch held by the handmaiden. The attempt is, indeed, poor; but, repeated and amplified in the *Crib at Night* (plate XXVII) in the Brera Gallery, it leads up to the famous "*Night*" (plate CLVII) of Dresden.

Far greater is the joy of life, beauty, and colour in the miniature *Madonna and Child* with Angels in the Uffizi Gallery (plate XIII). One of the angels sings to his own accompaniment upon the lyre; the other plays upon his viol, while the Divine Infant watches him with wondering delight; and rosy heads of cherubs peep out from the white clouds floating lightly above. If in the *Judith* we have the first Correggesque night, here for the first time we are shown the glory of heaven.

The small *Malaspina Madonna* in the Civic Museum of Pavia (plate XIV) belongs to the same period of time, and Correggio's light and smile still beam forth from it through the fogs of an excessive restoration. In this picture we meet once more with the Mantegnesque St. Elizabeth, whom we shall see again in the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* at Detroit (plate XV), in the Johnson *Madonna* at Philadelphia (plate XVIII), and in the Brera *Crib* (plate XXVII); she then finally disappears.

Thus new feathers constantly appear in the young painter's wings, and the range of his flight extends. Although in the main a development of Mantegnesque themes, the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* introduces us to a larger assemblage of figures. The picture has more movement and an engaging luminousness, and an all pervading smile is diffused upon the faces and the landscape. We see St. Joseph with the familiar type of head

– bearded, large, and bald – and a look of contentment upon his features; a Mantegnesque St. Anne; and St. John the Baptist pointing the spectator to the Divine Child with a gesture taken from Leonardo, and now employed by Correggio for the first time. Later on he will give it to nobler figures in paintings of deeper import: we shall find it in the *Madonna of St. Francis,* (plate XX) in the *Madonna of St. Sebastian,* (plates CLII and CLIII) and in the *Madonna of St. George* (plates CCXXVI and CCXXVII) – all works of the first order, now at Dresden. It should be remembered, however, that, though Correggio did not himself conceive this gesture, it was he who gave it variety, made it known, and handed it on to very many other painters after him. Notice, farther, that in this panel the Virgin is represented as seated with the Child below the other figures, while St. Catherine is kneeling. To place the Madonna below the attendant Saints was an arrangement or, rather, an audacity, ancient but not felicitous. We find instances of it in Marco Zoppo's picture at Berlin, painted in 1471; in the Mantegna of the London National Gallery, and even in Boltraffio's *Casio Madonna* at Paris. In Allegri's picture Emilian influences are traceable in the vigorous handling of the colour and the landscape: the near trees massed to the left, the bushes, the castle, and the distant mountains remind us of Dosso rather than of Mantegna.

Meanwhile our artist is taking a giant's stride. The easy grace of his drawing grows; the grouping of figures and the association of colours become more and more harmonious; and, above all, gestures and faces acquire an expression of intenser life. Considered from this point of view, the *Jesus Taking Leave of His Mother* (plate XVI) is a small masterpiece. Jesus, kneeling, and with His arms crossed upon His breast, bends before His Mother, who falls, overcome by the greatness of her anguish, into the arms of the Magdalene. A little behind them, St. John assists at the sorrowful scene, joining his hands in an attitude of deep compassion. The same profound emotion is shared by all the figures. It is seen in the resigned humility of Jesus, and in the infinite grief and – let us say it – in the gesture of the long, emaciated hands of Mary. Her left hand falls downwards in abandonment, but her right hand, slightly raised, corresponds to the thought, "Arise and go." We may, indeed, examine this painting for elements borrowed from Mantua or from Ferrara, but its *soul* is already the soul of Allegri. This is also true of the picture of St. Martha in *The Four Saints* (plate XVII) acquired a few years ago by the Metropolitan Museum of New York. St. Peter and St. Leonard occupy the two sides of the foreground; St. Martha and the Magdalene stand between them, placed a little further back, as though to form a semi-circle. The background represents the interior of a wood with dense foliage and thick tree-trunks, upon one of which is perched a magpie. At the feet of the tenderly devout St. Martha a small dragon twists and writhes: the Saint holds it bound by a slender cord and so attracts the attention of St. Peter, who gazes at the dragon with knitted brows. The face of the Magdalene is suffused with a gentle smile, but St. Leonard stands ecstatic, with eyes turned heavenwards, and holds the fetters of his imprisonment in his right hand. Thus, while there is a common accord in the humility of the four Saints, it is displayed in each with varying degrees of expression.

To this period, approximately, belong two other pictures of less importance: – the *Madonna and Child with St. Elizabeth and St. John the Baptist* (plate XVIII) at Philadelphia, and the *Madonna and Child with St. John the Baptist* (plate XIX) in the Borghese Gallery in Rome. In the latter painting the forms have become more ample, the colour has reached a greater clearness. There is already a luminousness that was wanting in the preceding works, in which not so much light as vivacity of tints was perceptible, and the colours were counterposed to shadows with too little air. We are as yet, however, only upon the first rungs of the lofty ladder.

THE MADONNA OF ST. FRANCIS.

The first work by Allegri mentioned in existing documents is the Dresden panel known as the *Madonna of St. Francis* (plates XX to XXIII). A certain Quirino Zuccardi by his will dated July 4, 1514, bequeathed a house to the Convent of San Francesco in Correggio, with instructions that it should be sold and the money spent in having a panel picture painted for the principal altar of the church. Zuccardi's heir, Nicola Selli of Parma, domiciled in Correggio, preferred to keep the house for himself, and paid to Fra Girolamo Catanei, the guardian and procurator of the Franciscans, the sum of ninety-five ducats and seventy-four *soldi* as the equivalent for the painting. A month and a half later – to be exact, on August 30 – Catanei, accompanied by the syndics of the Convent, Antonio Zuccardi and Tommaso Affarosi, and a notary, paid a visit to the artist's house in order to entrust him with the work. We have already mentioned that the discussion and signing of the contract took place in Antonio's bedroom on the ground floor of the Allegri house. It may be asked why choice was not made of some other and more suitable place, such as the monastery itself, or the notary's house, or the municipal building, where agreements and similar documents were frequently drawn up; the answer probably is that Correggio had just finished his picture of *St. Martha* for the Church of the Misericordia, and that, before giving him a commission to execute an important work, the representatives of the Franciscans were anxious to satisfy themselves as to his skill. Moreover, a visit to his home offered an excellent opportunity for discussing the details of the contract. Pellegrino Allegri, the father of the artist, was also present, we are told, at the signing of the agreement. That the Convent representatives were satisfied with what they saw of Antonio's work is proved by the sum they covenanted to pay him: a hundred gold ducats – a very considerable amount in those days, especially for a young artist.

Fifty ducats were paid in advance; the remaining fifty, it was agreed, were to be paid upon the completion of the work. Arrangements were no less carefully made concerning the panel on which the painting was to be executed. A notarial act of October 4 assigned the preparation of this to "Maestro Pietro Landini," with an obligation that delivery should be made within the month. In the meantime Correggio was to prepare his cartoon and be ready to start painting at the beginning of November.

Two payments are recorded on March 24, 1515: one to Luca Ferrari for certain pieces of iron used in making the frame; the other, of ten ducats, to the painter for "one *miara* of gold which he employed upon the *ancona*."

By this time the work was almost finished. On April 4, in fact, "Maestro" Antonio Allegri received the "final payment" in the presence of Messer Tommaso Farosi, syndic of the Convent, Gian Lodovico Montesino, the Dominican Fra Giacomo de Ceva, and the Vicar of the Franciscans.

Sundry other disbursements - for whitewashing the chapel, for the construction of scaffolding, and for the canvas to cover the *ancona* - followed, besides payments to Landini for making the panel, and to the painter for blue pigment used upon the frame - no doubt in painting the ground of the gilded ornaments. It is clear, therefore, that the great picture was completed in five months.

The figures are grouped beneath a vast loggia, of which a column and a half-column joined to a pilaster are seen at each side. Against a background of open illuminated country and softly undulating hills rises a lofty throne on which the Madonna, clad in a red robe and a light blue mantle, is seated. The lower step presents in perspective a faint chiaroscuro upon a red ground showing the Creation of Eve, the First Sin, and the Banishment of our first parents from the wooded terrestrial Paradise. A large block of a column rests upon this step, and above the column is a finely wrought marble dado, ornamented with leaves, spirals, and a cornice. A great part of this column is hidden by a garland, in the middle of which in seen the figure of Moses, seated and holding the Tables of the Law. This medallion is supported by two small *putti*, who, as they raise their left arms and place them against the dado, have a share, like living caryatids, in the architectural scheme. The Virgin, seated with her legs turned to her left and her feet resting upon a footstool, while her entire bust and head incline to the right, makes a sign to St. Francis with her right hand, inviting him to kneel and worship her Son, Whom she holds with her left hand. He lifts up His hand in blessing. St. Francis does, indeed, bend forward, scarcely lifting his tunic, but he ceases not meanwhile to gaze in rapture at the Divine Child, and raises his left hand to his breast where a rent in the tunic reveals the wound in his side. Behind him in the shadow, St. Anthony of Padua, bearing his book and lily, looks towards the spectator. On the opposite side, close to the throne, or, rather, supported by its base, St. Catherine raises her eyes to the Divine Infant with a no less fervent expression of heavenly love. In her right hand she clasps a long sword by its pommel and her palm of martyrdom; with her left hand she keeps her robe from falling down upon the foot resting on the fellow of the wheel whereby she suffered, and close beside this is her crown. In front of her in the foreground, the Baptist – a tall, straight figure holding a long cross made of reeds and with a mantle thrown back over his raiment of goat's hair – points out the Divine Infant to the spectator. In the sky, ten heads of seraphs emerge in a round from radiant clouds, while two angels with joined hands are poised below the loggia at the height of the capitals of the columns. The winged one is shown almost full face, and the other, without wings, in profile; they appear to move in a circle around the Madonna and the Child. On the wheel of St. Catherine is the inscription: ANTONIVS DE ALEGRIS P.

Although it is not difficult to discover various elements derived from study in this fine picture, the most important work of the Master's youth, the notes of Correggio's personality are, nevertheless, already unmistakably present. Meyer in this regard has remarked how Raphael displayed far less personal initiative, when he painted the Brera *Betrothal of the Madonna* without departing for one moment from the *formulæ* of Perugino.

In Allegri's picture the Madonna is taken from Mantegna's *Madonna of Victory* (plate, page 56) and the Moses of the medallion in chiaroscuro from Costa, and the St. John has, undeniably, a certain air of Leonardo. Others have found traces of Ferrari-Bianchi, of Francia, or of Perugino in the heads of St. Catherine and St. Francis. These echoes, however, if they indeed exist, in no way destroy the harmony of the whole. Notwithstanding a certain harshness here and there in drawing and in movement, the painting is already "Correggesque," and full of spiritual as well as pictorial intensity. Correggio's chiaroscuro in this picture, it is true, has not all that deft interpenetration of reflected lights which it will acquire later on, and his colour has not the force which it will gain from relations and contrasts, even when these are accompanied by an attenuation of the various tones. The composition, too, is still carried out according to the Quattrocento scheme. But in spite of this the painting gives us the qualities of the Master; it sets him before us already on the march to victory, and it places him in the forefront of the artists of the middle valley of the Po.

LAST PAINTINGS OF THE YOUTHFUL PERIOD.

A greater development in the composition and the landscape leads us to ascribe two precious paintings in the Brera Gallery – the *Adoration of the Magi* (plate XXVI) and the *Crib at Night* or, better, *Before Dawn* (plate XXVII) – to a date subsequent to the *Madonna of St. Francis*. To the same period may also belong the *Madonna and Child* (plate XXIV) belonging to a Swiss collection and ascribed by Adolfo Venturi to Correggio; the *Madonna and Child with St. John the Baptist* (plate XXV), formerly the property of the Bolognini family and now in the Museum of the Castle of Milan; and the *Holy Family* (plate XXVIII) belonging to Mr. Murray of London. Of the first of these we have no knowledge, but Venturi calls it the "charming first-fruits of Correggio's art." There is great sweetness of colour in the other two; the colour being no longer intensely enamelled, but attenuated, as though tender juices of grasses and flowers were ever more and more taking the place of gleaming, mineral substances. This is particularly true of the Brera *Adoration of the Magi.* Here the Virgin's robe is no longer of turquoise but of sky-blue, and her under-vest is not dark-green but copper-green; so, too, the colour of St. Joseph's cloak is orange-red and not crimson, while the mantle of the Moorish King is of the wonted lilac tint, always dear to Correggio. Throughout the whole picture there is a constant placing of white notes against the luminous background; the horse is white, the hound is white; white are various parts of the costumes, and white the columns of the ruined temple in which has been placed the stall for the ass and the ox. The Madonna, holding the Babe in her lap, is seated close beside the stall. Above them a glory of angels stays its flight. Between the columns, and holding in his hand the gift offered by the first of the Magi, who is represented prostrate in devotion, appears the figure of St. Joseph. The second King follows, bowing low; while Melchior, the third, stands upright and takes the vessel of myrrh from the hand of a page. All trace of schematism and symmetry has completely disappeared from the composition, which has movement in its every part, as well in the variety of pose as in the grouping of the figures. Some echoes of Mantegna are perceptible in the division of the folds; traces of the chromatic tonality of the Ferrara school may linger in single passages, but the light diffused through the painting as a whole is "Correggesque," and so are the liveliness and expressive intensity of the figures.

The poetic sentiment of the Master is still more evident in the *Crib at Night* (plate XXVII), also in the Brera Gallery. A great calm and a faint radiance of dawn pervade the landscape – a marvel of finish, sentiment, and poesy. The ruins of an ancient temple rise to the right, showing a marble column and broken remains of walls and arches. Between these and supported by them are placed the stable formed of rustic beams and the manger. Immediately behind the ruins there is a sloping hill; tall stems of trees, clothed with scanty leaves that bow before the wind, rise up from it, and behind the trees appears the sky, whitening with streaks of light. At the side of the largest tree two small figures of shepherds behold the rising day. A second hill, dark and wooded, appears beyond a ravine, and then there is an immense plain, recalling the valley of the Po as viewed from the first hills near Reggio. This landscape – an indication of the artist's tender love for his home – is repeated with slight changes in many of Correggio's pictures: in the *Jesus Taking Leave of His Mother* (plate XVI), the *Bolognini Madonna* (plate XXV), the *Madonna of Albinea* (plate XXXIX), the *Noli me tangere* (plate CXLIX), and in some other paintings. Here the figures are disposed in a meadow gay with flowers and bushes, these last recalling to some extent the manner of Dosso. In the centre, the Divine Infant is asleep, lying upon a cloth stretched over a handful of straw. The Madonna and St. Elizabeth kneel in adoration on either side. Mary has her hands crossed; St. Elizabeth, bent devoutly, holds the little St. John upon her left knee, and he leans forward lovingly towards the slumbering Child. St. Joseph meanwhile sleeps, resting upon a pack-saddle behind the Virgin. Between her and St. Elizabeth a young winged angel, clad in white, points out the Divine Infant, upon Whom a shower of golden beams rains down from heaven, to two shepherds who come forth in deep amazement from a hedge woven of stripped branches. Against the black of the ruins two smaller angels lightly poise in suspended flight, almost directly above the Virgin's head.

In this picture the technical and ideal qualities of the Master have made progress. School memories, more and more faint, are just discernible in the flying angels, in the group of St. Elizabeth and St. John – the St. John being derived from Mantegna's picture in Sant'Andrea at Mantua – and in the draperies spread out, after Costa's manner, like molten metal poured upon the ground. The angel who speaks to the shepherds is a radiant figure, full of suavity. The picture is not without blemishes – for example, the harsh foreshortening of the angel's right hand, and an excessive "subtlety" in details – but, taken as a whole, it is surprising, not merely for the fullness of sentiment, but also for the deep enamelled colouring, like that of Costa after his contact with Francia.

No doubt is entertained to-day that these paintings, assigned in the past to Scarsellino and to Dosso, are rightly attributed to Correggio, but this cannot be said of the *Shepherd Boy Playing the Pipes* (plate XXIX) in the Munich Gallery, a painting whose authenticity is still questioned, and by ourselves amongst others.

The shepherd boy is seated on a mound at the foot of a group of trees, and raises his pipes to his lips in the act of playing. Below to the right is a lute; and on the opposite side beyond the mass of leafage there is a valley and a beast at pasture. We have reproduced the painting here from a feeling of respect for the able critics who assign it to Correggio, but, for our part, we very much doubt whether those heavy tints of mountains and sky and the compact mass of trees studded with tiny leaves can be the work of Correggio. The same remark applies to the small tree in the background, to the shepherd's head with its thick crown of hair, his hands with their tapering fingers, and the folds of the cloak that blows about his left arm. The picture is certainly charming, but the charm is not that of Correggio.

Some critics with good reason assigned it to Palma Vecchio; and Morelli, before he accepted the attribution to Correggio, judged the painting to be of the Venetian school, though he substituted the name of Lorenzo Lotto for that of Palma. More recent critics have thought of Giorgione and even of Dosso. One of the advocates of the attribution to Correggio thought that the theory might be supported by Pungileoni's statement that "there was in Casa Ravizzi at Correggio a painting of a shepherd represented in the act of putting his pipes to his lips." Pungileoni's statement was founded, however, upon Brunorio, who informs us that the painting was a half-length figure of a shepherd playing the pipes, and taken from life. Thus the Munich panel remains an enigma, unless, indeed, we go back to the name of Palma Vecchio – an attribution borne out by the striking resemblance between this panel and the painting of the same subject formerly in the Marczell de Nemes collection at Munich, the ascription of which to Palma has never been called in question.

The Boston *Venus*, (plate XXX), which represents the Goddess at the moment when the " profane thorn did pierce her foot divine, " and the *St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (plate XXXI), formerly in the collection of the Grand Dukes of Oldenburg, leave us in some doubt, though we fully recognize the elements of "Correggesque" style which persuaded Venturi to abandon all hesitation as to their genuineness. The Venus, who, shown in profile, is intent upon extracting the thorn from her foot, is derived from a well-known print of Marco Dente. The illumination of the figure, however, and the familiar landscape of hill and plain both recall Allegri.

"Correggesque" likewise are the chiaroscuro and the background in the *St. John the Baptist*, but we have no difficulty in understanding how Gronau came to relegate the ill-contrived and ill-constructed figure to the uncertain works or school-copies If we are to ascribe it without hesitation to the Master, it can only be by bearing in mind the saying of Horace: "*Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.*"

On the other hand, no doubts can be entertained concerning the genuineness of the London *Pietà* (plate XXXII), recently acquired by Lord Lee of Fareham; the *St. Anthony the Abbot* (plate XXXIII) in the Naples Museum; the *Càmpori Madonna* (plate XXXIV) in the Galleria Estense at Modena; and the *Madonna*, known as the *Madonna of Casalmaggiore* (plate XXXV), at Frankfort-on-Main.

The *Pietà* is to be counted one of the paintings that best reveal the Master's power of expression and his spirit of research in modelling. Notice the abandonment in every part of Christ's body, the drooping of the arms, the expression of pain left upon the countenance after the last cry and the last breath, and, once more, the deep anguish upon the face of Mary, and the loving effort of her hands to support the body and lift the right leg above the left. And how beautiful are the folds of her robe, folds still small after Mantegna's fashion, but handled now with greater movement, variety, and life. The profound darkness of the wooded rock, against which the two figures stand as if miraculously illumined, gives to the picture a dramatic note, attenuated on the right by the silence of the lowly hills.

Compared with this, the *St. Anthony the Abbot* at Naples (plate xxxiii) is a slight thing: a humble, devout figure with hands resting upon the staff and holding a bell. Its vivacious colour is in contrast with that of the *Càmpori Madonna* (plate xxxiv), carried out in those quiet tones which we have likened to the juices of herbs and flowers. Here, too, the Madonna and Child are not those inert figures we see in a thousand paintings, pictorially, it may be, beautiful enough; they hint at an action. With His tiny left hand the Child clutches His Mother's right forefinger, and raises His left hand to her shoulder, as a sign that He wants to be taken up into her arms. It is, indeed, wonderful how the artist faces the difficulty of slight expressions such as this, and almost always overcomes them. He does not enclose his creatures, even the smallest, in a calm contemplation, but insists that his children shall show their natural need of movement and their restlessness, even when they are divine. How lively are the little St. John and the Infant Saviour in the *Madonna* of Frankfort (plate xxxv)! Unfortunately, the painting has suffered severely from the excessive caresses of restorers.

INTERLUDE.

Between the years 1516 and 1518 a kind of transformation, a certain striving after new expressions, is perceptible in Correggio's "pictorial sense." He abandons the crude, precise tints, characteristic of the Ferrarese School and of Costa in particular, and aims at a colouring less enamelled and fused, but warmer and more mellow. The air of mysticism which reached its highest point in the two saints nearest to the throne in the *Madonna of St. Francis* (plates xx to xxiii) now gives place to an immediate realism in the treatment of faces. The folds of the drapery acquire greater breadth and softness. The tone of the painting as a whole becomes more red and dark. You would say that he had exchanged the contemplation of Mantegna and Costa for that of Dosso, and that Dosso had indirectly awakened in him a desire for Venetian swiftness and strength. Not that Correggio abandons Mantegna, so far as the science of perspective and certain happy motives in decoration go, but he does so in everything that concerns the pictorial mode, from the drawing to the colour. Consequently, the paintings at this period lose in fineness and smoothness. The colour thickens and at times forms clots.

The older art critics were so bewildered by this contrast to the artist's early and later works that they doubted the authenticity of these intermediate paintings, and, in some instances, even boldly pronounced them to be not original. Thus we find more than one writer affirming the Naples *Zingarella* (plate xxxvi) and the *Sojourn in Egypt* (plate xxxvii) of the Uffizi Gallery to be copies, attributable with variety of choice to Barocci, to Francesco Vanni, and – incredible as it may appear – to Tiarini. A critic with the eye and the genius of Giovanni Morelli declared the Naples *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* (plate xli) – an unrivalled unity of life, light, youth, and beauty, pulsating with springtime – to be a copy ! Historical and technical researches of a more vigorous character soon put matters to rights; but now the suspicion is inverted, and it is asked whether other pictures, formerly regarded as copies, may not in reality be original paintings. There are critics, for example, who make this pretension on behalf of the Vatican *Redeemer* (plate lxxxvi), and who still persist in detecting Correggio's hand in the *Madonna* placed above the altar of the Church of Albinea.

In the Naples picture (plate xxxvi) the Madonna is seated with crossed legs upon grass between low bushes in the midst of a dense forest. Her hair, twined into a number of plaits, is bound round by a white kerchief, gipsy-fashion, whence the name given to the picture, "The Gipsy-girl." The Child rests upon her thigh, held by her left hand below the arm, and stretches out His hand with a loving gesture to touch hers. The Madonna's right hand is curved under one of the Child's feet, as in the Philadelphia picture. The Babe slumbers; the Mother, leaning tenderly over Him, seems to have fallen into a light half-sleep. These two figures are somewhat crudely illumined by the glow of a warm sunset almost ended. Meanwhile life moves about them: a rabbit – there are rabbits in the *Madonna and Child* at Modena (plate IV) and in the Boston *Venus* (plate XXX) – watches inquisitively to the left; and above, a silent flight of angels, painted with greenish hues of antique bronze, like spirits into whom has passed the colour of the forest, moves through the shade of the palm-trees. A small bird, wakened by the whirr of the angel-wings, perches on a bough above the Virgin's head, and, like the rabbit, seems to look on intently.

A similar dim shade of a forest, reddened by westering light, and with the same indefiniteness and the same treatment of the leafage, forms the background of the *Sojourn in Egypt* (plate XXXVII) in the Uffizi Gallery. Here the Virgin is seated at the foot of a lofty palm, while St. Joseph bends down one of the boughs in order to gather its dates for the Divine Child. The Child, naked and upright upon His Mother's knee, instinctively puts out His tiny hands to take them, but the gaze of His dark, quick eyes is directed straight in front of Him, as though He were taken by some other care. The wonted lock of hair falls upon His forehead, the lock which Correggio loved to paint at this period of His activity, and which we find in at least ten other paintings. St. Francis of Assisi, kneeling to the right, gazes in ecstasy upon the Child, holding out his hands. It is curious to note how the right hand of the saint reproduces the action of the priest at the altar when he signs the chalice with the Cross – the thumb is folded upon the palm of the hand.

To the same period undoubtedly belongs a charming picture at Madrid (plate XXXVIII), showing the Madonna quietly seated upon the ground at the entrance of a grotto, contemplating with happiness the affection that draws her Child towards the little St. John. The Child, seated upon her left thigh, holds out His hands to His companion; St. John approaches Him with hands crossed upon his breast treading upon a hem of the Virgin's robe. In this painting the execution is again slightly rough, and the colours tend to be warm.

And now let us come to the *Madonna of Albinea* (cf. plate xxxix), a picture which has been unfortunately either lost or destroyed.

Albinea, a few miles distant from Reggio Emilia, is situated on the slope of one of the hills that mark the beginning of the Apennines, to the right of the central Po Valley. From the portico of its church, many times rebuilt but mentioned at least as early as the eleventh century, there is a wide view of the plain with Reggio in its midst and, on either hand, a multitude of towns, villages, castles, villas, and houses.

Historians tell us that in the year 1517-1518 Correggio went up to Albinea in order to execute a painting for its parishioners. They also repeat an old tradition to the effect that the parishioners paid him a salary of thirty *soldi* a day, while the church helped in the expenses for the canvas and colours, and the arch-priest Giovanni Guidotti of Roncopò provided the artist with board and lodging.

A letter preserved in the Reggio Archives fixes with sufficient precision the date at which work upon this picture was begun, and it proves besides that Correggio remained at home to finish it. The letter is dated May 12, 1517. In it the arch-priest begs Alessandro Malaguzzi, resident at Reggio, to write to Allegri, instructing him, if the work had not already proceeded so far as to make any interruption impossible, to execute the painting in accordance with the suggestions for securing greater permanence made previously by Malaguzzi himself. Then follows a sentence which we will consider presently.

On October 14, 1519, the arch-priest was himself at Correggio, and, after making an additional payment of four ducats, obtained from the painter a receipt in full for the entire sum due to him for the altar-piece, at that time already finished.

As the church of Albinea is dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, it was thought by some that this was the subject represented in the painting. Documents and copies, however, make it clear that the figures were the Madonna with the Child in her arms; the Madonna being seated at the foot of a group of trees on the right; St. Lucy, holding a plate, with her eyes fixed upon it, and a palm; and, on the left, St. Mary Magdalene, with her alabaster vase. In the background there was the wonted hill sloping down to the plain. Near the feet of St. Lucy in the Brera copy there is a stone with the inscription, ANTONIVS LAETVS FACIEBAT. This inscription, we believe, occurred in the original painting, for authentic documents prove that the artist latinized his surname Allegri into " Laetus."

A painting of the *Magdalene* (plate XL), existing in various copies, and of which the original is said to be in the Salting Bequest in the London National Gallery, belongs approximately to the same period as the *Madonna of Albinea*. The fair penitent is standing at the entrance of a grotto, with her legs crossed and her body just supported (she appears indeed to be standing almost upright) against a rise in the ground. Upon this she rests her opened book and her right elbow, while in her left hand she holds her vase. To the right there is an open landscape of undulating woodland, and the sky is illumined by a slightly slanting ray of light – this last being a note peculiarly characteristic of Correggio. The youthful beauty of the figure and the calm amenity of the scene make this a very delightful work.

Now there is a phrase in the letter written by the arch-priest of Albinea, which, put into chronological harmony with the pictorial type represented in this small picture, led some writers to believe that this *Magdalene* was painted by Correggio for Albinea. The letter to Malaguzzi runs as follows: " If he has begun the altar-piece, you will send him the ' madalena, ' and it should be addressed to Maestro Antonio, son of Pellegrino Allegri of Correggio." It is clear, then, that Antonio had not to send a " madalena " to the arch-priest or to Malaguzzi, but that on the contrary he had to receive one. Discussing this passage, the late Naborre Campanini wrote to us on January 25, 1915: " Messer Alessandro (Malaguzzi) and the priest must have been on friendly terms and often have met together, as the Malaguzzi owned land in the neighbourhood of Albinea. It is quite likely that they had arranged, as part of the agreement with Correggio, that, as soon as Malaguzzi had seen or otherwise ascertained that Correggio had actually begun the picture, he should send him the 'madalena,' that is, the *measure of wine*, promised either as a gift or, more probably, in part-payment. 'Madalena' is still a synonym for 'damigiana' (cask), and the word is frequently used by our country-folk, especially among the mountains. To avoid any blunder in consigning the wine to the carrier, and to secure its safe arrival at its destination, the priest writes the exact name, the 'paternity,' and address of the painter, and sends them to Malaguzzi. This interpretation makes clear sense of the letter, and recalls a tradition, which has never died out, that Correggio was paid partly in money and partly in kind."

Like the *Madonna of Albinea*, the original of the painting representing the *Young Man Fleeing from the Seizure of Christ* (plate LXXXIII), though there are copies of it still existing, has either perished or been lost. The subject, an infrequent one in art, is taken from the passage in the Gospel of St. Mark which relates how "a certain young man followed Him wrapped with a linen girdle about his loins, and the servants laid hold of him: but he left the linen cloth and fled from them naked." This episode forms the principal group of the picture. In the background Christ is seen receiving the kiss of Judas, and St. Peter cuts off the ear of Malchus.

There are other paintings, of which unfortunately no vestige, not even a copy, has been left. The city of Correggio itself, in addition to the pictures already described – the *Madonna of St. Francis*, (plates XX to XXII) the *Sojourn in Egypt* (plate XXXVII) and the *Four Saints* (plate XVII) now respectively in Dresden, Florence, and New York – possessed in the past a *Herodias* and the triptych known as the *Humanity of Christ*, (plate LXXXVI) yet now it owns not one single stroke from the brush of its famous son. The triptych last named stood above the principal altar of the Oratory of St. Mary of Mercy, and showed the Redeemer in the centre, on the left St. John the Baptist, and on the right St. Bartholomew. Its "external" history will be related farther on in the present work. Here we may merely remark that, though nothing is known concerning the aspect and subsequent fate of the St. Bartholomew, there is a copy of the *Redeemer* in the Vatican Gallery, painted by one of the Carracci. The figure is shown seated facing the spectator between a company of angels. The body is naked from the waist upwards, the arms are open, and the legs are covered by an ample drapery, as in images of Zeus (or Jupiter) upon many Greek and Roman coins. The *St. John the Baptist* of the triptych exists in prints and copies, and the original is perhaps the painting on canvas in the Robinson collection in London (plate LXXXVII). This is a fine, vigorous figure, representing a young man advancing to the right, turning as he does so towards the spectator with the pointing gesture usually given by Correggio to the Forerunner. It is, however, strange that the architectural background in the Robinson picture and in all the other copies of this St. John in no way fits on to the architectonic background in the central portion of the triptych; while the presence of the cherubs crowding round the central figure, entirely in Correggio's manner, excludes all possibility that the Vatican copy of this portion has been changed from the original. Hence the problems suggested by this work of Correggio are only partly solved.

CORREGGIO AT PARMA AND THE CAMERA DI SAN PAOLO.

After Bologna, Parma is the most important city on the superb road constructed by Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and leading from Rimini to Piacenza. With such an artery passing through her midst, an artery in which life has coursed without interruption from the earliest days, Parma can boast a rich and animated history, and in that history many glorious pages. When the troubles of the eleventh century were barely ended, Parma was the first of the cities of Emilia in which a great artist appeared. Benedetto Antèlami, aspiring after new ideals, quitted the meanness of Byzantine forms; he had a vision of forms more concrete, more individual, more free, and to these he gave expression. Henceforward there was never a time when Parma remained without art and artists. But when Correggio went to Parma, the local artists were all without exception bound to the forms of the Quattrocento. We may recall Temperelli, the two Araldi, and the old Mazzola amongst others. Conscious of the great advances made by painting elsewhere, Parma suffered from this backwardness and sought earnestly to win an honourable place in art. The initiative was taken, not by her princes, but by the Commune, the clergy, the confraternities, and the citizens themselves. It was they who built the two magnificent churches of San Giovanni Evangelista and of the Steccata, designed by Bernardino and Giovanni Francesco of Torchiara, father and son; it was they who reconstructed the Oratory of the Conception in San Francesco, who enlarged the monasteries of San Giovanni and San Paolo, and who raised a whole forest of wooden scaffoldings around buildings in course of repair or construction, and along walls and under cupolas, in order that painters and sculptors might give to the whole city the joy of ornament and form. It was at this time of intense constructive and artistic activity that Correggio made his journey to Parma.

The biographers – at all events, the older among them – are not agreed as to the precise year in which Correggio received his summons. Some say it was in 1518, others in 1519; some relate that he was called by Giovanna Piacenza, Abbess of St. Paul's; others, by the Benedictine monks of the Abbey of St. John the Evangelist. No document exists which would definitely decide the question, but we believe that historical records and evidence from style justify the opinion that this memorable event took place in 1518. It is certain, in the first place, that the decoration of the Camera di San Paolo, considered as painting, occupies a middle position between the *Madonna of Albinea*, (plate XXXIX) already begun in May, and the cupola of San Giovanni, begun in July, 1520. Next, our documents prove that Correggio was at home in the January and March of 1518, but do not mention him again until 1519, when he reappears at Correggio engaged in various pieces of work and business. On January 18, 1519, he is present as witness at the drawing up of a notarial act dealing with the dowry brought by Oliva Chierici to Francesco Aromani, his mother's brother. Thirteen days later, the same uncle made over to him by deed of gift a house in Borgovecchio, together with furniture and a number of acres of land, and again in September Correggio is recorded as present at the execution of two acts by the notary Francesco Antonio Bottoni. Lastly, towards the middle of October, 1519, as we have seen, the arch-priest of Albinea visited him at Correggio, and paid him the balance due for the Madonna painted for that church.

On these grounds, therefore, we conclude that Correggio painted the Camera di San Paolo between the April and the December of 1518, and that he remained for almost the whole of the following year at home, engaged upon works about which we shall have something to say presently.

But who mentioned the name of our artist to the Abbess of San Paolo ? The answer is certain: it was Cavalier Montino Della Rosa, "a very gallant man and a lover of the fine arts." Not only had Della Rosa many interests in the town of Correggio, but he was brother-in-law and administrator of Abbess Giovanna. A little later we find him mentioned as one of the Fabbricieri who commissioned Allegri to paint the apse and cupola of the Cathedral; and according to instructions left by Correggio shortly before he died, it was in Della Rosa's possession that certain drawings ordered from the artist by the Duke of Mantua and not completed were to be found.

The Camera di San Paolo (plates XLII to LXXIX) is almost square in form. As to the original decoration of its walls writers are silent, but we are led to suppose that they were covered with tapestries worked, as the expression was, *a verdura*, that is, in a pattern of "greenery" harmonising and combining with the painting of the vault which represented a rustic shed of boughs. The ornaments of the three doors are carved in finely wrought stone, with a dado showing the arms of the Abbess – three quarter-moons disposed diagonally – the letters Io. PL (the abbreviation of her name), and, on one door, the motto "*Omnia virtuti pervia.*" "This inscription," remarks Affò, "sufficiently discovers the courage of Giovanna, who thus signified her good pleasure that entry to the convent and to her own apartment should be free unto all comers." The doors, however, have several times been moved: once in 1560, when a refectory was built close to the saloon, depriving it of a good deal of light; and again in 1856, when, in order to remedy this defect, the wide west entrance, supported by two columns, was opened out.

The fireplace, on the contrary, still occupies its original position and preserves the decoration of the lateral brackets and an ornamental border with the legend "*Ignem gladio ne fodias.*"

From the cornice of the walls to the centre of the vault converge sixteen sections which form in turn an equal number of lunettes. Sections and lunettes are both covered by Correggio's frescoes. The artist has naturally adapted his composition to the arrangement of the vault, imagining, as we have said, a shed or booth made of green leafage, supported by reeds, and opening out into sixteen small oval compartments. Beyond these last, as if upon an external gallery, moves a varied and happy troup of boys. Each single rib of the vault is followed upwards by two reeds, and at the top these reeds meet a disc or coronal, in the centre of which gleams the gilded coat-of-arms of Giovanna Piacenza. The coat-of-arms is surrounded by a complex net-work of rose-coloured veils twined together and supporting bunches of various fruits, one for each of the sixteen sections. Round the lunettes in chiaroscuro runs a decorative border ornamented with shells – cockle-shells or scallops. This border appears to rest upon a number of suspended capitals, each formed of two ram's heads, while, from the horns of these last, strings of precious stones, amber, and pearl fall downwards in spirals. Lastly, between the *capitals* and upon the frieze below the lunettes hang cloths or napkins in the form of festoons, each supporting such objects as plates, vessels, a wine-jug, a bottle, or a small hatchet.

We have said that the arms of Giovanna Piacenza bore three moons. Another reason for the choice of the Moon or Diana as the subject of the decoration may be that Diana – when, as some one has pointed out, we forget the story of her love for Endymion – was the " goddess of virgins and of chastity, " who pardoned none that offended her virtue and inflicted a terrible punishment upon Actæon for attempting to surprise her naked. Mythology related that sixty nymphs, the daughters of Ocean, formed her train, while to twenty-three more was assigned the care of her weapons. All were bound to observe the vow of virginity, and the nymph who broke it was visited by direful calamities.

Diana (plate XLIII) is given a conspicuous place in the decoration and appears upon the hood of the fireplace. The goddess is shown waving her heavenly veil; her bow is slung over her shoulder, and she is seated upon the rim of a chariot drawn by two horses – one white, the other bay – of which only the extreme hind quarters are visible.

It has been said that the boys painted in the ovals (plates XLVIII to LXIII) bear no relation to the representation of Diana, but illustrate rather the development of life in organized society. According to this view the subjects are: Hunting, as man's first means of obtaining food; Agriculture, figured by the children gathering and eating fruit; Good Government, the boy holding up a stone; Art, the boy with a mask; the Gradual Corruption of Society, the boy trying to beat his companion; Religious Faith, the boy with a greyhound; and War, the boy with weapons. We, however, persist in believing that these boys represent only one subject, that is, the Chase – the art and passion of Diana who dominates the whole composition. And this is shown by the boys carrying stags' heads, holding in hounds, or sounding the horn. Why should we consider as a mask – tragic or comic – signifying art, what in reality is a Medusa's head for frightening the beasts or turning them to stone? The actions of these *putti* are quite plain. Only one of them remains a trifle obscure. The boy is carrying on his head, and above a small diadem, a bundle so ill-defined in shape that by some it has been taken for a large stone, and by others – rightly – for a sack carefully closed in front. He supports the sack with his raised right hand, and in his left he holds a wand, regarded by some as a sceptre, just as the cloth or piece of stuff hanging from his right shoulder and folded about his legs has been taken for a royal mantle. Another boy stands behind him and with careful hands and attentive eyes helps him to support the diadem and the sack.

In the first boy some have seen "a little king subjected to a great weight, as he who becomes the arbiter of a nation." Thus Pungileoni. And then Arnaldo Barilli comments: "If, however, we admit the nation and the arbiter of its destinies, we must obviously presuppose an evolved human society and the constitution of the various political states with their laws and respective civilizations." To us this symbolism appears somewhat too abstruse, but in the imagination of painters and of the poets who inspired them everything is possible. Others, on the contrary, think that the boy with the diadem, the mantle, and the sceptre merely represents the champion of the chase, and that the weight of his sack is caused by the golden coin bestowed upon him as the prize of victory. Farther, it is said that the proclamation of the winner as "King of the Chase" was a usual occurrence during the period of the Renaissance. Of these two interpretations, the first is marked by its boldness, the second by a greater simplicity and reasonableness.

However this may be, the gestures of the five-and-thirty *putti* included in the sixteen ovals are bound up together, like so many pearls strung upon one thread in a single ornament. This linking up of actions – we might almost say, of life – is always a characteristic of Correggio's composition. Some of the episodes even extend to two compartments, so that the action of one or two boys is continued or completed by others in the next oval. Thus one group struggles to hold back a huge mastiff from rushing upon a poor, terrified dog, protected by two other *putti* in the following compartment; another boy raises a horn to his mouth and blows it " so fearfully " that his companion and the boy nearest to him in the neighbouring oval stop their ears.

The figures are robust and fully developed, and the problems of the foreshortening are mastered with consummate skill. Nevertheless a certain heaviness of form in more than one *putto* cannot be denied – a defect, however, which will gradually disappear, at first in their brothers of the cupola of San Giovanni, and then in those of the cupola of the Cathedral. Here they do not move with equal freedom; yet if their smiles have not the same expression of gaiety, this is because they are so taken up with their game of hunting that they display the winning seriousness which children always put into " important " things, imitating in this the behaviour of the " grown-ups."

But the most remarkable part of the frescoes is the chiaroscuro paintings. It is doubtful whether the Cinquecento can offer any examples more beautiful than these, whether from the point of view of form, of execution, or of effect.

In each lunette the artist has imagined a niche containing statues or groups of figures. Beginning immediately from the right of the fireplace, we see the *Three Graces* (plate LXIV). This ancient subject receives new life from the entirely modern spirit of its conception. The three figures, slight and graceful, which classical restraint grouped together, have now become three beautiful maidens in the bloom of youth, moving variously and swiftly, while their hair is blown by the wind. Next comes *Adonis* (plate LXV), holding a spear in his lifted right hand, and the *Genius Populi Romani* (plate LXVI), a youth with a cloak draped about his thighs and a horn of plenty in his left hand, in the act of pouring water upon the fire of an altar ornamented in relief. *Africa* (plate LXVII) is a seated figure leaning with her left elbow upon a mound; her draperies form an elegant group of folds, and in one hand she, too, holds a horn of plenty, while in the other is a scorpion and on her head a serpent (*ureus*). A basket containing ears of corn lies at her feet. *Juno Punished* (plate LXVIII) recalls the passage in the fifteenth book of the *Iliad* where Zeus reminds Hera how he had thus chastised her once before – a passage imitated by Monti in the *Feroniade* (canto III):

> "*. . . . Tu le rammenta*
> *le incudi un giorno al suo calcagno appese.*"

The small figure has superb forms, and the rounded shadow which it casts creates the illusion of a real niche where there is in reality the plane surface of the lunette. *Vesta* (plate LXIX) is completely draped in ample veils; she holds a torch in her left hand and a goblet in her right, pouring water from it upon the fire of a round altar. An ancient *Philosopher* (plate LXX) is comfortably seated upon a chair. *The Temple of Jupiter* (plate LXXI) is, represented according to the Doric Order, with tympanum and acroteria, and shows the statue of the deity seated within. Next come the *Three Fates,* (plate LXXII) young and winged.

Although the art of antiquity had in a few rare instances followed the Homeric conception and represented the Fates as young, they were more usually imagined as either old or of various ages – Clotho who wound the thread of life being represented as young; Lathesis, the spinner, as of middle age; and Atropos, who held the shears, as old. Renaissance art represented them indifferently as either old or young. Rosso Fiorentino, for example, showed them as old, while Correggio first painted them as young, a conception imitated later on by the sculptor, Germano Pilon. Young, too, were the Fates in the "plastic pictures" represented during the Cinquecento on certain solemn occasions. A "Scene with the Fates" was given in 1507 at Orvieto, as one of the diversions at the marriage of a nephew of Innocent VIII, "the which Fates were three young boys."

"The first Fate," writes Tommaso di Silvestro, "did hold the spindle with certain yellow wool, and drew the wool; the second plied the distaff, and the third had a knife in her hand wherewith to sever the thread." Behind the Fates in Correggio's chiaroscuro there is to be seen – and this is very singular – the trunk and a bough of an oak-tree. Can this be an allusion to the oak with which, according to an ancient but corrupt text of Catullus, the Fates were supposed to be adorned ? Annibal Caro wrote in 1539 to Pier Vettori as follows: " The passage of the Fates in Catullus finds not its parallel in painting nor in statues, neither to my knowledge hath observation at any time been made nor sentence been written, showing that the Fates did clothe themselves with oak-leaves. And although peradventure a certain congruency might be found between them, inasmuch as the oak was a prophetical tree, as appeareth in the Wood of Dodona, and also of exceeding long life, yet this is a hard interpretation and one that agreeth ill with the candidness of that poet. Wherefore all men hold that in the first verse *Vestis* is a right correction for *Quercus*, and so have I found it emended in many texts."

Ino Leucothea (plate LXXIII) shows a young woman advancing with flowing robes and holding up in her arms the infant Bacchus. *Ceres* (plate LXXIV) has her torch and apple. *Satyr or Pan* (plate LXXV) leans against the trunk of a hewn tree, to which is hung his syrinx. He is shown in profile, blowing into a trumpet and listening to the sound. *Chastity* (plate LXXVI) holds out a dove with her right hand, while with her left she lightly lifts her robe, beneath which can be discerned the shape of her youthful limbs. *Virginity* (plate LXXVII) bears a lily in her hand. *Fortune* (plate LXXVIII) has a horn of plenty in her left hand, and in her right hand a rudder resting upon a globe. *Minerva* (plate LXXIX) is seen in profile with a helmet on her head, and a spear and a torch in her hands.

As may easily be supposed, not all writers give the same title and meaning to these figures. For some, the *Genius Populi Romani* is *Bonus Eventus; Africa* is the *Earth* or *Summer*; the *Philosopher* may symbolize *Rest* or *Meditation ; Ino Leucothea* is *Vesta Nursing Jupiter ; Ceres* is *Providence ; Vesta* is the *Goddess Macaria* or *Felicity;* and *Chastity* is *Spes Augusta*. Writers who consider the subject of the oval compartments to be the development of social life see in these pagan subjects a corresponding imagery of the life of the individual.

The Fates, say they, symbolize *Pre-natal Life ; Ino Leucothea with the Infant Bacchus* (or *Vesta with Jupiter*) symbolizes *Birth.* Then, making a jump from the two first to the two last lunettes, they find a man with a flowing beard seated, who represents *Old Age*, and *The Temple*, which represents *The Grave.* In the intermediate figures where others see *Fortune*, they see *Honest Love ;* and *Wisdom* instead of *Minerva*, *Jollity* in the *Graces*, *Beauty and Strength* in the body of *Adonis*, *Proud Wealth* in place of *Bonus Eventus*, *Beneficent Wealth* instead of *Africa*, *Doubt* – or rather, " the Fortune of a soul without sufficient faith, which feels itself drawn towards the abyss of the gilded seductions of worldly life " – instead of *Juno Punished*, and, lastly, *Faith* instead of *Vesta.* " In this way, " Barilli concludes, " eight pairs are formed: Birth and Infancy, Love and Lust, Purity and Virginity, Sense and Wisdom, Grace and Beauty, Riches of the Just Man and Riches of the Wicked Man, Tormented Doubt and Serene Faith, Old Age and Death."

Pietro Martini, on the other hand, thought that there must have been a strict correspondence between the subjects chosen and the place in which they were depicted. On this hypothesis it becomes difficult to explain the presence of the Satyr blowing his horn, of Adonis, of Bacchus's nurse, and Juno's punishment. The biographer has perhaps been led into error by the presence of Vesta, Chastity, and Virginity – figures which should have or at least might have had reference to the life of the convent.

Others again, seeing in the lunettes an assemblage of subjects related neither to each other nor yet to the claustral life – for it would be strange indeed to allude to it by means of pagan figures – have thought of a more simple explanation. These " imitation sculptures, " they conclude, pretended to be one of the many collections of antiques that were the passion of the time.

We will not pursue this argument farther. It is obvious that, as in the case of any other symbolic or allegorical presentation, liable as a general rule to be wanting in clearness, these discussions can be prolonged to infinity. Of this truth the stucco ornaments of the basilica of Porta Maggiore in Rome and the sculptures of the Malatesta Temple at Rimini afford eloquent proof. Nor is it hard to understand the polemical warmth with which each writer supports his personal view, and this rather by means of an offensive against the opposing theory than by an actual defence of his own, which is often to be considered merely as " the offspring of his mind."

THE SUPPOSED VISIT OF CORREGGIO TO ROME.

Sebastiano Resta and Raphael Mengs were the first to suppose that Correggio visited Rome; the most recent advocates of the theory have been Oscar Hagen and Adolfo Venturi. We will not examine one by one the opinions and facts set out by individual writers, but rather group them together and consider them as an ordered whole. The question was first put in this form: How could an artist of genius like Correggio have failed to visit Rome, where the antique civilization was bound together with the new, and the latter had reached the zenith in Buonarroti and Sanzio ? Preoccupation with this thesis went so far that critics ended by seeing in the *Young man Fleeing from the Seizure of Christ* (plate LXXXIII) an imitation of one of the youths in the Laocoon group discovered in Rome in 1506.

A little later it was observed that as Correggio had undoubtedly learned the art of foreshortening from Melozzo of Forlì, and as the chief work of this master was at that time in the Church of the SS. Apostoli at Rome, it consequently followed that Correggio had been in Rome.

After a while criticism was able to give a greater consistency to its facts and theories. It noticed a decided and unexpected change from the *Madonna of St. Francis* to the *Camera di San Paolo*, and supposed accordingly that some aesthetic event, as we may call it, had occurred in the meantime –

the intervention of some force extraneous to the simple and gradual development of Correggio's art, some influence which must have been brought to bear upon it from outside. And this, it was definitely said, could have come only from Rome.

Reminiscences of Raphael and especially an impress of classicism upon the composition as a whole were detected in the *Camera di San Paolo ;* reminiscences of Michelangelo were traced in the cupola of San Giovanni, where Correggio's apostles were found to be closely related to the figures of the Sistine Chapel. Nor was this discovery limited to a general affinity in conception and figurative expression; it embraced technique as well.

Then, passing on from impressions of a general nature to points of detail, it was found that some of the chiaroscuro subjects represented in the Camera – for example, the *Satyr* blowing a trumpet, *Ceres, Ino Leucothea,* and *Chastity* (plates LXXIII to LXXVI) – were little less than copies of some of the stucco ornaments in the *Loggie* of Raphael, and, lastly, that the pairs of *putti* painted at the top of the pilasters supporting the cupola of San Giovanni were imitated from the pairs of *putti* painted on the sides of the seats of the Sistine Prophets and Sibyls.

Now do these observations, noteworthy in part as they are, decide the question of Correggio's visit to Rome ?

Let us consider. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a journey to Rome was held almost indispensable to artists, as well on account of the treasures of the past as for the developments in the new art, which, thanks to a group of distinguished masters and to the patronage of popes, cardinals, and princes, continued every day to make triumphal progress. Hence artists felt a constant longing to go on pilgrimage to the world's most famous city and see whatever of beauty the past and the present had gathered there together. This event in the life of an artist offered, accordingly, a peculiar interest to his biographers, not only as an episode in his career, but also as an occasion for presenting a series of observations upon style.

Vasari has not omitted to touch upon this point in his life

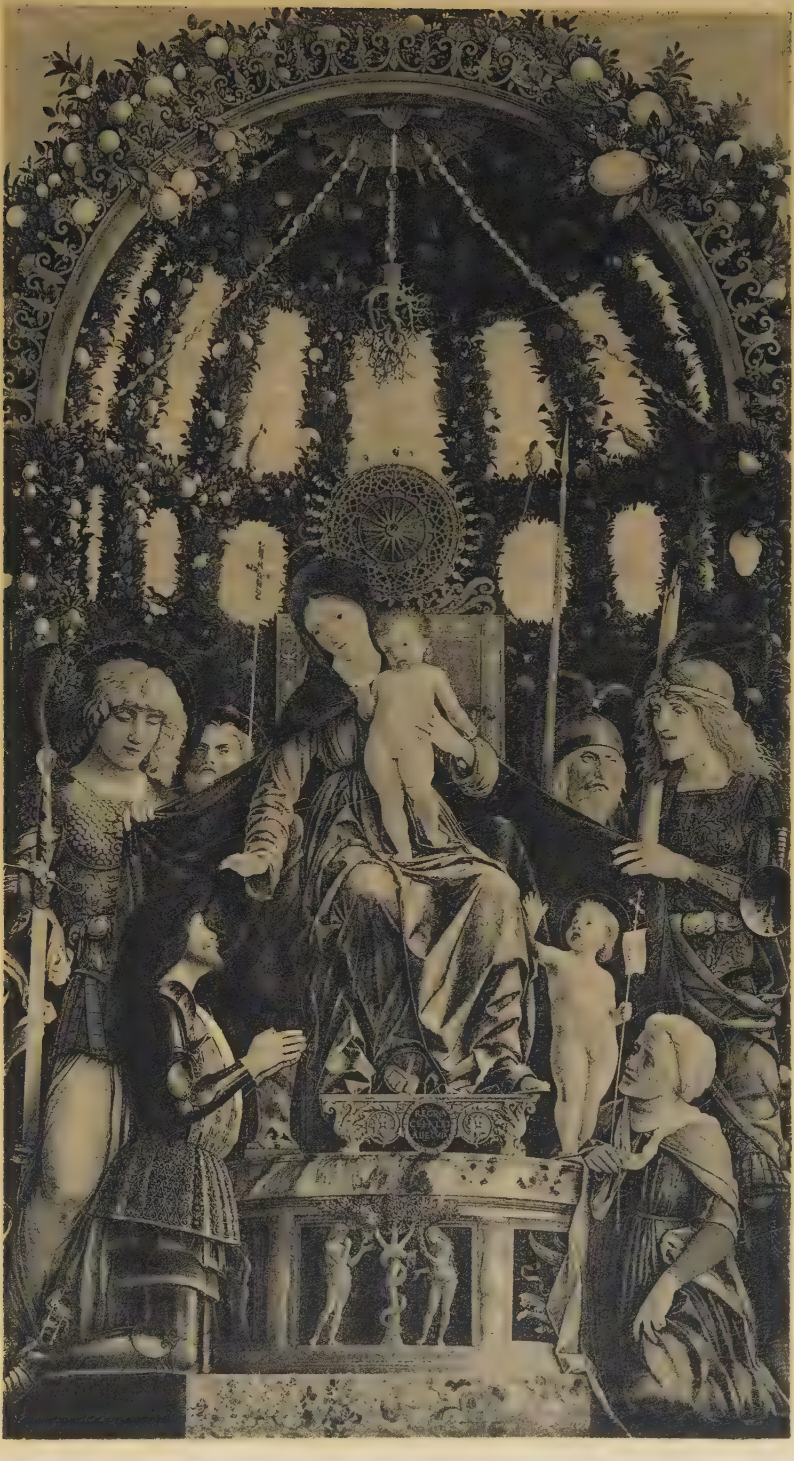
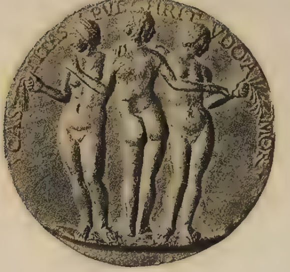


Plate 1. — ANDREA MANTEGNA. THE MADONNA OF VICTORY. Paris, Louvre, *(Photo. Alinari).*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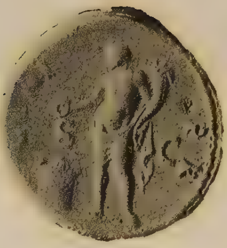
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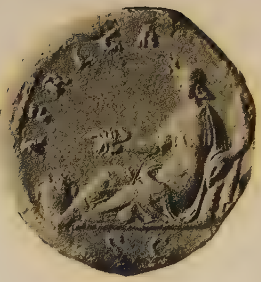
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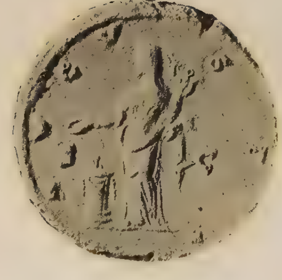
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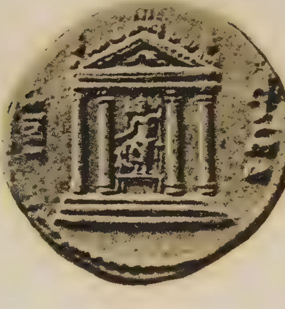
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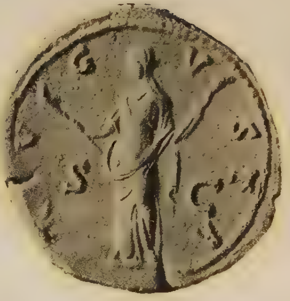
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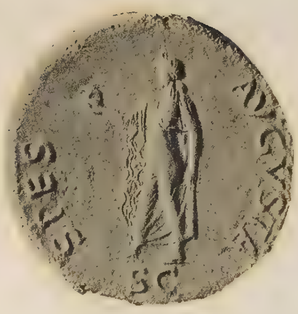
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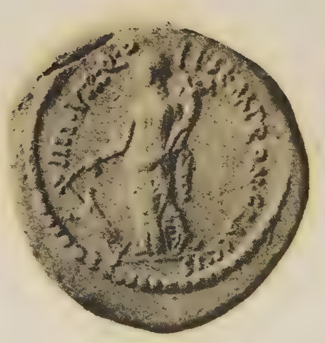
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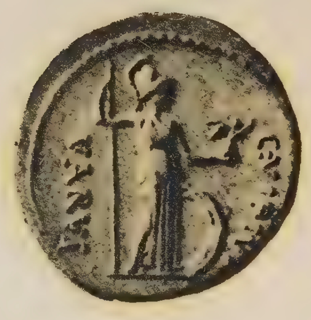
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Plate 2. — 1. MEDAL OF GIOVANNA ALBIZI TORNABUONI by Nicolò Fiorentino. — 2. GENIUS POPULI ROMANI, coin of Diocletian. — 3. AFRICA, coin of Hadrian. — 4. VESTA, coin of the Elder Faustina. — 5. TEMPLE OF JUPITER, coin of Domitian (enlarged). — 6. CERES, coin of the Elder Faustina. — 7. HOPE, coin of Claudius I. — 8. FORTUNE, coin of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (enlarged). — 9. MINERVA, coin of Vibius Varus (enlarged).

of Correggio. After lamenting that the painter never paid a visit to Rome, where "the ancient and the good modern things" were to be found, he concludes thus: "If the genius of Antonio had left Lombardy and gone to Rome, it would have worked miracles and given much ado to many who were accounted great in his day." We find the same information and the same impression shared by Ortensio Landi, who wrote in 1552 that Correggio "died young, without having been able to see Rome." Two facts should here be borne in mind. First, Vasari visited Parma, where he examined Allegri's paintings and sought information about him, in the year 1542, that is, scarcely eight years after his death; and secondly, Ortensio Landi, who was the guest of Rinaldo Corso at Correggio, besides meeting many other persons who had known the painter, saw also his son Pomponio. If Vasari and Landi had said nothing at all about the Roman journey, their silence might even have been construed as favourable to it; but they affirm explicitly and not without astonishment that Correggio never was in Rome; and we may note besides that Vasari, who liked to see all the artists of the world subject to Michelangelo, would have been only too glad, could he have done so, to record that Correggio also had felt his influence.

Suppose that Luca Cambiaso and Titian had died, like Correggio, at the age of forty-five years; neither of them would then have seen Rome, for Luca was already an old man when he went there, and Titian was close upon sixty-eight. We might in that case have applied to them the words of Landi and said that they died "without having been able to see Rome." But what, in that case, should we say of the classicism that abounds in Titian's Antwerp canvas, in his *Sacred and Profane Love*, in the *Offering to Venus*, and in other pictures painted before his visit to Rome?

Criticism, accustomed to hold history in low esteem, passes lightly over the testimony of Vasari and Landi, and makes a display of the "artistic resemblances." Now it is clear that great weight must be given to these; but is it really certain that, when they occur, they are always the result of the direct observation by one artist of the work of another ? Must we altogether exclude the possibility that identical or similar forms and motives found in the works of masters living usually at great distances from one another may be derived, not from an immediate examination of the work that inspired them, but from the drawings and prints which were carried from place to place during the Renaissance with the same ease and frequency as at every other period of time ? According to Bellori, it was solely by means of portable drawings that Barocci gained a first acquaintance with Correggio's manner and drew inspiration from it. "There arrived," he says, "one day in Urbino a painter returning from Parma with various pieces of cartoons and a number of heads divinely painted in pastel by the hand of Correggio. Federico was taken by that manner of painting, so beautiful and so entirely suited to his own genius, and began himself to draw in pastel from the life. These drawings of Correggio (and others made by Federico) have been seen in Rome in the study of Signor Francesco Bene, a gentleman of Urbino." It matters not whether the drawings here mentioned were originals or copies; the fact remains that Barocci found in them not only matter for admiration but also a source of inspiration.

Moreover, Venturi himself reminds us that it was from a print of Marco Dente that Correggio drew the actual design, far more than a mere suggestion, for the Boston *Venus Pricked by the Thorn* (plate xxx). And a print representing a pair of the *putti* painted by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel *might* have given Correggio the idea for his pairs of *putti* painted at the summit of the pilasters of the cupola of San Giovanni at Parma, if it were permissible to ascribe figures so poor in design, modelling, and execution to the hand of the Master. The *putti* are repeated ten times, in correspondence with the pilasters, upon the frieze of the nave. It should be noted that not only is this frieze the work of pupils, but that Correggio did not even draw the design, as is proved by various sheets of it still extant. Passing from the influence of Michelangelo to that of Raphael, we must not forget that, besides the multitude of drawings, copies, and prints disseminated by Raphael's admirers throughout the length and breadth of Italy, our artist had ample opportunity in Emilia itself to see two of his finest works, the *St. Cecilia* at Bologna and the *Madonna of San Sisto* at Piacenza.

For our part, on the contrary, we fail to see any trace of exclusively Roman reminiscences in the imitation reliefs of the lunettes. They are to be regarded as pictorial far more than sculptural expressions, especially the group of the *Graces* and that of the *Fates*, and almost all the subjects are in reality taken from medals or from ancient coins. It is impossible to count the number or to describe the attainments of the scholars and artists devoted to the study of antiquities and numismatics who flourished during the Renaissance in Emilia. Leandro Alberti, writing in 1550 or thereabouts, says of a shoemaker of Bologna: " Giacomo Renieri is still living, who, being a shoemaker, collected so many medals of gold, silver, and metal, that it is a great marvel to consider how a shoemaker was able to spend so great a sum in gathering together such noble medals." And Ireneo Affò gives a number of details bearing more closely upon our subject: " When Taddeo Ugoleto, the poet of Parma, and famous antiquary, formerly librarian to Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, died in 1518, there were found in his cabinets two hundred and sixty-six ancient medals of silver, alloy, and bronze, together with various cornelians and cameos, as appears from the inventory of his property which I myself recently discovered. Other Museums of medals in this city were those of Bernardo Bergonzi and Giorgio Anselmi; and the Prati, the Baiardi, and other worthy gentlemen of Parma were also diligent collectors of medals and the like antiquities. Moreover, our coins stamped in 1522 with the image of *Victory* taken from medals cast by our good goldsmiths and minters, the brothers Da Gonzate, sufficiently prove that at Parma there was not merely knowledge but a praiseworthy imitation of the antique. In this art our craftsmen the Bonzagni were greatly skilled, and afterwards they became so famous for their imitation of medals that, according to the saying of the learned Enea Vico, any man who was not well versed therein was easily deceived. Now from the medals which he had seen or had obtained knowledge of through others, Correggio might well have gathered together the inventions which he transferred later to the said lunettes; these being probably recommended to him by the above mentioned Giorgio Anselmi. A man of letters and an excellent poet, Anselmi must have enjoyed great familiarity with the convent of S. Paolo, since his daughter was professed there in the year 1518."

Leaving Affò's final conjecture on one side, no doubt whatever can be entertained that most of the subjects in the lunettes were taken by Correggio from ancient coins or Quattrocento medals (see plate, page 56). He may have seen the naked *Graces* – the subject which received such great pictorial development at his hands – either upon the medal of Giovanna Albizi Tornabuoni or, more probably, on that of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, both modelled by Nicolò Fiorentino. Nicolò, it is true, drew his inspiration from a group discovered in Rome at the time of Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, but already before the close of the fifteenth century this group had been transferred to Siena. Similarly, the contour of Correggio's *Adonis* may have been suggested by a very common form of Roman statue, which had been translated before his time into *Constantia*, on some of the medals of Guazzalotti and Cristoforo di Geremia. We now come to very different instances, which admit of no hesitation. The *Genius Populi Romani* (according to some, *Bonus Eventus*) (plate LXVI) – naked, with draperies just passing behind his left ankle and caught up by his left hand which holds the horn of plenty, while with his right hand he pours water from a shallow cup upon the fire of a round altar – is an exact copy of a coin of Titus and of another of Nero, which were followed also by Adriano Fiorentino in his medal of Sannazzaro. Still more astonishing must appear the derivation of *Africa* (according to some, the *Earth* or *Summer*) (plate LXVII) from one of Hadrian's coins. The figure is shown upon the coin exactly as we see it in the fresco – stretched out with the bust raised, the horn of plenty in her left hand and the scorpion in the right, the "*ureus*" on her head, and the basket with the ears of corn at her feet. *Ceres* (plate LXXIV) is copied from a coin of the elder Faustina. There is no difference between the goddess as modelled upon the coin and as painted in the fresco except that the former holds two torches instead of a torch and an apple. *Vesta* (plate LXIX) is a copy, with slight modifications in form, of a coin of Diocletian. *Chastity* (plate LXXVI) is derived from the *Spes Augusta* of a coin of the first Claudius, showing the veil slightly lifted and allowing a glimpse of flexible and comely limbs. The gait and pose are identical. So, too, *Fortune* (plate LXXVIII), with her horn of plenty and her rudder resting upon the globe, is taken from a *denarius* of Domitian, or from other coins of Claudius, Vespasian, Marcus Aurelius, and Caracalla; and *Minerva* (plate LXXIX), shown in profile, from a coin of the Roman Republic which Vittore Gambello reproduced in his medal of Cornelio Castaldo.

To a few of the figures in the lunettes – *Juno Punished* (plate LXVIII) the *Philosopher* (plate LXX), and the *Fates* (plate LXXII) – no parallel in antique objects has as yet been found; they may be borrowed from cameos now lost or be merely pictorial expressions in chiaroscuro without any definite reference to sculpture at all. We see, therefore, in regard to Correggio's alleged imitation of the stucco ornaments in the Vatican *Loggie*, that his *Chastity* is derived from a coin of Claudius, and his *Ceres* from a coin of the elder Faustina. And is it not well known that satyrs playing upon instruments were common in reliefs and statues ? How can we suppose that *Ino Leucothea* (plate LXXIII) was suggested by a simple stucco representing a woman walking, when the characteristic detail of the infant held out like a ball is entirely missing in the last?

Nevertheless, since it is not possible, however much one may wish to be guided by artistic impressions, to ignore history, let us briefly consider our dates. According to our view, Correggio decorated the *Camera di San Paolo* in 1518. Others, in order to allow time for the visit to Rome, carry the date forward to 1519; but this is a point of small importance. The first Vatican *Loggia* was finished, we find, precisely during the summer of 1519. An entry in the account books during the month of June registers a present made to Raphael's assistants, and on June 16 Baldassarre Castiglione writes to Isabella d'Este that "A *Loggia*, painted and worked in stucco after the antique manner, the handiwork of Raphael, has now been finished."

How, then, we ask, was it possible for our artist to see the *Loggia*, study it, and copy certain parts of it; to return to Parma and there complete the vast, laborious, and careful decoration of the *Camera di San Paolo;* then to return home and remain there, transacting business in Correggio on September 4 and 15, and being looked for and found at home by the archpriest of Albinea on October 14, and in 1520 to begin his great frescoes in San Giovanni Evangelista?

Naturally, even in such a case as this an attempt is made to save the situation. Raphael (we are told) was so courteous that he welcomed Correggio as an old friend, took him up on to the scaffolding, and allowed him to make copies of certain stucco ornaments upon which Giovanni of Udine was working. Touching scene of artistic fraternity, and all the more admirable in those days when (as every one knows) painters shut themselves up jealously in their work! But what can be said of a criticism that has to use such sentimental props?

And now let us have leave to ask, how should a man of such marvellous genius as was our artist – a man of pictorial ideas so vast, of sensations so prompt and keen – how should such a man go on pilgrimage to Rome, where ancient and contemporary civilization were displayed then as they are displayed to-day in all their most grandiose, solemn, and powerful forms, and there waste time in copying feeble motives from the stucco work of Giovanni of Udine? There is not one of all Correggio's many drawings preserved in public and private collections that shows the slightest sketch or hint of Roman things. Nay, when in the *Camera di San Paolo* he desires to represent the *Temple of Jupiter* (plate LXXI) he draws none – we say *none* – of the solemn temples of Rome, but confines himself to reproducing a small temple with four small columns, a pediment surmounted by three pinnacles, and the statuette of the deity seen through the doorway–exactly as the subject is represented within the brief space of the coins of Claudius, Vespasian, Domitian, Marcus Aurelius, and Caracalla. Or had he need perhaps to betake himself to Rome, in order to find that figure of Diana seated on the rim of a chariot drawn by two horses, a figure which he had been able to see a thousand times upon an ancient relief at Mantua ?

The necessity under which critics have laboured of using every possible argument in order to support their theory of Correggio's visit to Rome has resulted in their seeing the influence of Michelangelo and Raphael even in the technical execution of his frescoes. It is, however absolutely different and particularly so in the *Camera di San Paolo*, which ought, if it had been decorated immediately after this supposed journey, to have shown a greater nearness to Roman examples and not have the shadows treated according to the Lombard manner. Nor should it be forgotten that, when they bid us remark Correggio's affinities with the decoration of the Vatican *Loggie*, critics carefully abstain from apprising us of the fact that in not one work of Correggio is there to be found the slightest trace of grotesques and vertical arabesques. Yet even the criticism most wholeheartedly in favour of Correggio's Roman pilgrimage finds itself at a certain point forced to say and say again that Vatican influences were soon overcome by the painter's genius, that his memories of Rome grew distant and suffered shipwreck in the personal character of the artist, whose colours very soon showed a marked difference from those ground with the waters of the Tiber. No such dampers are needed for the chords of the critic who even in considering the *Camera di San Paolo* turns towards Mantua and Mantegna – sources of *romanità* from which Correggio might well have drawn his inspiration. Then he sees that the rustic shed with its oval compartments comes from the picture of the *Madonna of Victory*, and the bunches of fruit and leafage and the chiaroscuro paintings of pagan subjects from the *Camera degli Sposi*. Here in this very saloon are the plump, vivacious *putti*, from whose company Correggio has taken his own, only giving them greater proportions and freer movement. And a drawing in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford shows us how carefully he observed and studied their foreshortenings. Meyer, too, has remarked that the small *genii* supporting the label placed above the door in the *Camera degli Sposi* are the real precursors of Correggio's *putti.*

For all these reasons, therefore, we cannot consider it worthy of prudent criticism to state as a fact admitting no discussion that Correggio visited Rome, and, in so doing, to refuse all credence to Vasari and Landi, who obtained their information concerning him at a time when the artist was but lately dead.

PAINTINGS OF THE MAGDALENE.

After completing the decoration of the *Camera di San Paolo,* Correggio left Parma and went back to his native town. There he spent almost the whole of the year 1519, returning to Parma in 1520 in order to execute the paintings in San Giovanni Evangelista. There are, as we have seen, various documents showing that from January to October, 1519, the painter was at Correggio. To this year we should perhaps assign the following paintings: the *St. Jerome* (plate LXXX) now in Madrid, a nude figure in a wood, seated at a desk, and contemplating a skull placed upon a book; the *Holy Family with St. James* (plate LXXXI) at Hampton Court, with the Child stretching out His hand towards the Saint in the act of blessing, while St. Joseph regards Him with an expression of sweet complacency; and the Orleans *Holy Family* (plate LXXXII), in which the Child takes a cross from the hands of the little St. John, while His Mother and St. Joseph look on thoughtfully, as if overcome by sad forebodings. To these must be added the *Young Man Fleeing from the Seizure of Christ* (plate LXXXIII) and the triptych of the *Humanity of Christ,* (plate LXXXVI) of which we have already spoken, the London *School of Love* (plate LXXXIV), and, it is believed, the Dresden *Magdalene* (plate LXXXV). In the *School of Love* the wings given by the artist to Venus, as he had already given them

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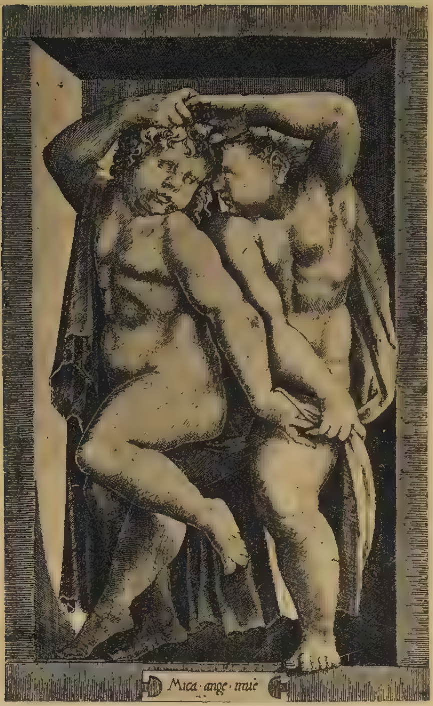

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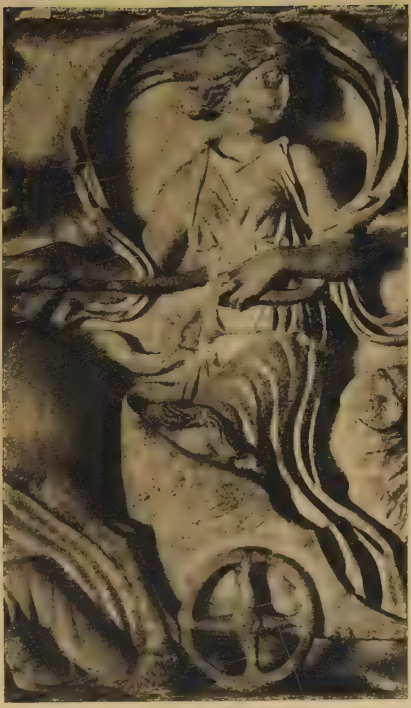
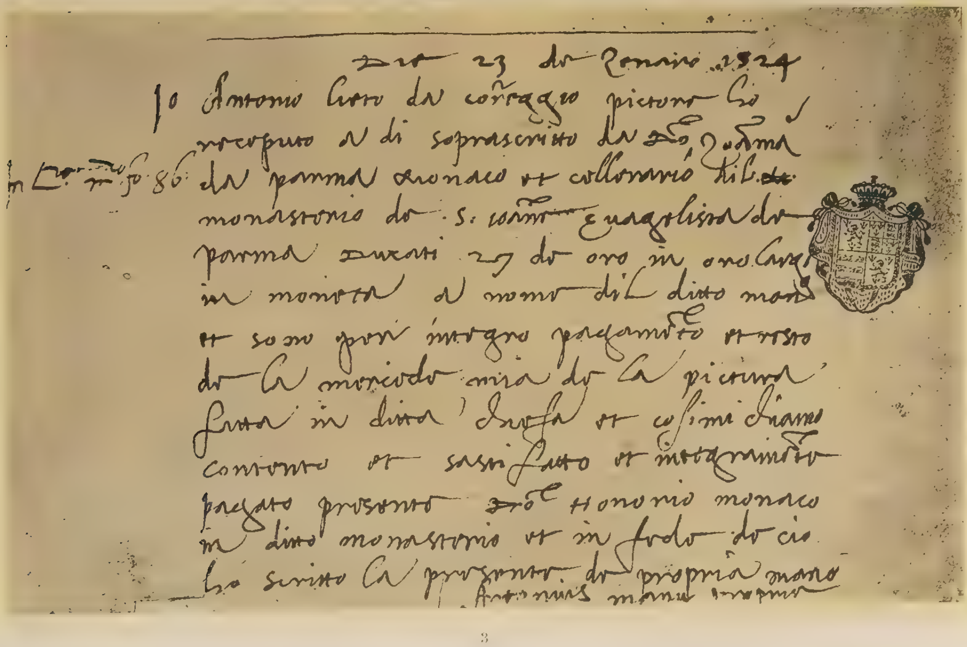
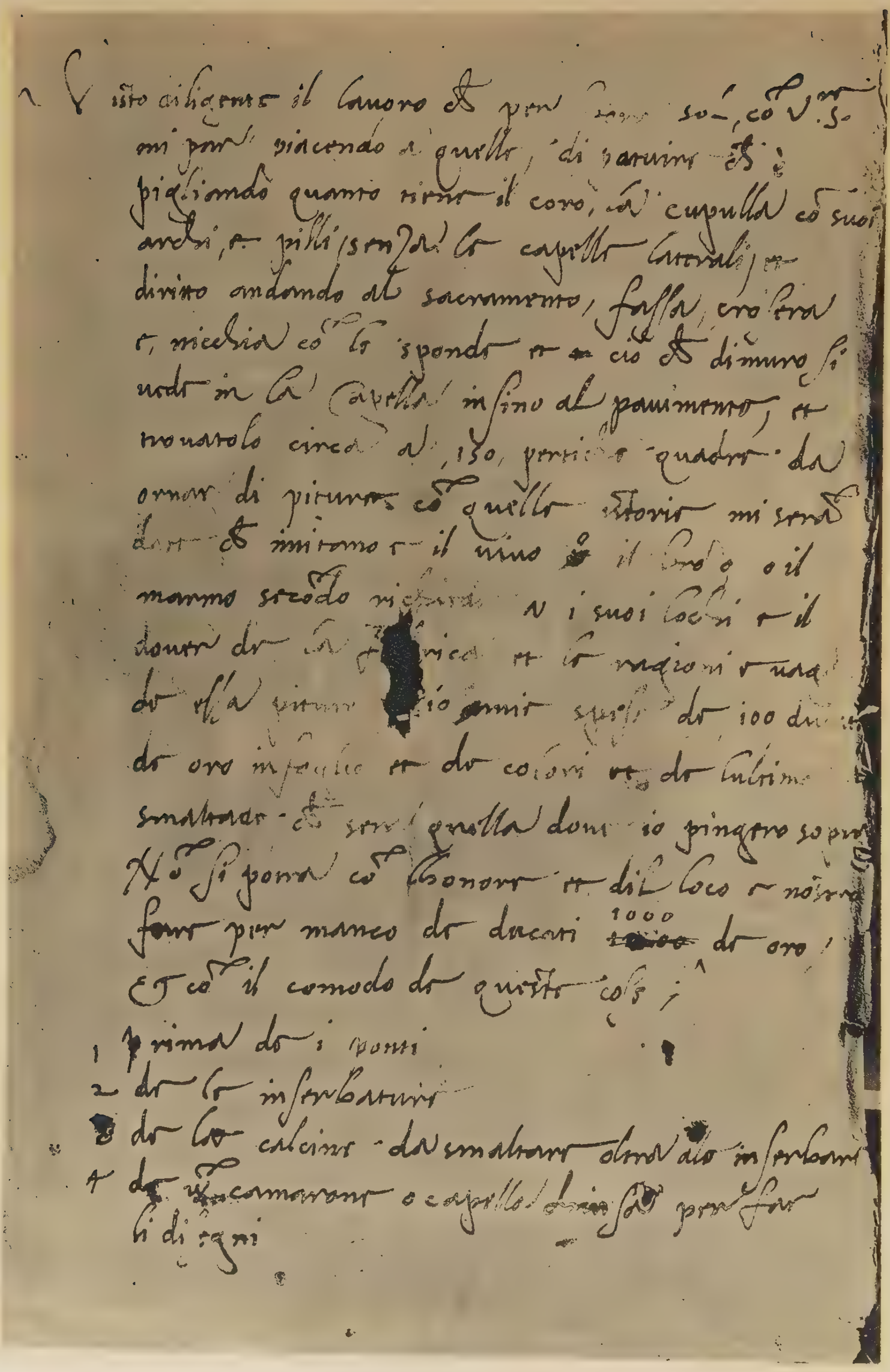




Die 23 de Zenaro 1524
Io Antonio Lieto da Correggio pictore ho
recevuto al di soprascritto da Don Zoanne
In [illegible] fo 86 da parma monaco et cellerario dil ~~de~~
monasterio de S. Zoanne Evangelista de
parma ducati 27 de oro in oro larghi
in moneta al numero dil ditto mon.
et sono per integro pagamento et resto
de la mercede mia de la pictura
fatta in ditta chiesa et cosi me chiamo
contento et satisfatto et integramente
pagato presente Don Honorio monaco
in ditto monasterio et in fede de cio
ho scritto la presente de propria mano
Antonius manu propria

3

Plate 3. — 1. TWO PUTTI from the Sistine Chapel (print). — 2. DIANA SEATED UPON THE RIM OF A CHARIOT. from a relief in the Ducal Palace at Mantua. — 3. Autograph receipt of Correggio for payment of the paintings executed in S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma (Palatine Library, Parma).



Visto diligente il lavoro che per [illegible] so–, co V. S.
mi pare, piacendo a quelle, di servirle et è
pigliando quanto tiene il coro, la cupulla co suoi
archi, e pilli, senza le capelle laterali, et
diritto andando al sacramento, fassa, crostra
e nicchia co le sponde et ciò che di muro si
vede in la capella insino al pavimento, et
trovarolo circa di ,150, pertiche quadre da
ornar di pitura co quelle storie mi seran
date et intorno o il vivo o il bronzo o il
marmo secondo richiede ai suoi lochi e il
dover de la f[illegible]rica et le ragioni usar
de essa pitura [illegible]io metterò spesa de 100 du[illegible]
de oro in foglie et de colori et de l'altrime
smaltare che serà quella dove io pingerò sopra
Non si porrà co honore et del loco e nostro
fare per manco de ducati ~~[illegible]~~ 1000 de oro;
Et co il comodo de queste cose;
1 prima de i ponti
2 de le inferiature
3 de la calcine da smaltare oltra alo inferlare
4 de ~~[illegible]~~ camarone o capella ~~[illegible]~~ dove possa far
li disegni

Plate 4. — Autograph contract drawn up by Correggio for the paintings in Parma Cathedral (Archives, Parma)

to the *Fates*, form a singular feature, due, it may be, to a desire to give a visible token of deity to the figure. Mercury, seated before her and covered only by his *petasus*, his gilded buskins, and a strip of his blue mantle, holds in the left hand supported on his knee a scroll covered with writing which Love is trying to read. We are present, it appears, at a family scene belonging to the happy time when Mercury won the affection and favour of the goddess, and made her the mother of Hermaphroditus. Nor could Love have found a better master than Mercury: not, indeed, for the sublime sciences which Mercury was held to have discovered, but for the wiles and delightful fables which also had been invented by him. Though Mercury is here very young, yet his limbs are strong, and not slender as they were often represented in allusion to his elasticity and swiftness in running. Love, with his wings iridescent like those of a newly-fledged bird, and with his knees slightly bent, is the most graceful figure in the picture. The pose he has taken in order to read better has something of that pleasing grotesqueness that makes children adorable.

Full of warm blandishments and beauty, the art of Correggio has always seemed that best fitted to give life and grace to the figure of St. Mary Magdalene, a figure which he has repeated many times in his paintings, either grouped with others or alone. At first a modest apparition in the *Jesus Taking Leave of His Mother* (plate XVI), then in the *Madonna of Albinea* (plate XXXIX) more self-assured, and in the *Noli me tangere* (plate CXLIX) lovely and appealing, she triumphs in all her splendour and amorous impulsiveness in the *Madonna of St. Jerome* (plates CLIX to CLXII). In the small London picture she is represented alone; so too, in another work, now lost, belonging to the artist's maturity. Veronica Gambara wrote to Isabella Gonzaga on September 3, 1528, the following words: " I should think myself greatly wanting in my duty towards Your Excellency, if I neglected to send you tidings concerning the master-piece of painting which our M. Antonio has lately finished, especially as I know that Your Excellency, having very great understanding of such matters, will find delight therein, He represents the Magdalene, retired into the wilderness and dwelling in a horrid grot in order to do penance, kneeling at the right side of her retreat with hands joined and raised to heaven, imploring the pardon of her sins. The beautiful attitude, the noble and lively grief manifested in her lovely countenance, make her an object of wonder to all that behold her. In this work M. Antonio has expressed the sublimity of the art whereof he is master."

While this painting has been lost and is therefore forgotten, the Dresden *Magdalene* enjoyed and still enjoys such great celebrity that we know no fewer than thirty copies.

Nevertheless, Giovanni Morelli, setting himself in opposition to the general enthusiasm and to all tradition, wrote that the Dresden *Magdalene* was not discovered before the beginning of the eighteenth century; that this spick and span, mincing figure is the work of no Italian but of a foreign artist who worked towards the end of the seventeenth or even at the beginning of the eighteenth century; that no painter painted on copper before the close of the Cinquecento; that the picture when considered in detail recalls Adriaen van der Werff, betraying his influence in the colouring – especially in the strident, iridescent ultramarine of the mantle; in details of the landscape – especially in the leaves and the minute imitation of the pebbles; and in details of the figure – especially in the long finger-nails with bold lighting at the tip where they are cut; and, lastly, that the cracks and splits in the picture are of exactly the same character as those in the pictures of Van der Werff. Then, overcome by a slight doubt, he adds: "It will perhaps be conceded that, if not the work of Van der Werff himself, this picture belongs at all events to a contemporary and fellow townsman of his; but in no case is it the work of an Italian artist, and, least of all, the work of an Italian artist who painted during the first three decades of the sixteenth century." He admits, however, in conclusion that the picture may have been painted by a northern artist after an original by the Carracci.

Now numerous copies, exact counterparts of the Dresden picture, are in existence, and belong unquestionably to the first half of the seventeenth century, and perhaps even to the close of the sixteenth. The copy in the Uffizi Gallery, which was formerly ascribed to Bronzino, is one of these. Moreover history contradicts the opinion expressed by Morelli in the passage just quoted. Van der Werff, whom he names at first as the author of the painting, was born in 1659. Even if we refuse to admit that the copy of a *Magdalene Lying upon the Ground*, painted by Feti after Correggio and mentioned twice in the Gonzaga Correspondence of the year 1627 — thirty-two years before the birth of Van der Werff – was a reproduction of the Dresden picture, we still have the entry in the Farnese Inventory of 1680 which records the *Magdalene* of the latter painting with absolute precision and with the measurements found in almost all the copies: " A painting on wood. Height 5 *on.* Breadth 6 *on.* Saint Mary Magdalene lying in a grotto, with one hand under the book and the other hand, which holds the book, on her head. By Correggio." And that this picture was itself a copy is shown by the Farnese Catalogue, where it is said that it " comes from Correggio."

As to the painting on copper at Dresden, it is certain that it was already in existence before this time and formed part of the Este collection at Modena, whence it was subsequently taken to Dresden. This is proved by the fact that in 1682 a certain Simon Selmi requested leave to copy it there. Moreover, the ancient celebrity of the painting is attested by the great number of copies to be found in public galleries and in private houses, some of them being undoubtedly the work of the seventeenth century, and also by the persistence with which inventories and catalogues ascribe them to Correggio.

That the Dresden picture is the real original, however, we do not feel ourselves able to affirm. It is, indeed, impossible to deny a certain minuteness in the execution, a certain shrill vivacity in the blue mantle, and certain weaknesses in form – look, for example, at the feet. Nor can the singularity of the picture being painted upon copper be ignored; this practice having only been adopted at a later period, so far as we can judge from the evidence offered by hundreds of examples. Thus, while we feel convinced that the subject comes from Correggio, we are left in perplexity concerning the " originalness " of the Dresden picture; and we suspect that it may be a copy – ancient, beautiful, fine (perhaps too fine) and careful (perhaps too careful), but still a copy and, probably, Bolognese.

THE CUPOLA OF S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA AT PARMA.

During the first months of 1520 Correggio returned to Parma. Perhaps the certainty that his work for the Benedictines meant a long absence, and would deprive him of the comfort of life at home with his parents, induced the artist to hasten on his marriage, which certainly took place about this time. The bride was Girolama Merlini. Born in the spring of 1503, she was thus a girl of barely seventeen years when she married Correggio. Girolama's father was Bartolomeo Merlini dei Braghetis, a gentleman bearing arms; her mother was Antonia Bellesia, daughter of a well-to-do country family. Bartolomeo had died when Girolama was only seven months old. By his wife Correggio had a son and three daughters.

In 1519 the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista was finished, and Bernardino of Torchiara had the walls of the nave and the cupola plastered.

At what date did Correggio begin to paint in the church ? We find from the Monastery Books that on July 6, 1520, thirty gold ducats were paid to him " as a beginning of payment for the painting of the cupola," for which the Benedictines had agreed to pay him sums *from time to time* up to a total of one hundred and thirty gold ducats. From the list of the various paintings set out below this statement we learn that the contract was as follows: The artist was to paint the vault of the apse for 65 ducats; to gild or cause to be gilded the frieze and the cornices for 5 ducats; to work the *mazze* of the pilasters of the cupola and decorate their shafts for 6 ducats; and, lastly, to paint the frieze round " the body of the church " – that is, round the nave – together with the pilasters, archivolts, and "every other place" for 66 ducats, according to his agreement with Father Basilio on the Feast of All Saints, 1522. Thus the total expense which the Benedictines had to pay for all the frescoes amounted to two hundred and seventy-two ducats. The interim payments continued until the beginning of 1524, when Correggio gave a final receipt in these terms: " I, Antonio Lieto, of Correggio, painter, have received on this twenty-third day of January, 1524, from D. Zoa. Mª. of Parma, monk and cellarer of the monastery of S. Zovane Evangelista of Parma, 7 ducats of gold in large gold coin, in the name of the said monastery. And they are for payment in full and the balance of my wages for the painting done in the said Church, and hereby I declare myself content and satisfied and paid in full. In the presence of D. Honorio, monk of the said monastery, and in witness hereof I have written this declaration with my own hand."

We find no mention of the lunette with *St. John the Evangelist* (plate CXXXVIII), nor of the two paintings on canvas representing *The Deposition from the Cross* (plate CXLI) and *St. Placidus* (plates CXXXIX-CXL) among the many works executed by Correggio in San Giovanni. The reason for the omission of the two last may perhaps be that they were painted at the charges of private persons.

Family quarrels which caused considerable annoyance to Correggio, and the political events which at this time burst upon Parma prevented the frescoes from proceeding with the rapidity and continuity desired by the monks no less than by the artist himself.

After the famous victory of September 13, 1515, by which Francis I conquered the Duchy of Milan, Parma and Piacenza fell into his hands. Leo X at first pretended resignation to an inevitable destiny, but in 1521, ill supporting the loss of two important cities, he entered into an alliance with Charles V, the Duke of Mantua, and Florence, on the understanding that he was to be allowed to retake Parma and Piacenza, and to rid Ferrara of the House of Este. These agreements and negotiations, however, were not conducted with such great secrecy but that rumours of them reached the ears of Lautrec, Governor-General in Lombardy for the French King. Lautrec, accordingly, increased the garrison of Parma, and proceeded to occupy Busseto and the state of Cristoforo Pallavicino. Soon afterwards Prospero Colonna, the *condottiere* of the allied forces, marched upon Parma, and by the end of July had already fixed his camp at the bridge over the Enza. The French, however, kept too much on the defensive for Prospero to attempt a decisive stroke, and the Parma garrison was strengthened by the arrival of Federico Gonzaga, Lord of Bozzolo, with five thousand Italian foot, and of Thomas Foix, Sieur of Lescun, with four hundred "lances" of cavalry. The attempt of the allies having been thus foiled, they diverted the main body of their forces against Milan, which fell. Cremona now rose up in arms against the French yoke, thus compelling the royal troops to evacuate Parma and hasten to quell the revolt. Parma was scarcely free of the French garrison, when Vitello Vitelli, on the march from Modena to Piacenza in command of a small contingent of Papal forces, chanced to pass near. To the citizens of Parma Vitelli appeared as a messenger sent from heaven in order to free them from French tyranny, and they welcomed him within their walls. In this way Parma returned to the Apostolic See, and Francesco Guicciardini was sent by the Pope to receive the city's oath of allegiance and to act as Governor.

But the troubles of Parma were not yet over. When Francesco Gonzaga saw that the way of return was barred, he determined upon a bold plan. On December 20 he appeared unexpectedly below the walls of Parma and began to bombard them with his artillery. At the first shots the citizens were panic-stricken, and, in spite of the Governor's courageous exhortations, they were on the point of deciding to surrender. But the memory of past torments and the example shown by the slender garrison, which continued to maintain its ground before the aggressors, revived their confidence and with it their valour. Nobles, populace, clergy, even the women hurried to the walls, where they fought with a heroism worthy of their ancestors until Gonzaga, beaten and discouraged by the losses of his men, sought refuge in flight.

Correggio was not in Parma while these events were taking place. Writers, therefore, who inform us that he returned home "in order to avoid the disquieting tumult of the siege," assert what is untrue. A reference to the dates will at once establish that at the outbreak of the war he was already at Correggio, where he naturally remained until hostilities were over.

In April, 1521, he was paid various sums by the Benedictines on account of his work, and in the middle of the following May he received the diploma of confraternity and communion in spiritual goods with the Cassinese Congregation. The so-called "Letter of Grace" on this occasion was addressed "*egregio Viro Magistro Antonio Laeto de Corigia.*" The artist was already at Correggio in July, before Prospero Colonna made his appearance on the banks of the Enza; and there on July 26 he entered into possession of his wife's dowry. On September 18 he revoked a power of attorney granted to Francesco degli Affarosi for his lawsuit against Romanello degli Aromani, who disputed his right to the property left to him by his maternal uncle, and on November 8 he acted as witness to a document drawn up by the notary Nicolò Mazzucchi. On December 10 a judgment pronounced by Sigismondo Augustoni, one of the two judges of the Court of Correggio, placed him in possession of the land made over to him by Francesco Aromani's deed of gift; but the second judge, Ascanio Merli, ruled that this decision was out of order, annulled the trial, and ordered Allegri to pay the costs.

Although disturbances and dangers at Parma ceased with the end of the year, we do not find that the artist returned there immediately. It is, besides, improbable that during the winter months he would have resumed painting in a church so dark as San Giovanni; and cold and damp created endless annoyances and hindrances, especially to a painter who worked in fresco. Payments only begin again on April 18, 1522, and then continue throughout the summer. In the course of this year – during which (on September 3) his son Pomponio was born, and he was obliged to work with the greatest fervour, particularly in the autumn –

Correggio received orders for two works of great importance, the "*Night*" (plate CLVII) and the frescoes of the Cathedral of Parma. The agreement for the first of these took him to Reggio on October 14; the agreement for the latter was drawn up on November 2. These two commissions indicate that his work for the Benedictines had already met with general approval. At the beginning of 1523 family affairs compelled him to go back to Correggio. On this occasion, however, his stay was brief. On January 26 he was present at a division of certain property between his wife and her uncle, Giovanni Merlini, but shortly afterwards the artist was able to return to his tranquil labours at Parma, nor does it appear that he left it again until the beginning of 1525.

When Dante went down among the giants imprisoned in the Ninth Circle of his *Inferno* and beheld them emerging in half their stature from the edge of the whirlpool, he likens them to the towers of the rounded walls that encircle Monteriggioni. Look at the cupola of the Benedictine Church and Dante's image will arise up at once before your mind.

The gigantic figures of eleven Apostles, twice life-size and variously grouped, are seated upon clouds in a circle, linked together by a restless multitude of florid *putti*. In the midst of a radiant glory of young angels, gradually disappearing from sight into the golden light above, the Redeemer ascends to heaven, contemplated by the Evangelist of Patmos who kneels in an attitude of wonder and worship.

In these few lines the description of the cupola is complete, so great is its solemn simplicity, but to investigate each part of it we should need far different space. Strong now in the possession of forms and expressions, sure in the magic of colour and sentiment, the artist at the age of barely thirty years breaks the chains in which decorative painting had until now been fettered, and is the first to invade an immense expanse with a single composition. How could he express the grandeur of his argument in a limited spatial field, or give the sweep of apocalyptic rapture in the motionless ecstasy of saints calmly set in line and bounded by a frame?

From the highest point of Mount Patmos, the aged St. John, with beard and hair "white like wool," raises his lightning glance from the book that rests upon the wings of the symbolic eagle. He thinks of Jesus, and of his fellow-apostles now dead. He only is left of the heroes who heard the words of the Messiah and carried them to the ends of the earth. But rapture turns thought to vision; he sees them all in the light of heaven, and, parting his wrinkled, trembling hands, falls upon his knees at the sight of the ascending God. The figure of "One like unto the Son of Man" is clothed with a white garment, because "He that overcometh shall be clad in white raiment; His eyes are like unto a flame of fire, His feet are like fine brass tried in the furnace, and His Voice is as the sound of many waters."

The heads of the Redeemer and of St. John both present Mantegnesque traits, but with greater breadth in drawing and colouring. There is a certain resemblance between them, except that the head of the Redeemer reveals a calm joy in having overcome the World and Death, whereas that of St. John manifests the amazement of one who beholds a supernatural sight. The figure of St. John, however, is not well placed; it remains behind the spectator who looks at the figure of Christ according to the perspective and, as its feet rest upon the cornice, it is half covered up by it and so almost invariably escapes the notice of observers.

The art of the Renaissance can show few works more powerful than this cupola, in conception, expression, and execution. Grandiose as they are, the figures of the Redeemer and the Apostles display a just measurement in their muscular proportions, without falling into excess or into weakness. Michelangelo, by giving value to anatomical relief, obtained dignity and muscular vigour, but he created a school which ended, as Benvenuto Cellini said of Bandinello, in making "sacks of pumpkins" instead of figures. Correggio's sober handling creates force and "terribleness" without diminishing beauty. He gives us no disordered pose, no action unsuited to the great spirits who spread abroad the word of God. Their nudes have lost the stiff and timid composure of the Quattrocento, and have reached the maximum of vigour and development, yet the high decorousness that befits the figures of Apostles is not lost nor in any way impaired.

In the solidity of their sound and radiant forms, the crowd of angel-children, no longer mystically still, achieve a perfect harmony with these colossal beings. Their small bodies move and intertwine in faultless accord with the calm giants, precisely because they show already corresponding forms, and hold out a promise that, when they grow, they, too, will be equally strong and full of vigour.

The liquid colouring of the flesh, as though there were blood flowing beneath the epidermis of the painting, the gleaming gaze of the thoughtful Apostles, the vivacity in the eyes and smile of the restless *putti*, the motion of the wind stirring in their fair curls and in the streaming beards and hair and mantles of the Saints – all combine in kindling the fire of life which glows in this marvellous vision.

Below the Apostles, in spaces interposed between the small windows, Correggio has repeated the symbols of the Four Evangelists in chiaroscuro upon the border running round the cupola, surrounding them with a varied decoration of bands and ornaments. There were, we read in the Apocalypse, four beasts. The first was like unto a lion, the second was like unto an ox, the third had the face of a man, and the fourth was like a flying eagle. Here the symbols do not appear inert and isolated as in earlier sculpture and painting, but are associated in pairs and animated by feelings of mutual affection. First, the Angel of St. Matthew embraces the Eagle of St. John. Then in another space the Eagle lays his beak against the muzzle of the winged Ox, the emblem of St. Luke, and the Ox lies down quietly before him. Next the Ox reappears together with the Lion of St. Mark, caressing his head with his own; and, lastly, the Angel embraces the Lion. The spirit of Correggio, determined to give life and movement to every object, is thus revealed even in this border which is almost completely hidden from the spectator who looks up at the cupola from below.

In the eight angles formed by the contact of the arches with the cornice are painted eight *putti* (plates XCIX to CVI), lying upon the cornice and holding either branches of palm or festoons of leaves and fruit – figures of exquisite loveliness, and with their faces illumined by sweetest smiles.

Each of the pendentives of the cupola shows an Evangelist and a Doctor of the Church conversing and seated upon clouds, round about which other *putti* gaily move (plates XCIX to CVI). Two of these pendentives are badly ruined, and the group of *St. Luke and St. Ambrose* (plates CV and CVI) and that of *St. Mark and St. Gregory* (plates CIII and CIV) can now scarcely be made out. In order to retrace their forms in the surviving patches of colour, recourse must be made either to Paolo Toschi's copies in water-colour or to Giambattista Vanni's prints. The latter are mediocre but more reliable, having been made at an earlier date when the frescoes were in better condition. The other two groups have been less damaged by damp and saltpetre. In the first (plates XCIX and C) we see the youthful St. John seated beside his eagle: his fair hair falls upon his shoulders, he is clad in a light blue tunic and red mantle, and a volume is open upon his knees. With a gesture of his fingers, as if enumerating points of inquiry, he propounds questions to St. Augustine, who repeats the gesture and looks at him intently. St. Augustine is vested in a cope of gold over a greenish rochet, and a *putto* holds his pastoral staff and mitre. In the last pendentive (plates CI and CII), while the Angel, clad in a robe of faint green and with light blue wings, holds up a great book before St. Matthew, the Evangelist looks behind him to see what the aged St. Jerome, bald and with a flowing white beard, is writing.

Lastly, on the inside of the pilasters decorated with imitation panels, the artist has painted within eight oval garlands an equal number of chiaroscuro figures in sepia tones (plates XCI to XCVIII). We see *Aaron* with the rod that budded miraculously, *Moses* in amazement before the bush of juniper which burned and was not consumed, *Elijah* carried to heaven in the chariot of fire, *Daniel* walking without hurt through the fiery furnace to which he was condemned because he would not worship the golden image set up by King Nebuchadnezzar, *Jonah* cast forth upon the sea-shore from the belly of the whale (of which only the enormous head is visible), *Samson* carrying off the gates of Gaza upon the hill over against Hebron, *Abraham offering up Isaac*, and *Cain killing Abel.*

The colours of the pendentives with their robust but not excessive or crude values are developed harmoniously above the quiet tones of these sculptural forms and above the cornices painted to imitate marble.

In the cupola of the Cathedral of Parma Correggio will display a stronger technique; he will solve with unparalleled intuition the most unusual and most difficult foreshortenings of the human body, and reach a climax of life and blithesome smiles; but the excessive crowding, the exaggerated contortions of the bodies, and the complicated drapery, already too abundant and agitated, will cause him at times to appear tumultuous and even abstruse. The spectator will feel then that he has not eyes or penetration enough to admire and understand everything, and in order to experience a feeling of happiness, of intimate well-being, and sweet content, he will return to the contemplation of the cupola of San Giovanni.

THE APSE OF SAN GIOVANNI.

The payments made to Correggio for his work upon the cupola are followed immediately in the monastery accounts by payments for painting the *cappella grande*, that is, the tribune (plates CXXVI to CXXXVII). This original fresco has been replaced by a copy, and of the former only a few fragments remain.

In 1586, the Benedictines, with a view to enlarging the church, ordered Cesare Aretusi, a Bolognese artist born shortly before the middle of the century, to make a copy of Correggio's fresco, and in the following year the apse was pulled down. The copy was reproduced by Aretusi upon the vault of the new apse with the aid of Ercole Pio and Giovanni Antonio Paganino. According to Malvasia and Ruta, Aretusi did not make the original copy himself, but entrusted the preparation of it to Agostino and Annibale Carracci, the latter of whom had already made a number of studies of the fresco six years previously. This account must be correct.

Until 1734 several large canvases by the Carracci, representing the apse of San Giovanni, were kept in the Palazzo del Giardino at Parma. The figures in these paintings, which are now in the Royal Museum of Naples, have not been reproduced in part, nor one by one, nor have they been adapted to form an independent work: the paintings reproduce entire zones of the original fresco, and even show portions of figures interrupted at the edges of the canvas. We may therefore reasonably conclude that they were executed for the purpose indicated by Malvasia and Ruta. The discovery that Agostino and Annibale Carracci were in Parma in 1586 appears to complete the proof.

But how the spirit of art had declined in this short space of time! How the Benedictines had degenerated from their predecessors! And if their vandalism in demolishing such a fresco rather than sacrifice any part of their convenience during the functions of the choir has met with severe censure, it none the less found defenders and even imitators in Rome, where in 1711 the Conventual Franciscans destroyed the apse of the Church of the SS. Apostoli and with it the masterpiece of Melozzo da Forlì.

Seated upon the clouds in a nimbus of golden light, the Redeemer, clad in a white mantle and with the sceptre in his left hand, raises his right hand to place a circlet of gleaming stars upon the head of the Virgin (plate cxxviii). The Virgin, in a rosy-red robe and a mantle of light blue, leans her head gently towards her Son, holding her hands crossed upon her breast. At the two sides of this group appear the half-length figures of St. Benedict and St. Maurus (plate cxxxiv), attended by a boy-angel holding a pastoral staff and a mitre. Next, on the right, is the solemn figure of St. John the Baptist (plate cxxxi), kneeling, and holding a slender cross. Close to him an angel embraces the mystic Lamb. On the opposite side kneels St. John the Evangelist (plate cxxx), with a book and a chalice in his hands, and the eagle at his feet. Angels (plates cxxxii, cxxxiii, cxxxv, cxxxvi) are everywhere interspersed among the figures with glad variety of movement, and crowd in groups behind the figures of the Baptist and the Evangelist, playing upon instruments and singing. Above all these extends a zone of clouds, at either side of which a company of angels look down. The blue sky overhead is crossed by eight converging pilasters of leafage – a motive from Mantegna – and these are held firmly in place by a semi-circular festoon of fruit and branches.

The praises lavished upon Aretusi for this copy seem to us to be largely undeserved, for, although satisfactory enough as a whole, it yet excites no approval in detail. Compare, for instance, the half-figures of the Redeemer and of the Madonna with the original figures saved from the ruin and now in the Palatine Library at Parma (plate cxxxvii); and the heads of Aretusi's angels with the fragments of the original angels which escaped with the group of the two protagonists and are now in London (plates cxxxv and cxxxvi).

The paintings in the nave – the frieze, the ornamentation of the pilasters, the panels, and the archivolts – are not the work of Correggio. The fact that in November, 1522, he undertook that they should be finished for sixty-six ducats in no way precluded him from employing his assistants or pupils upon objects of such secondary importance.

In the frieze, the hand of Ròndani is unmistakable, just as the hand of Anselmi is unmistakable in the panels. It is useless to appeal to the contract, as do Baistrocchi and Tiraboschi, in order to support the attribution of these parts to Correggio. Nor can we accept the view of Padre Resta, that Correggio designed the frieze, but that Ròndani coloured it. Several squared up drawings of figures for the frieze are to be found in the Uffizi Gallery and in the Wilton House collection in London; and these drawings are evidently by Ròndani and not by Correggio. But, though constrained to deny these frescoes to Correggio, criticism is nevertheless ready to ascribe to him, even without documentary evidence, the stupendous lunette (plate CXXXVIII) above the small door opening into the Sacristy on the left of the transept. Still young and with long hair parted above the forehead and waving downwards to his shoulders, St. John the Evangelist is seated upon the architrave, clothed in a robe of faded violet colour and with a red mantle draped over his legs. Behind him is an inlaid stool holding two books, one of which shows its gilt edges and a binding of red velvet. The Evangelist writes upon a long scroll spread out upon his knees, but his gaze is directed upwards into space while a voice is heard: "I know thy works, thy charity, thy faith, thy labours, and thy patience." Wonder is painted upon that divine, gently lifted countenance, with lips just parted, and in the bright eyes, with their pupils raised and turned towards the right. The eagle standing before the Evangelist is no mere motionless symbol; he seizes with his beak the largest feather in one of his wings. Some have supposed that he is smoothing or pluming his feathers, but Correggio's conception went far beyond that. That he had had occasion to see and study a royal eagle from life is shown by the beauty of form, the freedom and variety of pose, with which he has represented it no less than five times in this very church. It is no longer the traditional eagle of art, with the stiff, heraldic appearance repeated by all previous artists, not excepting Raphael in his *St. Cecilia*, but the real bird in all its parts and with all its elegant strength. It is well known that the eagle will sometimes pluck out a feather from his wing. This is the action performed by the eagle of St. John, at the solemn moment when the Evangelist is bearing testimony of God and meditating upon the glory and kingdom of Him that endureth for ever and ever. The eagle strives to pluck out this feather with his beak, because it is fitting that the supreme message to the Seven Churches of Asia should be written with the pen that soars highest in the heavens.

In addition to this treasure of frescoes, two canvas paintings in oil, now in the Parma Gallery, were formerly possessed by the Church of San Giovanni. Their original place upon the lateral walls of the fifth chapel on the right is now occupied by two poor, smudgy copies.

Placidus, the son of the patrician Tertullus, moved by the teaching and the invitation of St. Benedict, forsakes wealth and the comforts of his home in order to follow him. He journeys to Messina with the object of spreading the Benedictine rule and is joined by his sister Flavia and his two brothers, Eutichius and Victorinus. Their labours are soon rewarded by many conversions. Suddenly Sicily is invaded by a band of pirates who do violence to property and to conscience alike. The brothers and their sister, animated by heroic faith and refusing to yield to threats of death, endure with calmness the martyrdom that hastens their entrance into heaven. This episode forms the subject of the first oil painting and was doubtless suggested to the founder of the chapel, Father Placido del Bono, by devotion to the saint whose name he bore as well as by reverence for the Benedictine rule.

The scene (plates CXXXIX and CXL) is represented at the foot of a mountain between oak trees and bushes illumined by the bright light of a clear day towards noon. St. Placidus kneels with his arms crossed upon his breast and offers his neck, uncovered and furrowed already by a first stroke, to the executioner. On the other side of the picture, St. Flavia, likewise kneeling and joyfully looking up to heaven, with arms extended as if in ready acceptance of the longed for martyrdom, presents her bosom to a second executioner. He seizes her by the hair, and, standing over her in all his height, thrusts in his sword below her left breast. The bodies of Eutichius and Victorinus lie headless upon the ground – the one near St. Flavia, the other beyond a low mound – bloodless and discoloured. From the right an angel advances in even flight, bearing the symbols of martyrdom.

In the figures of the two executioners, especially in that of the second who stands above St. Flavia, there is something studied and even forced. Unpleasing, too, to some extent are the contrast of the stuffs and the distribution of the colours – languid in the group of St. Placidus, extremely vivid in the group of St. Flavia. But the greatness of the Master comes out fully in the bold lights penetrating and broken up by the mobile leaves of the wood – a feature, this, surprisingly modern; in the tender resignation of St. Placidus's head, painted with a delightful fusing of tones; in the superb beauty of his hands, one of which, as it just emerges from the shadow, shows the fingers illumined by the sun; in the smile and ecstatic glance of St. Flavia; and in the airy poise of the angel.

Not less noteworthy is the second picture – the *Deposition from the Cross* (plates CXLI to CXLII) – rightly described as a "masterpiece of external harmony." The beauty in every detail of the nude body of Christ lying upon the grave-cloth and illumined by a band of stainless light while the tempest still darkens in the background the dripping trees at once rouses the attention of the observer to considerations of an aesthetic order. And he who lingers on, after the first impression, to observe the various details, will notice that the countenance sealed by death still wears the expression set upon it by the tragic agony, and that the effects of the endured pain are still visible in the contraction of the hands and feet pierced by the nails. The head rests upon the knees of the Virgin, who falls backwards, swooning, and with eyes half-closed, while a deathly pallor steals over her features, and her mouth is drawn by a fearful spasm. Burckhardt has commented on the powerful truth of this figure, and how the abandonment of the Virgin's left arm shows by itself that her physical strength is failing.

The other figures are not so beautiful, yet it may be noted that the Seicento admired them greatly. The figure of Mary, wife of Cleophas, seen on the extreme left, was imitated several times by the Carracci, and the Magdalene aroused the enthusiasm of Guercino and Scannelli, who saw in this figure the union of perfect grief and perfect beauty, neither prejudicing the other. But what was admired as true and spontaneous by these good people of the past appears to us now somewhat artificial. This richly attired Magdalene, sunk upon the ground with folded hands, head bent, and fair tresses flowing over her shoulders, is no doubt on the whole an attractive figure; but the observer who is not satisfied with just this and insists upon looking into the Magdalene's real feelings, will speedily find that her grief, as has been said, is only " skin-deep."

Two other works in fresco are to be assigned to the period of time (1520-1524) passed by Correggio in Parma. Various accounts have been left by writers as to the place first occupied by the *Madonna "della Scala"* (plate CXLV). Some say that the fresco was painted on the outer front of the east gate of Parma but was afterwards removed to a small oratory built in order to save it; others, that Correggio painted it on the wall of a friend's house, situated on the ramparts near the Church of San Michele; and others, again, that the original position of the fresco was inside a room forming part of the east gate.

Vasari, however, informs us that Correggio " painted above a gate of that City a Madonna with the Child in her arms, the lovely colouring of which it is a marvel to behold, insomuch that it has gained praise and infinite honour from strangers passing through on their journeys, who have seen no other work of his." Since Vasari must himself have passed through the gate in question and seen the fresco in 1542, that is to say, twelve years before it was taken down and enclosed in the oratory, his words are conclusive. It is therefore clear that the picture was not painted upon the house of a private person, nor inside a room of the said gateway.

The Child, tenderly gathered into His Mother's arms, and the Mother bending her head towards Him with a loving smile form a line no less beautiful than spontaneous. The Child is, indeed, the *fantolin* of Dante, who.

> ..." *inver la mamma*
> *tende le braccia poi che il latte prese,*
> *per l'anima che insin di fuor s'infiamma.*"

Regrets are frequently expressed that the fresco has lost so much of its first beauty, yet to ourselves it seems rather a miracle that we should still find it in very fair condition, when we bear in mind that for upwards of thirty years it was exposed to all weathers; that the faithful, after riddling it with holes in order to fix a crown in silver relief upon each of the two heads, set ex-votos all about it; and that in 1812 it was removed from its place, surrounded with iron supports, and, after traversing Parma from one end to the other, placed at last in the Palazzo della Pilotta.

Completely ruined and beyond all hope of resurrection is the lunette in fresco (plates CXLIII and CXLIV), painted by Correggio for the Church of the Annunziata in Parma. Something of the Angel's blonde head and of the lowly-devout head of Mary can be made out with difficulty in this poor relic. There are traces of two small angels just discernible, but their forms are gone. In order to read between the patches of surviving colour we have to invite the aid of old engravings or prints. These show the Angel borne in flight upon a cloud in which four *putti* frolic. The Angel lifts his right hand heavenwards, pointing with the left to the Holy Dove, who soars with outstretched wings towards the Madonna's head. Mary, bent before the kneeling-desk on which a book lies opened, turns her head backwards and lowers her eyes modestly to the ground.

LESSER WORKS.

We have now reached a point in the life of Correggio at which it becomes difficult without the help of documents to establish the exact dates of his various paintings. His style is formed, his sentiment is clear, his personality is fully unfolded. This being so, critical interest gradually gives way before the interest of chronology for the former, peculiarly quickened so long as it studies an artist's progressive advance, naturally diminishes in corresponding measure when it finds itself confronted by a complete form of art, and can in consequence only examine its productions one by one.

We have seen that Allegri interrupted the series of his frescoes in San Giovanni, and that he remained at Correggio from July, 1521, until the spring of the following year. Removed thus to a distance from his great task in Parma, yet in constant expectation of being able to resume it, he could only occupy himself in the meantime with pictures of less importance, painting or finishing off pictures of small dimensions, such as the *Madonna "della Cesta"* (plate CXLVI) in the London National Gallery, the *Madonna "del Latte"* (plate CXLVII) at Budapest, the *Madonna adoring her Son* (plate CXLVIII) in the Uffizi Gallery, the *Noli me tangere* (plate CXLIX) in the Prado Gallery at Madrid, and *Christ in the Garden of Olives* (plate CL) in the Apsley House collection, London.

The *Madonna "della Cesta"* (plate CXLVI) is full of sweet intimity. While St. Joseph works at his craft, planing a beam of wood in the background, the Madonna, seated with a basket *(cesta)* containing requisites for sewing at her feet, is busy putting her Child into a little coat to be worn over His shirt. She has already got one small arm into its sleeve, but the dear Child is so impatient, and so twists and turns in order to free Himself from His Mother's grasp, that the shirt is all awry. Mantegna's *Madonna of the Grotto* is another picture showing the Child impatient of being held.

In the *Madonna "del Latte"* (plate CXLVII), the Virgin, smiling gently, opens her robe and vest and offers her left breast to her Child. He holds one hand upon her shoulder, but turns from her to take the fruit offered to Him by a winged angel.

In the *Virgin Adoring Her Son* (plate CXLVIII) we see the Virgin kneeling upon a step and opening her arms in admiring worship of the Babe Who lies before her, stretched on a linen cloth spread over a handful of straw. The luminous part of the picture and its acute colours are in too marked contrast with the shaded part, though the shadows have perhaps grown deeper with time. But this defect is more than compensated by the charm of life and line in the picture. The Babe – the foreshortening is faultless – shows the instinctive movement that draws Him to the Mother; and she, bending over Him with a most tender smile, opens those wonderful hands that even more than her face reveal what she feels. It is as if she would exclaim: " Who in all the world is more beautiful than my Child? " The background is treated with breadth – a ruined temple with one great column, and below this a heap of wood; beyond, a misty landscape of hills with trees fading from sight into the distance, and a palm tree waving in the wind.

The *Noli me tangere* (plate CXLIX) shows the figures in half life-size. Jesus, with hair falling to His shoulders and a mantle which, passing over His left arm, meets at His side and covers His legs, turns to look back at the Magdalene and points her to heaven. The Magdalene, arrayed in a costly robe, bends her knee, raising her head with a longing look towards Him. The gardener's tools are seen lying on the ground; then rocks and trees, and beyond them a wide valley with some buildings.

More precious is the *Christ in the Garden of Olives* (plate CL). The Gospel relates that Jesus, taking with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, began to be sorrowful and very heavy. And He said to them, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death; tarry ye here and watch with Me." And withdrawing from them as it were a stone's cast He fell on His face and prayed saying, " O, my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt." Then He arose and came to His disciples and found them sleeping. And He said to Peter, "Sleepest thou? Could'st thou not watch with Me one hour? Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation." And He went away and prayed again, and returning twice He found His disciples sleeping. Then the last time, when the traitor Judas drew near, He said to them, " Sleep on now and take your rest. The hour is come. Behold, the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. He that betrayeth Me is at hand."

The Evangelists St. Matthew and St. Mark give almost the same account, but St. Luke adds that an angel appeared unto Jesus, strengthening Him, and that, "being in an agony, He prayed more earnestly, and His sweat was as it were great drops of blood, falling to the ground."

Correggio's small painting represents the apparition of the comforting angel. He poises in the air with gentle quietness after his flight, but, though he brings the consolatory message that victory is near, he cannot overcome a feeling of compassion. His countenance expresses joy and sorrow together – the true expression for one who points with one hand to heaven, and with the other to the Cross and the crown of thorns. Jesus, all bright from the aureole round His head and His long and simple vestment, gently opens wide His arms, raising His glance and His face, from which the contraction of the agony slowly disappears. Everything around is dark and still. The grasses and bushes are but dimly illumined by the divine radiance, and the sleeping Apostles even less than they. Then every reflection dies out in the thick mass of leaves. But in the distance the soldiers led by Judas are approaching, scarcely visible in the languid gleam of torches, and in the background the sky blanches delicately behind a line of hills.

This picture is a masterpiece, not merely in its sentiment and poetry, but also for the way in which the artist has overcome the difficulties of light and shade and given it the perfect finish of a miniature.

The *Ecce Homo* (plate CLI) has less emotional intensity. Although not wanting in grandeur and clearness, the compression of too many figures – or, rather, half-figures and heads – within a small space conveys a sense of artifice and effort. The artist may have intended by this means to show his skill in composition, but he has certainly not succeeded in communicating a sense of aesthetic enjoyment. Jesus appears with His hands bound and the crown of thorns upon His head; Pilate is seen on His left, pointing Him out to the people. On the opposite side is a soldier. Below, on the left, the Madonna falls fainting into the arms of St. Mary Magdalene. Little more than half of the figure of Jesus is visible; Pilate and the Virgin are half-figures; the head of the soldier, and part of the face of the Magdalene and her right hand, are all of them that is seen.

To the interval of time which elapsed between the completion of the frescoes in San Giovanni towards the end of 1523 and the beginning of the Cathedral frescoes during the summer of 1526, we may assign a series of more important pictures – the *Madonna of St. Sebastian*, (plates CLII and CLIII) the *Antiope* (plate CLIV), the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, (plate CLVI) amongst others – together with contracts for the execution of paintings finished later, such as the *Madonna of St. Jerome* (plates CLIX to CLXII), *The Virtues* (plates CCXXVIII to CCXXXII) and *Vice* (plates CCXXXIII and CCXXXIV).

The *Madonna of St. Sebastian* (plates CLII to CLIII), seated upon clouds in a halo of light encircled by heads of seraphs, tenderly holds her little Son, Who is naked and sits astride upon her left knee. A number of angels appear on either side. Of those nearest to the Madonna, one angel lowers his head to look at the sleeping St. Roch, the other indicates the Babe to St. Sebastian. Two *putti* are at the Virgin's feet: one holds up the cloud like a living caryatid; the other rides upon it playfully. The line of the three Saints descends from left to right. St. Sebastian, who – Scannelli tells us – "displays a thought and an attitude of extravagant beauty," stands upright. His hands are bound to the trunk of a tree, but he turns sideways from it to gaze with a happy smile at the Infant Saviour, Who raises a tiny hand above Him in the act of blessing. St. Geminian, vested in a white alb and a cope of gold, kneels turned towards the spectator, to whom he points out the Virgin and Child with his raised right hand. St. Roch, whose legs only are illumined while the rest of his body is shaded by clouds, calmly rests in order to assuage the pain that torments him, stretched upon a rise in the ground, beyond which appears a tract of landscape. Thus the light falls especially upon the figures of St. Sebastian and the patron saint of Modena, while, to the great relief of the observer's eyes, it is weaker upon the figure of St. Roch. At the bottom of the picture, on the left, a graceful little girl is seated on the ground; she looks up at St. Geminian, waiting for an opportunity to place under his protection the city of Modena, which is represented by a group of buildings, including the Cathedral with its tower and a gateway.

Antiope (plate CLIV), life-size and completely nude, lies stretched upon a linen cloth below a group of trees on gently sloping ground. Her right arm passes behind her head, raised so as to show the full length of her throat, upon which a lock of golden hair falls lightly. The foreshortening of the slightly drawn up legs contrasts with the ample development of the bust; yet this bold handling is conducted with such mastery that it has found admirers amongst celebrated artists in every century – Rembrandt, for instance, and Guercino, who copied it in his *Susanna*, now at Florence in the Pitti Gallery. Antiope sleeps; but that superb nudity, soft and warm, seems to palpitate with the thrill of longing dreams.

According to mythology, Antiope, the daughter of Nycteus, King of Thebes, by the nymph Polyxo, was celebrated in Greece for her beauty and adventures. Jupiter, in order to possess her, transformed himself into a satyr. It is to be observed that either Correggio or his inspirer has confused this Antiope with another mythological personage of the same name. The bow under her right hand and the quiver made of skins lying behind Antiope in this picture indicate that the artist believed the nymph loved by Jupiter to have been, not the daughter of Nycteus, but Antiope, daughter of Mars and Queen of the Amazons. The figure of Jove has not been here transformed into that of an ugly satyr, hirsute and repulsive. He may be described as a " lovely monster," in whom the note of human beauty predominates. The god draws near and with both hands holds up the drapery that covered the fair nymph, contemplating her charms. His dark flesh with its transparent lights and its shadows forms an excellent contrast to the vivid and fully illumined tones in the bright flesh of Antiope and of Cupid, who lies beside her upon a lion's skin. The small winged god has more than ample forms, but he is genuinely wrapped in a gentle slumber.

Vasari relates that Girolamo of Carpi, who had gone to Modena to see certain works by Correggio, " besides being filled with wonder when he beheld them, was as if struck dumb by amazement at the sight of one large picture, a thing truly divine, wherein Our Lady is seen with the Child (He being espoused to St. Catherine) leaning against her neck, and a St. Sebastian and other figures, the attitudes of whose heads are so beautiful that they seem to have been painted in Paradise; nor is it possible to see more beauteous hair nor hands, nor colouring more fair and natural. And inasmuch as Girolamo obtained leave to copy this picture from Messer Franceso Grillenzoni Dottore, who was the owner of the painting and had been a dear friend of Correggio's, he copied it with the greatest diligence imaginable."

The picture has given rise to a number of legends. Tiraboschi and other writers believed (with the painter Sandrart of Frankfort) that Correggio painted it as a gift for a certain pious lady, named Caterina, who had nursed him devotedly during a serious illness. This moving story had been suggested to Sandrart by the subject of the painting, or rather by the name of the saint. As the painting also includes St. Sebastian, Ratti could not refrain from rounding off the allusions contained in the names, and related, accordingly, that this Caterina was the wife of a gentleman "whose name was Sebastiano." Ratti is silent about Correggio's illness and his being nursed by that good lady, but he informs us instead that the reason why the artist presented the picture to this married couple was because he owed to them his commission to paint the picture for the Confraternity of St. Peter Martyr in Modena. Pungileoni, on the other hand, believed it his duty to weave a new romance. Having found that Correggio had a sister named Caterina who was married to a certain Vincenzo Mariano, he concluded that Correggio painted the picture as a wedding-present, and presented her with it on the day of her wedding. Unfortunately, her husband was not called Sebastiano! Pungileoni was unable to say exactly when the marriage took place, but he was admirably informed as to the sentiments of his personages. "The sorrow felt by Antonio when he came to part from his sister may be imagined," he says, "from the temper of the artist's soul, which was ever inclined to the tenderest feelings consistent with virtue. The nobleness of a heart like his could not but feel an obligation to show gratitude by the best means within his power, that is, by a painting, which would speak to her continually of her brother, even though he should be absent. Everyone who knows what the heart of a woman is, and especially of a woman who grieves at leaving her family, will believe that Caterina, even before this time, was most desirous of having such a remembrance of her brother." But in spite of his zeal in displaying the artist's inmost affections, the good Pungileoni knew little indeed in comparison with Bigi. Bigi has not only described Caterina's wedding with great wealth of detail, but he incidentally informs us that upon this occasion Correggio's future wife appeared in public, and that the artist fell in love with her during the ceremony in church. Even Bigi's information was incomplete: he did not know the circumstance related by Mignaty, that "six maidens were so affected by the sweet enchantment of the scene that they resolved to take the veil!"

ALTAR PIECES.

Other paintings undertaken by Correggio about this time, if not before, were only completed after the lapse of many years, as the artist's attention was engrossed in the meantime by works of greater importance, and he was only free to work upon them during the winter months when it was impossible for him to paint in the intense cold of vast churches. Thus the "*Night*" (plates CLVII and CLVIII), which was finished in 1534, according to the inscription placed by Alberto and Gabriele Pratoneri upon the wall of their chapel at San Prospeo, near Reggio, had actually been ordered some eight years previously. The original of the agreement, preserved in the State Archives at Modena, runs as follows: "By this note in my own hand I, Alberto Pratonero, make it known unto all men that I promise to give to Master Antonio of Correggio, painter, two hundred pounds of ancient money of Reggio, being payment for a panel which he promises to paint for me with all possible excellence, and upon which is to be painted the Nativity of Our Lord with the figures appertaining thereto, according to the size and measurements marked in a drawing brought to me by the said Master Antonio, and made by him. At Reggio. This fourteenth day of October, MDXXII. On the aforesaid day I counted out to him forty pounds of ancient money in part-payment of the said panel.'' Below Pratonero's declaration, the artist wrote in his own hand: " And I, Antonio Lieto of Correggia, acknowledge that I have received on the same day of the same year the sum set out above and in token thereof I have written this with my own hand.''

The *Nativity of Christ*, famous under the title of Correggio's "*Night*'' (plates CLVII and CLVIII), seems to have been suggested by an apocryphal gospel which related that, upon his return to the stable of Bethlehem, St. Joseph found a divine light radiating from the newly-born Infant and illuminating the Virgin-Mother.

All the figures in the picture are lighted by the Babe Who lies in the middle of the stall placed among the ruins of an ancient building. The resplendent small body is shown in foreshortening with the head nearest to the observer. The Babe is partly wrapped in white swaddling clothes, and the Virgin, kneeling, holds Him with her arms tenderly folded round His body so as to form a garland, while she contemplates Him with a happy smile. Her vest is of the wonted tone of pale light blue; her robe is red, and her mantle blue. The Divine Infant and His Mother form the radiant *focus* of the picture, and seem to be suffused with one sole splendour of light, "as befits their ardent love.'' In front of them on the left stand three figures, while below a dog puts out his head, looking at the scene, with his head alone catching the light. Of the three figures, the one nearest to the centre and standing before the column is that of a young shepherdess. In her right hand she holds a basket, supported by the manger and containing two goslings which also look at the Child. Her left hand is raised to protect her sight from the excessive light, which makes her half-close her dazzled eyes and contract the muscles of her face, without, however, lessening her beauty. Beside her stands a shepherd, also young, who turns with a spontaneous movement – giving an opportunity to the artist for an effective play of light and shade – towards an old shepherd with unkempt hair and beard, wearing a short tunic of chestnut hue. His right hand is raised in the gesture of doffing his cap, while with his left hand he grasps a long pole. They talk together in wonderment about the glorious event. Above the figures described, five angels stay their flight among the clouds; the light from the Child reaches them, but it is now a trifle paled.

The boldness of their foreshortenings together with their animation makes these angels brothers of the angels upon the cupola of the Cathedral. Three of them look down with happy smiles at the Infant. The other two seem to invite the shepherds to worship, and have more movement. The first, seen in full face and draped in red, comes forward, joining his hands in prayer; the second, with green draperies and seen from behind, has one leg stretched out, his other leg bent, and his arms opened in the act of describing a semi-circular flight, in order to view from below the shepherds standing behind him.

Roughly hewn blocks of stone arranged step-wise and tall vegetation occupy the ground in the fore part of the scene. The stones and plants are of greenish tints, buried in shadow fretted with delicate reflections. The relief of light and shade is admirably helped, besides, by a luminous spray, which, passing between the arms of the Virgin, falls downwards, illumining part of her robe and mantle near one knee, and also by the lights that follow the contour of the old shepherd, and, reaching almost to the ground, give him the aspect of a piece of stage-scenery and the function of marking the distance of the other figures.

Behind the principal group – or, as they say, in the middle distance – St. Joseph is busy trying to drag the ass away from the manger towards a paling beyond which are seen two other shepherds with the ox. A wide horizon of blue hills opens in the background with a softly dawning sky.

The shadows now somewhat deepened, the blues that have suffered a little in their illumined parts, a slight sameness of tone in the flesh tints through the loss of transparent colour, with certain other traces of restoration and cleaning, and the oxidation here and there of the varnish – all these make it impossible for us to enjoy the original brilliance and gaiety of this "*Night*," which so moved Vasari that he declared its angels were "rather rained down from heaven than wrought by the hand of a painter."

Like the "*Night*" the *Madonna of St. Jerome* (plates CLIX to CLXII) was only finished a long time after the order for the painting was first given. The original documents relating to the commission no longer exist, but the writer of the following note, taken from the archives of the Monastery of Sant' Antonio and published by Pungileoni, appears to have had them beneath his eyes: " The order for the famous panel of St. Jerome was given to the painter in 1523 by Donna Briseide Colla, wife to the *quondam* Magnifico Orazio Bergonzi. The price for the said picture was four hundred Imperial *lire* – at that time a gold coin – which was the sum agreed upon with the said lady. But inasmuch as the painting gave great satisfaction to her, being both excellent in itself and a work upon which Correggio had spent six months, she determined of her own accord to make him a present, and this, at the request of the painter who was asked what he would have, consisted of two loads of wood for firing, a number of measures of corn, and, particularly, a swine."

The Madonna (plate CLX), whose visage is just touched by a smile revealing her inward happiness, is seated with her Son beneath a canopy fixed to the boughs of trees and dividing the picture diagonally. One hand is placed under the Child's arm, the other against His legs. The Child, turned to the left, is intent upon a book held by St. Jerome. More beautiful than His sharp little face is the sentiment of unconscious wonder and curiosity shown by the arrested attitude of His arms and legs held wide out. A winged angel in a yellow tunic stands in front of Him, turning over the leaves of the book – perhaps in order to show Him the miniatures – but without looking away from Him. The angel's face (plate CLXI) is in profile, bent slightly downwards, and framed in golden curls. Its grace and charm are inexpressible. His lips are parted to say those " smiling words " that babies love. Vasari has remarked most aptly: " He seems to smile so naturally that he moves the beholder to smiles, nor can any melancholy person look at him and not be gladdened." The hand with which he opens the pages is, perhaps, a little too contorted, and the index-finger is very long; yet we remember to have seen once, for a moment, the hand of a child turning over the leaves of a large volume and showing exactly the same most singular and instantaneous " distortion."

The upright figure of St. Jerome on the left, though a little less than life-size, seems even taller, owing to its solemn composure and the efficacious perspective. His bust and legs are nude; his hips are covered by a light blue drapery; and a red cloak is thrown over the arm on which he supports his tome. In the other hand hanging down his side he holds a scroll of paper partly unfolded. His symbolical lion stands beside him, but only a small part of its body is visible.

The tanned flesh of the saint and its sober, dry modelling contrast admirably with the soft flesh of the other personages. Comparing him with Raphael's St. Paul in the picture of *St. Cecilia*, Annibale Carracci puts this question to Lodovico: "Is not this fine old St. Jerome both grander and more tender *at the same time* (for this is the important thing) than that St. Paul which at first I thought a miracle, but which now seems to me a thing of wood, so hard it is and sharp ?"

On the opposite side of the picture, St. Mary Magdalene (plate CLXII), kneeling with her right knee upon a rise in the ground, bends over the Divine Infant and places her cheek against His left leg with a delicate caress, lifting up His foot with her hand, as if she would raise it to her lips and kiss it. The Child meanwhile strokes with His little hand the blonde tresses that fall in waves upon her shoulders; and she is superbly beautiful, affectionate, and not without that suggestion of soft *abandon* which characterizes her moral type, as appears in the elegance of her dress and, above all, in the gesture of her left hand, nervously curved to catch her yellow mantle. But while she is thus bending in sweet adoration, a curly-headed *putto* standing behind her, and believed to be the little St. John the Baptist, has taken her vase of ointment, either to look at it or to smell its perfume; and with a truly diverting grimace this graceful figure watches the saint from the corner of his eye, fearing that she may turn round unexpectedly and scold his inquisitiveness.

In the background there is a wide valley with a few figures, a group of houses, a water-course, and an arch with double columns; and, farthest of all, a high mountain behind which gather dark wreaths of vapour. Its profile is that of Monte Dosso as seen from Parma. Perhaps the arch upon the left represents one of the gates of Parma, and the water-course its torrent.

The picture just described is deservedly celebrated as one of the best painted by Correggio and in all Italian art. Every part of it glows, palpitates, and lives. Each detail is given in a spirit of independence from traditional forms, that is, in a spirit of marked " modernness." In the foreshortening of the face, in the treatment of the hands and feet, the figure of the Magdalene strikes a note entirely new.

The execution is carried out by the use of transparent "veils" and by superimposing constantly clearer tones. In shortening one of St. Jerome's fingers and in making broader the big toe of the Madonna's foot, the Master has preferred not to conceal the correction rather than employ thick colour. A world of light transparent reflections penetrates into the shadows and allows the air to circulate through them. But for this faculty the luminous central group, in which the Madonna's head and hands with the head and right hand of the Magdalene are all brought close to the body of the Child, would have been a sheer mass of flesh without relief. As it is, each detail is distinct and marked off by diaphanous tones. The Magdalene's right hand and the leg of the Child held by it seem almost to " come out " of the picture. Variety of composition and colouring inform each tiniest part, as though the artist had made this his special preoccupation. Thus the hair of each head is different in growth and colour — chestnut and forming tufts in St. John; long, flowing, spun out, and of light blonde colour in the Magdalene; soft ringlets standing up in the Child; dark hair parted in the middle in the Virgin; long curls of a deeper blonde in the Angel; and white, separated locks in St. Jerome.

Vasari himself declared this altar-piece to be " coloured in a manner so astonishing and stupendous " that artists affirmed "it could not be better painted." And Francesco Algarotti exclaims: " May the divine genius of Raphael forgive me, if after the contemplation of this picture I have broken faith with him, and am tempted to say in secret to Correggio, " You alone please me." Burckhardt calls it a prodigy of execution and colouring, the expression of an existence naively serene and happy. The Magdalene, he insists, is of extraordinary beauty, and the gesture with which she prostrates herself displays the most perfect sentiment of feminine grace.

The *Madonna "della Scodella"* (plates CLXIII to CLXVI), a painting not less famous, was ordered and finished somewhat later. The inscription at the bottom of the architectonic frame is dated June 2, 1530, and tells us that the cost of the picture, together with the altar erected in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Parma, was paid for by contributions of the faithful. As we have it on record that a legacy of fifteen Imperial *lire* was left for this purpose in 1524, we may conclude that the two dates indicate approximately the period of execution.

That the frame (plate CLXIII) was designed by Correggio appears to us certain. An artist of his quality did not entrust the decoration of so important a work to the fancy of a wood-carver. Moreover, the artist's sketch for the *Madonna of St. George* (plates CCLXXXV to CCLXXXVII) shows that in this instance he made a drawing for the frame.

The painting was restored to its frame in 1893, having been removed from it in 1796. The name of the carver is unknown, but it is highly probable that he was Gian Francesco Zucchi, who made the frame for Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli's *Conception* about this time.

Most historians believed that the picture represented an episode of the Flight into Egypt – an opinion still beld by some; but in reality the episode belongs to the Return from Egypt. The Child has grown, and his Mother and St. Joseph show a calm content from which all preoccupation and fear are absent. Scannelli was perhaps the first to grasp the meaning of the episode. The picture, he says, portrays "the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph with the boy Jesus on their journey back from Egypt to Nazareth, whence they had fled from the persecutions of Herod. They are shown resting by the side of a road in open country, where there is a date-palm with dates, and the good St. Joseph gathers the fruit in order to satisfy the Holy Child." The episode itself is taken from a legend in an apocryphal gospel relating how a palm-tree bent down its branches to offer its fruit to the Holy Family who were wearied by their journey, while the dry ground opened and sent forth a fountain of limpid water. From this slight legend the artist has drawn one of the tenderest family scenes, and has given life to every detail of the subject. "A divine painting," Vasari calls it, "with marvellous figures." The Virgin, the Child, and St. Joseph stand out against the shadow of a tranquil woodland, as if illumined by the sun in spring. The apocryphal gospel related that the palm tree bent of its own accord, but the artist has imagined that the branches are lowered by a company of angels, who come flying upon vaporous clouds, and, variously intertwined in the upper half-circle of the picture, busy themselves in pressing upon the branches from above or in dragging them downwards. Their fair hair is agitated by the wind and by their movement; their flesh is of unsurpassable delicacy and is relieved against the parts in shadow by softest reflections of light. The face of one angel is only partially seen, yet his sharp, bright eyes are enough to give a feeling of joy. A want of definition in the legs of the two angels with their backs to the spectator is no doubt due to the loss of certain slight tones of chiaroscuro in the process of cleaning. It is only after an attentive examination that the right leg of the angel with light blue wings is seen to be the leg which passes over the left leg of his companion almost on his back. The clouds, too, have lost the superimposed " veil " which must have made them of pearl colour, and they are now too blue and without transparency.

St. Joseph, holding down the long, pointed leaves of the palm with his left hand, moves with a free stride towards the Child and offers Him the gathered dates. He seems pleased to play a leading figure and escape from the humble part to which art had hitherto kept him in scenes presenting the Holy Family.

Considered artistically, this handsome old man recalls the apostles of the cupola of the Cathedral, as well in the soberness of his nude limbs as in the exaggerated movement of his blue dress and orange cloak.

The Child, a boy of some four or five years, long, slender, elegant, and with fine gold ringlets falling to His shoulders, stands leaning against His Mother's leg. As He puts His right hand into the hand of St. Joseph to take the dates – and here the contrast of tones in the two hands is exceedingly beautiful – He turns backwards, hinting to His Mother that He wants to drink, and points to the bowl from which the picture takes its name. The Virgin hands it to a child wearing a garland, symbol of the fountain that has sprung up miraculously, in order that he may fill it with water; and, as she does so, to prevent the yellow veil draped about her shoulders from slipping down, she holds it with her left hand, grasping it close to her under-vest of red, so that the colour of this is seen. These spontaneous movements, however, in no way distract her from looking at her Son with an inclination of her head and a smile so sweet and heart-felt that a feeling of gladness is communicated to the spectator.

Behind St. Joseph in the distance, an angel, illumined by the sun and with his hair falling over his brows, is seen engaged in tying the ass to the trunk of a tree.

THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL:

We come now to the most vast of the works painted by Correggio.

Until almost the end of the fifteenth century the interior of the Cathedral of Parma showed all the bareness characteristic of Romanesque churches. There were, of course, panel pictures and triptychs above the altars; a few frescoes, ordered by devout persons, were to be seen on the walls of the chapels; the transept was partially decorated; but the building as a whole – that is, the vaults of the nave and aisles, with the walls of the nave, the cupola, and the presbytery – was uniformly grey to the great advantage of its architectonic lines. No trace probably was left of the paintings which formerly adorned the facade and concerning which Fra Salimbene relates that Guidolino da Enzola would fly into a passion when the street-boys pelted him with stones. But amid the splendours of the Renaissance and towards the beginning of the Cinquecento, there was a general feeling that the Cathedral ought not to be inferior in comeliness and richness to the other churches whose decoration was then proceeding. Paintings by Zarotti, Caselli, and Araldi, and sculptures by Gian Francesco d'Agrate and Filippo and Damiano of Gonzate soon began to appear in the Cathedral, which was even adorned with a delightful panel by Gian Battista Cima of Conegliano; but in view of the vastness and importance of the church, this partial covering with works of art could not but appear insignificant.

The sudden blossoming out of the rich and elegant Convent of San Paolo, the rapid and so astonishing rise and decoration of the Monastery and Church of San Giovanni, the hastening forward of the work upon St. Maria della Steccata – all these at last moved the Fabbricieri of the Cathedral to action. Delay was cast aside, and a decision was taken that the interior of the Cathedral should be covered with paintings, and thus be able to bear comparison with the rest.

On November 3, 1522, the Fabbricieri assigned to Correggio, who was then at work in San Giovanni, the frescoes of the cupola, the presbytery, and the apse. Eighteen days later they drew up the contracts for the decoration of the transept. The vault, the spandrils, and the niche above the altar of the Nativity were allotted to Parmigianino: and the corresponding parts of the Bernieri Chapel, known as the Cappella del Ferro, to Ròndani. The vault and spandrils of the Montini Chapel were assigned to Anselmi, and, lastly, on December 20, Araldi undertook the paintings in two compartments of the vault of the nave.

Unfortunately, only a small part of this decoration was completed or preserved. Parmigianino, Ròndani, and Araldi did nothing. The first, indeed, went off to Rome. Correggio decorated the cupola, but did not even begin the frescoes of the presbytery and the apse. Two years after his death, Giorgio Gandino del Grano was commissioned to paint them, but he, too, died before starting the work, which was then entrusted to Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli. Some of the paintings assigned to Anselmi, who in 1548 had also undertaken those in the Cappella del Popolo and the decoration of two arches in the nave, either disappeared owing to damage wrought by time and damp, or were covered over and repainted. Others were, never carried out at all, among them being the frescoes of the Cappella del Popolo which were subsequently painted by Pomponio Allegri.

The contract with " Maestro Antonio da Corigio pittore presente e stipulante " was drawn up, as we said, on November 3, 1522, in the presence of Pascasio Beliardi and Galeazzo Garimberti, canons of the Cathedral Chapter, the magnificent Scipione della Rosa, *eques auratus* – these three being Fabbricieri – and thirteen priests. The notary was Stefano Dodi.

An autograph declaration by Correggio formed the basis of the agreement and is still attached to the original documents. It runs as follows: " Having diligently examined the work for which alone it appears to me well at this present time to enter (with Your Lordships' leave) into an agreement with Your Lordships; that is to say, taking the whole of the choir, the cupola with its arches and pillars, omitting the chapels and going straight on to the (altar of the) Sacrament, the border, the transverse wall, the apse, with the side-walls and as much of the wall of the tribune as is seen down to the pavement, and having found it to be of about 150 square *pertiche*,[1] (I agree) to ornament them in painting with the subjects that shall be given me, imitating either living figures or bronze or marble, according as shall best suit the several places and the requirements of the fabric, considering also the nature and beauty ot the said paintings: and this at my charges of 100 ducats for gold leaf, colours, and the last setting coat, which shall be that whereon I shall paint. This work cannot be done with honour to the place and our workmanship for less than 1000 ducats with provision of the following things: (1) the scaffoldings, (2) the *inserbature*,[2] (3) lime for the setting-coat, (4) a large room or closed chapel in which to make the drawings."

What dignity there is in the words of Correggio: " The work cannot be done with honour to the place and *our* workmanship for less than 1000 ducats." He knew his worth and stated it. He did not, as a false tradition would have it, belittle his work. Inward consciousness of real merit, ingenuous simplicity in declaring it, these are fine and admirable; it is the studied humility of the charlatans of modesty, the boasting of the petty and the deluded, that are ugly and excite disgust.

The figure of 1000 ducats is, however, written above an original figure of 1200 which has been crossed out. This circumstance adds to the interest of the autograph. Evidently a discussion took place between Correggio and the Fabbricieri. While he laid emphasis on the extent and difficulty of the work, and the time needed to finish it, they pleaded that the finances of the Fabbrica would not allow the payment of a ducat more. Yet how could the artist hold out against the entreaties of Cavalier Della Rosa, against the thought of a myriad of saints and angels soaring in the luminous dome? Correggio stands for a moment in thought, and then, as if resigned, he gives way. We can see him take up the pen, and, while all present watch him intently, draw those two strokes through the figure 1200, writing 1000 above it.

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[1] The *pertica* was a measure which varied at different times and in various localities. At Parma it was equivalent, roughly, to m. 3.25.

[2] By *inserbatura* is meant the first coat of intonaco laid upon the masonry.

As we have seen, Correggio had still to work long in San Giovanni and finish some other paintings. Perhaps to those already described we should add the *St. Catherine Reading* (plate CLXVII) at Hampton Court. We may remark in passing also that on August 26, 1525, he was called in with other artists to give expert advice and to suggest a remedy for the cracks which had appeared in the fabric of the Church of the Steccata, and that together with Jacopo di Filippo of Gonzate and Marc'Antonio Zucchi, he was asked to furnish the design for the high altar and its decoration. The Fabbricieri of the Cathedral meanwhile displayed no haste over the preliminary repair of the cupola. It was only on November 23, 1523, that Messer Iorio of Erba was commissioned to restore it thoroughly inside and out, including the small columns and pilasters of the external gallery, and then to scrape the inside surface, "prick it up," and apply the setting-coat. Alessandro Araldi and Scipione Montino Della Rosa were present at the drawing-up of this agreement which was prepared by the notary, Galeazzo Piazza.

The note of the first payment made to Correggio bears the date of November 29, 1526. In this document the artist declares that, in the presence of Don Nicolò dei Gotti, son of Rolando, syndic and procurator of the Fabbricieri of the Cathedral of Parma, the sum of seventy-six gold ducats and thirteen Imperial *soldi* has been paid to him, on account of a first payment of two hundred and seventy-five ducats for painting the cupola. From a second document we learn that on November 17, 1530, he received one hundred and seventy-five ducats, this sum being the balance of the second instalment according to the stipulated agreement. And that is all.

The loss of many books and papers which formerly belonged to the Archives of the Fabbrica of the Cathedral makes it impossible for us to give a detailed history of Correggio's frescoes. To the few documents already quoted should be added, however, a minute entered in the Book of Debtors and Creditors of the Cathedral during the year 1551. This states that Correggio's heirs had to refund one hundred and forty Imperial *lire* to the Fabbrica, as the artist, who had died before completing his work, had received that amount in excess.

Let us first look at the cupola as a whole. In the pendentives, amidst fumes of incense and angels, are seated four saints. From the octagonal cornice above the pendentives, twelve gigantic figures of Apostles, placed at the side of the round windows and standing against an imitated balustrade, rise up erect in attitudes of amazement as they behold the Assumption of the Virgin. Eight huge candlesticks rest upon the balustrade, one at each angle, and between them move twenty-nine adolescents. Above the last is a spacious zone of clouds, and then a great crown of figures, a garland of saints and angels, is seen crowding around the Virgin, who ascends to heaven, while a young angel comes down to meet her.

And now let us look at the details. Above the capitals of the pillars sustaining the cupola and on the inside of the arches are seen various figures in chiaroscuro. The figures of the soffit answering to the presbytery are by Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli; the rest are by Correggio. Painted upon a ground of symmetrical ornament in a clear yellowish tint with shadows tending towards bistre, they represent six young boys in flowing draperies, holding festoons of leaves. This part of the work is in a good state of preservation, and shows the swiftness, juiciness, and fusing of Correggio's technique, from which all traces of hesitation have now disappeared. The delicate, suave colouring, less warm than that of the chiaroscuro figures of the cupola of San Giovanni, proves how harmonious was the artist's chromatic sense; the general intonation of the cupola of the Cathedral being not so deep as that of San Giovanni. The folds of drapery have, indeed, become discomposed, and the attitudes display an excessive " agitation," but the study of the nude parts, besides showing an animation at that time without example, is unerring in its beauty and restraint. To the concave pendentives Correggio has given the form of fan-shaped shells, the outer rims of which are closed by other shells forming a border similar to that of the lunettes in the Camera di San Paolo – a mode of ornamentation not infrequently found in Emilian terra-cotta work of the Renaissance.

Below these pendentives or niches, fumes of incense float upwards. Illumined from above, these clouds are transparent at their summit, shaded with a violet tint towards the centre, and grey or dark near the point of contact with the arches. Upon them are seated the patron saints of Parma, while around them move merry companies of children and adolescents.

In the pendentive to the right of the spectator facing the apse is the bishop *St. Hilary* (plates CLXXVII, CLXXVIII, CLXXXIV, CLXXXV, and CLXXXVI), vested in a bright alb and yellow cope. His face and his gaze are directed downwards, and with his right hand he points to the high altar. One of the seven boys painted in the niche, as he passes below the saint, raises his face upwards to contemplate him, and grasps the hand of a companion. Others hold the bishop's pastoral staff, his mitre, and a book.

In the second pendentive are seen six angels, partly hidden by the fumes of incense. One, riding upon a rounded cloud, fixes his gaze upon the church; another prays with his hands joined; two others turn and point to *St. John the Baptist*, (plates CLXXV, CLXXVI, and CLXXXIII), who, young and blonde, holds a white lamb between his arms, resting it upon the folds of his red mantle.

Beneath the austere figure of *St. Bernard degli Uberti* (plates CLXXXI, CLXXXII, and CLXXXVII), shown seated in profile with his right hand to his breast and a book opened upon his knees, are two nude maidens in the first bloom of their youthful forms. The first, caressed by the clouds of incense floating about her, is seated in a graceful attitude with her legs hanging down into space; the second moves towards her from behind with the action of a gentle swimmer, and has her golden hair braided into tresses. Between these two figures descends an angel with outstretched arms; clad in a small green mantle stirred by the wind, he bends his head over his left shoulder in the direction of the spectator. We shall have to speak of him again, when we meet him in the form of Ganymede. But at whom is he looking and smiling? What does this delightful *puttino* see through the vaporous wreaths of smoke? He smiles at the angel in the opposite pendentive, the one holding the cope and pastoral staff of St. Hilary; and he, too, turns round and smiles back at his companion. Ah, you naughty boys! Not even the silent mystery of Church can keep you well-behaved!

Seven other angels stand beside the Apostle *St. Thomas* (plates CLXXIX, and CLXXX), a serene old man with white hair and beard; wrapped in a yellow mantle, he grasps the shaft of a lance with his left hand. Angels bear his palm-branch, a water-bottle, a lily, and other emblems. A solemn attentiveness seems to dominate this group, less mirthful and smiling than the others.

In the angles formed by the curve of the pendentives rich festoons of fruit hang down from twisted veils – grapes, apples, pears, pomegranates, medlars, pine-cones, and thick roots – a Mantegnesque motive but treated here with greater breadth and freedom. Lastly, the sides of the octagon are decorated with ornaments in chiaroscuro of a different tone, placed between the pendentives and on each side of the windows in the drum of the cupola. The ornamentation of the four apertures with leafage and a sphinx looking upwards is somewhat cold. Warm, on the contrary, are the lateral ornaments of branches and *putti* astride of dolphins (plates CXCI, and CXCII), holding up curved horns of plenty, or, like sturdy figures of Hercules in miniature, crushing the heads of snakes. Here, although the composition presents merely two alternate designs, the direct, untrammelled use of the brush, the change of expression in the faces, and slight differences in the attitude of an arm, a leg, or a head give to each of these *putti* an individuality entirely his own. Their being in chiaroscuro in no way causes then to appear sculptural; they are just as living as those painted in colour.

Above the narrow cornice of gilded rough stone Correggio has painted a wide cornice imitating marble (plate cxciii), which stands out in such pronounced relief that it will deceive the most expert eye. It is only when you climb up to the cupola and examine it at close quarters that you discover it to be painting. This result is largely due, first, to the artist's having slightly covered the round opening of the cupola windows by the upper line of this cornice – looked at from below, the windows appear to be set slightly farther back; and secondly, to his having concealed the lower part of the figures with a perspective effect which had been suggested to him by Mantegna's round in the vault of the Camera degli Sposi. By showing more or less of the legs of the Apostles, he has given them the appearance of moving either nearer to or further from the abyss below them, while no moulding, as would be the case with a real cornice, intervenes to hide their figures, when seen from certain angles, to a greater extent than he intended. Correggio had, in fact, perceived to his own cost already the inconvenience of a real cornice by what had happened to the figure of the aged St. John in the cupola of San Giovanni. There, the figure was sometimes almost entirely hidden by the real cornice, whereas now, with a painted cornice, the problem of perspective was satisfactorily solved from every point of view.

A second problem, however, was not so successfully dealt with. As the figures of the twelve Apostles (plates cxciii to cc) had to be distributed among the angles of the octagon, it necessarily followed that eight of them were arranged in pairs while the remaining four were represented singly.

In order, therefore, to avoid any disturbance of the equilibrium of the composition through the greater volume of the groups in pairs, Correggio has given a greater movement to the isolated figures, and made them, indeed, agitated and disordered, since they have to fill by themselves the space occupied in the other compartments by groups of two. Consequently, the figures in pairs show a greater orderliness in pose and in the arrangement of drapery. Some of them are extremely beautiful, as, for instance, the group of the two Apostles looking upwards and holding each other by the hand, and the group with the Apostle shown in profile, who advances holding out his right hand with a dignified gesture, while his aged companion extends his arms.

But if, in spite of their powerful technique and unfailing vitality, our appreciation of some of these figures is not unqualified, the figures of the almost naked youths upon the balustrade (plates cxciii to ccix), set against the blue of the sky and the grey of the clouds, call for unhesitating and enthusiastic admiration.

We see them in the most varied attitudes – prostrate, seated, reclining, upright, supported – holding out great cups of metal, lifting up boats of incense, gathering in handfuls balsamic gums to cast them upon the flames of the candelabra, stirring the fires in their censers, smelling their hands still dusty with the grains of incense, burning branches of crackling juniper-wood, conversing in low tones with their gaze fixed upon the Church, pressing forwards and outwards to the sky – all superbly beautiful and happy over their task of keeping alight these festal fires and sending up immense clouds of perfumed smoke below the glory of Mary borne upwards to heaven. And, be it noted, the inspiration of this magnificent portion of the vast fresco painted in Correggio's maturest years comes not – let the advocates of Correggio's Roman journey give us leave to say it – from motives or examples taken from Michelangelo or from Raphael, but from a glorious work painted by Mantegna: we mean from that part of the *Triumph of Cæsar* (imitated also by Costa in a drawing in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford) where a company of youths, naked, or almost naked, stand beneath eight lofty candlesticks, and one of them revives the flames.

But the calm movement of the figures in the pendentives, and the gay vivacity of the adolescents on the high balustrade suddenly cease and are transformed to a vertiginous flight, a tumultuous crowding round the Madonna. Clad in a rose-red tunic and a flowing light-blue mantle, and wearing a yellow veil at her breast, Mary ascends with outspread arms, while her gaze is fixed upon the heaven of golden light (plates CCX to CCXIV).

With every conceivable motion of their flowery forms, angels and *putti* accompany her flight in an ecstasy of joy. Some play upon instruments – the viol, the lute, the cymbals, the flute; others sing glad hosannahs; others, overcome by the intoxication of the triumph, embrace or approach their lips in kisses. They crowd above, below, and round about her. They form groups; they chase one another; they bury themselves with their heads in the clouds, and reappear, beaming, with arms tense, almost frenzied with joy. Some are of a grace and beauty inexpressible. Their eyes sparkle; their mouths laugh; the locks of their golden hair, swept by wind and motion, float behind them; their bodies palpitate and thrill. At the side of the cloud-garland facing the Virgin, the angels are fewer in number and are seen in full foreshortening, piercing the clouds in a vertical flight upwards, as though spurred on by a desire to reach the empyrean before her and so take part in her meeting with the Eternal Father.

There, up above, a numerous assembly of saints and blessed ones, disposed in varied attitudes of worship, await the ascension of Mary and her angelic escort. Allusions to the tragedy of the Old Testament are not wanting to their joy, but are even represented with a certain boldness. Eve (plate CCXVIII) holding out her right hand, shows to the Madonna the apple that caused her Fall, and seems to exclaim: " Mount up to God, O mystical Dove: Thou hast blotted out my fault; thou hast undone Original Sin." Abraham and Isaac and Judith (plates CCXVI, CCXVII) are seen among the multitude. Abraham recalls that obedience to God may lead even to crime; Judith, dragging after her the bloodless head of Holofernes, reminds us that crime committed for faith's sake may be holy. And David holds the huge, grisly head of Goliath by the hair, proving thereby that no human force can withstand the hand that is armed from heaven.

The figures crowd together more densely as they are withdrawn farther back into the golden vapours – old men with white hair, men clad in armour or in light cloaks, maidens with their heads veiled, naked children (plates CCXIX to CCXXV). One joins his hands in prayer, another raises them heavenwards; one points with his finger, another converses with his neighbour; one is rapt in ecstatic contemplation, another greets the long-awaited coming of the Mother of God. And in the midst of the throng a divine messenger comes down, or rather precipitates himself headlong, to meet her, gazing at her from above, and lifting up his arms in a gesture of loving adoration.

Whoever looks long from the high windows of the cupola at this fresco will feel wonder gradually stir within him and take possession of his soul. Almost he will think he hears the shouts of joy echoing beneath the vault, and fancy that, if the crown of the cupola were to open, the whole multitude of saints and angels would escape with a rush as of a flight of pigeons and soar away into the sky.

The execution of the colossal fresco, in which all trace of outline drawing in the figures has disappeared, appearing only here and there in the shaded parts where it has been superimposed *a secco* in order to strengthen them, is more subtle and delicate than that of the cupola of San Giovanni. The flesh tints have lost many of their former reddish gradations and have assumed either a greater development or a more harmonious diffusion of alabaster tones, reaching certain lights that are almost white. Moreover, the shadows are obtained without excessive gradations, and thus they acquire a charming transparency and an interplay of reflections that enable the modelling to be seen no less clearly than in the illumined parts, at the same time creating an illusion of air circulating freely between the figures.

Nevertheless, although we may believe that serious damage has robbed the figures of much of their original relief, we doubt exceedingly whether even in its first freshness the work was entirely clear and " legible." And this explains the criticism uttered by a witty and sarcastic Canon of the Cathedral as soon as the fresco was uncovered. To him, he said, it appeared " a hash of frogs." Tiraboschi hastens to call this traditional utterance a " ridiculous fable," but the singularity of the comparison, when interpreted in the light of certain words of Bernardino Gatti, known as " *Il Soiaro*," convinces us that the criticism was actually made. In a letter written not more than twenty-five years after the death of his master Correggio, Gatti, who decorated the cupola of the Steccata, alludes to the unkind criticisms levelled at the artist for his work in the Cathedral, remarking, " And you know what was said to Correggio in the Duomo ! "

Certainly, the jibe thus flung at Correggio was no worse treatment than has been meted out in every age to artists whose genius outstrips their contemporaries. Unwilling to confess its incomprehension of anything beyond the ordinary, the multitude will always be enraged by men who will not stay at its own dull level, though it is quite disposed to exalt them after death, and when the artist's thought, surviving his body, has with difficulty imposed itself upon the general mind. Conscious of his achievement, Correggio must have felt stung; and perhaps more by the wit than by the criticism itself. So much we may reasonably conclude from Gatti's words, and from the fact that henceforward the artist lived almost exclusively at Correggio, leaving his other undertakings in the Cathedral unfinished. History does not record – fortunately for him – the name of the Canon who thus greeted the unveiling of an immortal work. Yet, since the greatest achievement in poetry may form matter for a merry parody, and the fairest face provide occasion for a pleasing caricature, why should we not admit that that "hash of frogs" was after all a happy *mot*, worthy of an ecclesiastic who, finding himself unable to unravel a complicated design of nude limbs, naturally thought of a dish to which, perhaps, he was partial?

Whether the other Canons shared his opinion or not, we are not informed, but there can be no doubt that this man is responsible for the story that "before Correggio finished the work, the Canons were of a mind to cancel it entirely." Titian, who had arrived at Parma with Charles V, is said to have dissuaded them. After having contemplated the cupola for a long time without speaking or moving, he thereupon exclaimed: "Reverse it and fill it with gold, and even then it will not be paid its price!" One after another legends sprang up about the cupola. One relates that in order to solve the difficulties of so many foreshortenings Correggio made use of small figures modelled in chalk by Begarelli. Another, that Queen Christina of Sweden, not believing that the upper cornice was painted, caused a scaffolding to be erected in order that she might climb up and satisfy herself by touching it.

But if the splendour of the painting was not understood entirely and immediately, no long time passed before it aroused at least a worthy admiration. This is shown by the care and haste with which the Fabbricieri secured the preservation of the cupola. In 1533 steps were taken to provide an outer covering with plates of copper and lead; these protective operations went on until 1539. The fame of the great fresco meanwhile began rapidly to spread. Copies of parts of it, in drawing or in colour, soon abounded everywhere. Vasari was the first to write of the fresco: "It seems impossible that Correggio was able – I will not say, to give expression to it with his hands, but even to imagine it in fancy, so beautiful are the motions of the drapery and the attitudes which he has given to the various figures." And he adds that

Girolamo of Carpi thought the " beautiful foreshortening of the Madonna ascending to heaven, surrounded by a multitude of angels, to be an extraordinary piece of work." But it was the Carracci who sounded the loudest note of admiration. Annibale writes to Agostino on April, 18, 1580: " I could not refrain from going at once to see the great cupola which you have so often commended to me. I, too, remained dumbfounded at the sight of a composition so vast, so perfectly thought out in its every part, so well seen from below upwards, executed with such great vigour and yet with such judgment and such grace, and with a colouring which is that of real flesh. My God! Tibaldo, and Nicolino, and – I had almost said – Raphael himself, are nothing to this ! "

From that time onwards, especially for large numbers of artists belonging to the Bolognese school, Parma became the goal of a pilgrimage that was held indispensable. The cupola of its Cathedral was regarded as the greatest and finest specimen of Italian art, the model that every painter of understanding had to follow. Nor did the enthusiasm expressed in Scannelli's declaration that the cupola " contains in a compendium what the most excellent masters have elsewhere dispersed in fragments " lessen with succeeding centuries. Giambattista Tiepolo, viewing the cupola of Parma, almost feels his faith shaken in Titian and Paolo Veronese. Mengs sums up the chorus of praise by affirming that " it is more beautiful than all the cupolas that have been painted before or since." And Tieck, the German Romantic, has outpoured this hymn to Correggio: " What genius unlocked for thee so many treasures ? All images that the world contains came to meet thee and cast themselves lovingly into thy arms. What jubilee when angels handed thee the palette, and lofty spirits, clothed in noblest forms, stood before thee as thy models ! Let no man say that he has seen Italy, let no man boast that he knows the sublime secrets of art, if he have not seen thee and thy Cathedral Church, O Parma ! "

While his great work upon the cupola was still in progress, and especially during the winter months, when activity upon it was either reduced or suspended, Correggio, as we have seen, painted a number of separate pictures. Among them we may place the *Madonna of St. Jerome* (plates CLIX to CLXII), the *Madonna "della Scodella"* (plates CLXIII to CLXVI), and the "*Night*" (plates CLVII and CLVIII). Immediately afterwards he began work upon the *Madonna of St. George* (plates CCXXVI and CCXXVII), for the Oratory or Confraternity of St. Peter Martyr in Modena.

It was remarked above that the drawing for this picture – the drawing (plate CCLXXXV) is preserved with it in the Dresden Gallery – shows a sketch for its architectonic frame. If Mengs and Ratti are right in saying that the frame was not of wood, nor yet of stucco or stone, but was painted on the wall of the Oratory by Correggio himself or by one of his pupils, this fact will lend greater probability to the opinion expressed by Pungileoni, who held that the picture was already finished in 1532, since the chronicle of Lancelotti affirms that the decoration of the Oratory took place in February of that year. Pungileoni's opinion, therefore, confirmed by the artistic evidence offered by the picture itself, may well justify us in believing the *Madonna of St. George* to have been painted in 1531.

In front of an arch through which a tract of open country is visible, stands a high pedestal serving as a throne for the Madonna. She is seated, clad in a red dress and a light blue mantle, and holding her Son in her arms. With a smile and glance that show His longing, the Child stretches out His arms towards a modelled group of turreted buildings representing Modena. St. Geminian, a figure in rich episcopal vestments, is seen receiving the model from the hands of a divinely fair angel, in order to offer it to the Divine Child. The Virgin, radiant in her youthful comeliness, turns her head meanwhile to the opposite side of the picture, lending her attention to St. Peter Martyr, who, as is shown by his pointing gesture, intercedes for the faithful present in the Confraternity Chapel. In front of these two saints appear the full length figures of St. George and of St. John the Baptist. St. George, with the accoutrements of knighthood – a coat of silver mail and a red mantle – stands half turned backwards and with his face towards the spectator. His figure with its open countenance and calm, strong pose is heroically conceived. His eye is large and thoughtful, his forehead wide, his beard just growing, his hair thick and curly – a type of noble and vigorous youth. The quiet gesture with which he holds his left hand at his side, his right hand upon the lance, and his foot upon the severed head of the dragon, betrays his latent strength, ready to reveal itself in the combat. The absence of the dragon's fantastic, coiled body has also been well-thought out by the artist. To have introduced it into the painting would either have caused confusion or necessitated its being shown in modest proportions; whereas, by representing only the enormous head, the artist leaves imagination to conjure up the fearful bulk of the slain monster, and thus brings to mind the verses of Dante:

> “ *Vedi oggimai quant'esser dée quel tutto*
> *Ch'a così fatta parte si confaccia.*”

St. John the Baptist turns towards the spectator, holding a reed-like cross and pointing to the Virgin and the Child. His form is that of a healthy, handsome youth, and he bends with grace upon his left leg, of which the foot rests upon the lowest step of the throne. The goat-skin and mantle held by a cord about his waist fit loosely about his limbs, leaving his arms and legs almost entirely uncovered. But he has nothing of the stern asceticism suited to the Forerunner. He is a gay, comely youth, robust and happy, and with the smile of a faun.

Four *puttini* with very florid forms stand in front of the pedestal, playing with the arms of St. George. The one in the centre tries to draw the sword from its scabbard; while two others, standing farther back, have lifted up the helmet in order to put it on the head of the fourth, who leans on the leg of the *putto* next to him, bending down with truly comical grace. This little episode, as we see, causes great amusement to the small angel who carries the model of Modena. A somewhat similar figuration may be seen in Mantegna's fresco of the *Condemnation of St. James,* where a small child has put on the helmet of the soldier standing beside him.

Scannelli has recorded a saying of Guido Reni about these *putti.* Whenever he met a citizen of Modena, we are told, Guido would ask him " whether those *putti* of Antonio of Correggio had grown up yet, or if they were still to be found in the picture belonging to San Pietro Martire where he had left them, as he could not believe that, being alive and of animated flesh, they intended to remain in that form."

That this complicated network of figures can be unravelled and perfectly understood is due to the interplay of lights and shadows distributed with unrivalled intuition throughout the picture. This clearness amid such a crowded variety of objects is, in fact, a result of the transparency and penetrativeness of the air circulating between the bodies; and hence when Guercino copied the picture, knowing that he could never arrive at its " airy " quality, he felt obliged to increase the spaces between the figures. It need hardly be said that the architectonic portion of the picture is no less manifold in forms than the figures grouped below it. In the two angles formed at the sides of the arch opening out in the centre of the picture and surmounted by a cherub's head two figures of boys, painted in light yellow chiaroscuro imitating gold, emerge from behind festoons of flowers, supporting a plaited work of withies and a Mantegnesque garland of leaves and fruit. This background forms part of a square setting, and is crowned by a rounded aperture, shaded by interwoven leafage. Beyond the arch lies the open country: a tree, a few buildings, and in the distance the delicate curve of a hill.

We find in this picture – the last painted by the artist with a sacred subject – the simplicity of the themes employed in his first works and especially in the *Madonna of St. Francis* (plates xx to xxiii) finished in 1515. It would seem as though the mind of the artist, terrified by his latest pictorial audacities and filled with vague regrets for the past, had paused for a moment, and heard a voice calling him back to the traditional composure of earlier days. It is very probable that the picture was painted at Correggio, whither the artist had retired towards the close of 1530, overcome by grief at the death of his wife, and disgusted by the epigrams and criticisms called forth by the frescoes of Parma Cathedral. There, in his modest, tranquil house, surrounded by his aged parents, his children, and his fellow-townsfolk – near Veronica Gambara, and with the calm, wide horizon of the Po Valley before him – he must have longed to transfuse into his work his peace of mind and environment, and to go back himself to the visions of the past.

Certainly, the artist's breadth of form, his vigorous colouring, and his technical power could not now turn backwards; yet it cannot be denied that of all his sacred pictures the *Madonna of St. George* shows the most simple arrangement, almost symmetrical and according to the traditional scheme. That arch opening out in the background, the attitudes of the saints, certain details like the stool beneath the Virgin's feet and the small angel in chiaroscuro who supports it upon his shoulders – all these are notes awakening distant memories.

Shortly before his death Correggio agreed to paint an altar panel for the magnificent Doctor Alberto Panciroli of Reggio, receiving from him a payment of 25 gold crowns on account. This money was refunded to its owner by the artist's father on June 15, 1534.

The two tempera paintings on canvas in the Louvre (plates CCXXXII to CCXXXIV) were originally among the objects of art possessed by Isabella d'Este.

The figure of *Vice* is seated at the foot of a great tree, struggling to free himself from the cords with which he is bound to its trunk. Three women, with snakes twined in their hair stand beside him: one holds a number of vipers in her hand and applies them to his flesh; the second deafens his ears by blowing upon a long whistle; the third binds his left foot. Mengs tells us that the first is Conscience who bites him; the second is Joy caressing him with sound; and the third is Habit who makes him her prisoner. But as *Vice* certainly finds none of the three so tiresome as this Joy whistling into his ear, she is therefore more probably herself Conscience, tormenting him with the shrill hissing of reproof. The figure armed with the vipers will then be Passion, and the third figure will remain Habit as before. Below, in half-figure, is seen a roguish young satyr holding a bunch of grapes in his hand.

Virtue is seated armed, trampling a dragon with her feet. She, too, is surrounded by three female figures. A winged Glory stands above her, in the act of setting a laurel crown upon her head. At her left side is seated a figure symbolizing sacred and profane Knowledge: with her left hand she points to the sky; in her right hand she holds a compass with which she measures a globe, and before her stands a small *putto*. On Virtue's right hand sits a figure of noble aspect representing the Four Cardinal Virtues – Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance – these being signified by the serpent twined in her hair, the sword, the lion-skin, and the bit. Above, in a halo of light, three winged maidens pass in flight, playing and singing. A wide valley stretches out in the background beyond a woven wall of leafage after Mantegna's manner.

An unfinished painting in tempera, presenting the same composition, is to be seen in the Doria Gallery in Rome (plates CCXXVIII to CCXXXI). The drawing of the lower part is practically finished and coloured, but two of the three winged maidens flying above the figure of *Virtue* are barely indicated in outline. The authenticity of the picture having never been called in question until a few years ago, it was always considered an undoubted copy by Correggio himself; and this opinion was shared by persons like Mengs, Mundler, and Meyer, the latter of whom, indeed, called it " undoubtedly original."

Then came Morelli to disturb this agreement. Morelli found that the canvas had a modern look; that the drapery was clumsy and heavy; that the child standing near *Virtue* was disagreable and grimacing; and, lastly, that the colouring was lacking in transparency and in parts showed tones as of porcelain. He accordingly put forward the hypothesis that the painting might be one of the copies – left unfinished – of the more precious pieces in the collection of the banker Jabach, copies which the banker, according to Mariette's revelations, caused to be painted by Jean-Baptiste and Michel Corneille, by Pesne, Massé, and Rousseau.

After a long and careful examination of the tempera in the Doria Gallery we return to the ancient belief. The canvas declared by Morelli to " have a modern look " is fine old cloth of Rennes; the folds of the drapery are delicate and soft; the child with his faint little grimace is delightful; and the colouring is deftly achieved by means of soft veils of paint. It is a pleasure to find ourselves in agreement with Adolfo Venturi, who has pronounced the Roman tempera to be more beautiful than that of the Louvre; but, in order that the reader may be in a position to judge for himself, we have included details of the precious painting as well as the entire picture in our reproductions.

But there are further considerations to be made. At Mantua, the two tempera paintings of *Vice* and *Virtue* were placed on either side of the door leading into the cabinet decorated with pictures by Mantegna, Costa, and Perugino. Thus we read in the Inventory published by Carlo d'Arco: " Two paintings placed near the entrance door by the hand of the late Antonio of Correggio, in one of which is depicted the story of Apollo and Marsyas, and in the other are three Virtues, that is to say, Justice, Temperance, and Fortitude, who are shown teaching a child how he should measure his time, to the end he may be crowned with the laurel and obtain the palm."

Now it is to be noted that the two tempera paintings of the Louvre have a breadth of 86 cm. and a height of 1 m. 41 cm.; whereas the tempera of the Doria Gallery, though of equal breadth, is almost 10 cm. higher. It is clear, therefore, that this second painting could not possibly have been fitted into the place it was intended to fill; and we believe, accordingly, that Correggio, having either mistaken the measurement or having received a different one, interrupted the picture when he had done little more than sketch it out, and painted a second version of it with the right dimensions.

In the same way all doubts must be banished as to the authenticity of the *Ganymede* at Vienna (plate CCXXXV). This has been questioned because, as we mentioned above, the figure of the Phrygian boy is identical with that of the angel in the pendentive representing *St. Bernard degli Uberti* (plates CLXXXI and CLXXXII) in the Cathedral of Parma. Certainly, the beautiful angel is not the figure best adapted to take the part of cup-bearer to the gods, nor is the pictorial adaptation without its shortcomings. Ganymede shows no terror at being snatched up and borne aloft by the eagle whose shape has been assumed by Jove, and the folds of his wind-blown mantle are more suited to one descending from the sky than to one who mounts upwards from the earth. The light illuminating

Ganymede is also treated in exactly the same way as in the figure of the angel, whereas the great bulk of the eagle poised above him ought to put him partly into shadow. Yet what an "airy" wonder – if we may so express it – is this figure borne into the sky! What beauty in the mountainous landscape seen from the high altitude, what strength in the eagle, what tender agility in the white hound barking after his master so inexplicably carried away!

Correggio or one of his patrons, it is clear, was pleased to translate the sprightly inhabitant of Paradise to the halls of Olympus; and so all that the adaptation indicates is that the same figure was first of all an angel and later on became Ganymede. In this way we are able to date the work about 1530 or shortly afterwards.

Thus we come to the *Io* (plate CCXXXVI), whose date must be assigned to much the same period of time. Io, a nymph of Thessaly and priestess in Juno's temple, was seen by Jupiter as she returned from paying a visit to her father. Overcome by her youth and sovereign beauty, Jupiter, as lord of the world and the thunder, makes known his passion to the maiden, but his declaration of love terrifies her, and she flees away over the plains of Arcadia. Jupiter, however, pursues her, presses upon her, and overtakes her, folding her in his embrace under the form, or, rather, under the covering, of a cloud. This is the moment which Correggio has chosen to represent with matchless art, an art both daring and decorous, and free from all suggestion of immodesty.

Seated and almost thrown backwards upon a low bank, over which a snow-white drapery is thrown with studied negligence, the figure of Io is seen from behind, but her head is turned backwards towards the spectator in a movement of delight. Her eyes are half-closed, and her mouth opens like a flower to receive the kiss of Jove, whose visage is faintly discerned in the blue-ashen cloud; her golden hair is gathered into tresses at the crown of her head, leaving her brow uncovered, fair, and luminous. Every part of her enchanting form thrills with pleasure. The great toe of her raised right foot is tense, while the four others curve inwards; her left foot touching the ground twists and turns; her right hand seems to tremble and close, and her left arm with its encircling gesture seems to press to her body the cloud, in which, besides the face of the deity, his hand can be discerned passing beneath her arm.

Here and there among the delicate wreaths of vapour a slender tree insinuates its leaves. A large water-jar, below which a stream of clear water runs over the stones, is set against the bank supporting the back of Io, and may perhaps represent the river-god Inachus, the father of the adventurous nymph. On the right a hind puts forth her head to drink from the stream.

The problem of showing almost the entire body of Io and at the same time representing her as clasped in the embrace of the cloud-transformed Jupiter has been admirably solved by the artist. Moreover, although Io's life-size figure occupies almost the entire painting, all the vague, uncertain solemnness of the ancient myth is felt in that dim suggestion of the face and hand of the god, and in the slow wreaths of clouds that shadow the sky.

The *Danaë* (plates CCXXXVII to CCXXXIX), now in the Villa Borghese at Rome, is the only painting of a mythological subject by Correggio left in Italy. In this picture we see the sweet daughter of Acrisius, a nude figure with delicate, virginal limbs, bending her face towards Cupid, who is seated at the foot of her couch. Cupid lifts up the white draperies partly covering the maiden, in order that nothing may be lost of the shower of gold into which Jupiter has transformed himself, and which will make her the mother of Perseus. Two small Loves stand below the couch to the right, sharpening the points of their arrows, of which a quiver stands full beside them. From the high window is seen a building in ruins and a line of softly declining hills.

In this picture of Danaë, delight does not pass over into voluptuous intoxication; it remains as if spiritualized by the pure tranquillity of her naive and delicate form. There is a touch of classical composure in the presentation, and this gives it an indefinable charm. The attractiveness of the picture is, indeed, due not least of all to the execution, with its wonderful impasto and fluidity of tints, which appear to have been fused together like wax in the fire rather than to have been laid on with the brush. So, too, the relations between the various lights emerging almost insensibly from the chromatic scale succeed to one another in perfect equilibrium and in harmony with the rest of the painting. In the figure of Danaë herself colour seems even to be entirely absent, and hence, in a near view, her marvellous torso, worthy to be compared with that of an antique Venus, does not reveal its various planes to the eye, these standing out clearly only when the spectator withdraws to a point from which he dominates the picture as a whole. Then the nude parts, enhanced by the tones of pale gold, gradually display the various planes of the modelled flesh against the white of the bed-linen.

The smiling head is surmounted by a volume of golden hair, of which one tress falls down upon the right shoulder. The two arms do not perhaps correspond to so much loveliness; the right arm is excessively long and robust, and the left arm leaves the body with an unnecessary tortuousness.

Cupid meanwhile, as if adoring the presence of the god, looks up towards the cloud and its golden rain, persuading the Argive maiden to receive it gladly within her lap, and to count herself fortunate in having inspired the Father of the Gods with so great a love. The soft flesh of his left leg is flattened out by its pressure against the couch upon which he is seated.

The highest light is directed towards Danaë's bosom, each detail being so arranged that nothing shall disturb this luminous concentration. Thus the cloud above is of a calm, yellowish hue, as if the gold with which it is turgid had tinged it with its own reflex light. The sky is faintly veiled; and Cupid's iridescent wings have attenuated values. Even the two small Loves below are painted in deeper, warmer colour, in order to prevent their taking to themselves any part of the circumscribed refulgence.

Yet, full of life and splendour as they are, neither the *Io* nor the *Danaë* displays its original force and beauty. The left part of the *Io* has suffered some slight damage; the *Danaë* is "tormented" by an infinite number of cracks and has one knee restored. Still, even this damage appears endurable in comparison with the state to which the *Leda* of the Berlin Gallery (plate CCXL) has unfortunately been reduced. Not only has the head of Leda been repainted by Schlesinger, but we have to deplore numerous restorations, especially in the joinings of the canvas.

Leda is seated upon a mound at the foot of a large group of trees, at a spot where the bank of the Eurotas juts out into the river. As in the *Danaë*, the flesh of Leda gleams against the white of the linen cloth upon which she sits. With one arm extended behind her back she supports herself against the ground; with the other she grasps the wing of a lascivious swan. The swan presses against her body, and stretching out his beak, greedy of kisses, moves his neck sensually between her breasts. Even so, Lübke calls her the "most innocent of her kind," since the tender beauty of her body causes her frenzy to appear both temperate and decent. The new head, particularly when we consider the difficulty of taking in hand at all a picture by Correggio, seems to be fairly successful; but its smile is artificial and cold, and we miss the spiritual animation that vibrates in the faces of Io and of Danaë. This being so, a repainting of the head after the ancient copy of the picture now in Madrid might very well be attempted.

In his treatment of this subject Correggio has kept little or not at all to the ancient myth which told of the love of Jupiter for Leda, daughter of Thespius, King of Aetolia, and wife to Tyndareus, King of Sparta. According to the legend, Jupiter determined to transform himself into a swan, and in this guise to surprise Leda while she bathed, all-unsuspecting, in the river Eurotas. Venus, who was his accomplice, was to attack Jupiter in the form of an eagle, and he would then take refuge in Leda's bosom. In Correggio's presentation of the episode, however, the mythical sin of Leda is shared by all her companions, and the swans provide lascivious pastime for all the bathers. To the right, where the stream forms an inlet surrounded by wooded shade, one of these maidens, standing in the water up to her knees, smilingly makes a gesture – the last gesture, it may be, prompted by yielding modesty – as though she would draw back from a swan that pursues her with unspeakable desires, swimming with his legs and sailing after her with outspread wings. Another fair creature is seen in the act of quitting the water: with one knee already resting upon the bank and with her eyes still shining after her recent emotions, she turns, as if to express her gratitude, towards a swan which has just left her and is seen flying swiftly away. Two handmaidens, completely dressed, stand upon the river-bank. One, wearing a light blue over-vest and leaning upon the mound with both her hands, watches with laughing curiosity the swan moving to the attack; the other, clad in red, lifts up a white sheet and throws it over the bather who is now leaving the water.

At the opposite side of the picture we see those who greet the fugitive hours of pleasure with strains of music. Love has set aside his quiver and plays upon the harp, while before him two *putti* – one seated on the ground, the other strutting with an infantile pretentiousness that moves to laughter – blow upon rustic horns.

The number and variety of the figures, and the development given to the landscape make this picture, in spite of its damaged state, unquestionably the most noteworthy of Correggio's mythological paintings. The female forms have all the grace and beauty belonging to the time when the body, while still possessing the bloom and firmness of maidenhood, is first shaken by the delights of love. But this sensuality, we repeat it, is spiritualized; it is a sensuality that no painter before or since Correggio has been able to express with equal charm.

During the last months of his life we find Correggio occupied again with the *Loves of Jove.* A series of cartoons, representing various episodes in them and probably intended for tapestries, was ordered from him by the Duke of Mantua. After the artist's death, Frederico Gonzaga wrote to Alessandro Caccia, the Governor of Parma, asking him to obtain the cartoons from Correggio's heirs, or, failing that, to recover from them the sum of fifty ducats which he had paid in advance for the work. In a first letter, dated September 12, 1534, the Duke begins with the words, " Master Antonio of Correggio, the painter, was engaged upon many works for me " – words which confirm Vasari's testimony that the mythological paintings described above were executed for Gonzaga – and then goes on to insist that search should be made for the cartoons which had been already begun. These are to be sequestrated and forwarded at once. " They are mine," the Duke exclaims, " and no one else can have a right to them." Five days later, Caccia replied that all search for the cartoons had proved vain, and that the best course would be to make inquiries for them in Correggio itself, as the artist and his children had conveyed all their goods and chattels to the home of the family, with the exception of two cases in which nothing had been found. After allowing a month to pass by, the Duke returned to the charge. He now urged Caccia to search for the cartoons in the house of Scipione Montino Della Rosa at Parma, as he " had heard that they were in his hands." The Governor answered that he was certain that the cartoons were not in Della Rosa's possession, for he had been directed to him at the outset, and the Cavalier had repeatedly denied all knowledge of their whereabouts.

To us it is clear that the Governor had walked straight into the enemy's camp. Della Rosa was probably keeping the cartoons secretly for himself. Thus Frederico Gonzaga failed to recover his drawings, and it is probable that he never saw his money again.

The notarial act by which in 1514 the representatives of the Franciscans commissioned Correggio to paint his first great picture, *The Madonna of St. Francis* (plates xx to xxiii), was drawn up in the painter's own house, in his bedroom upon the ground floor. In this house, perhaps in the very room where the earliest visions of art had smiled upon him, he died at the first breath of spring on March 5, 1534. He was barely forty-five and had been a widower for five years. The care of his orphan children was now left to the artist's aged, grief-stricken father and mother, who had stood beside him while he died. Veronica Gambara, who had never ceased to wear mourning after her husband's death, came to visit the sorrowing parents. She knew the glory of their son, and was able to speak words of comfort.

Correggio's illness cannot have been of long duration. Little more than a month before his death he was present as a witness at the signing of the marriage-contract of Chiara da Correggio. In his account of the artist's death Vasari has either invented or repeated a strange tale. Correggio, he informs us, had received at Parma a payment of sixty *scudi* in small coin, and, wishing to carry this money to Correggio for certain present needs, he set out on foot homewards, laden with the weight. Oppressed by the great heat of the season, and all in a sweat as he was from his walk and the sun, he drank some cold water to refresh himself, and then took to his bed with a violent fever, " nor did he raise his head from the pillows until he was dead."

Now the paintings executed by Correggio in Parma had all been finished and paid for some years before this time, nor was he so reduced in circumstances as to need to walk from Parma to Correggio, a distance of rather more than twenty-five miles. It is known, besides, that he was in the habit of travelling with horses, and our documents prove that he had already been in Correggio for some considerable time. And how diverting is Vasari's tale of great heat in February, and in the valley of the Po, where the cold in that month is glacial!

No absolutely certain memorial of the artist's physical appearance has been left to us either in written records or in art, although nowadays many different portraits are put forward with the claim that they are made " in his image and likeness." There is not a shadow of proof to support these pretensions. On the contrary, we have Vasari's testimony: " I have employed all diligence," he says, " to obtain his portrait, but as he never made it himself, nor was he ever painted by others, living always very modestly, I have not been able to obtain it."

A portrait ascribed to the school of Correggio in the Uffizi Gallery, representing a man still young and with a chestnut beard, was traditionally regarded as the Master's likeness, but, as we have shown in a monograph upon the subject, others have sought for that likeness in other faces, and now the painting recently acquired by Lord Lee of Fareham is also proclaimed to be Correggio's self-portrait. Uncertain information about differing faces! Mere conjectures and nothing more!

As to the painter's moral character, Vasari writes as follows: " He was by nature very timid, and with great inconvenience to himself and by dint of unremitting toil he exercised his art on behalf of his family, which was a sore burden to him; and although he was by nature kindly, he none the less afflicted himself more than is right in bearing the weight of those passions which ordinarily oppress mankind. In his art he was very melancholy, and soon wearied under its fatigue." And a little further on he says: " Antonio, as one who was charged with a family, desired ever to be saving, and on this account he grew to be so miserly that he could not have been more so."

Now to those who are familiar with Correggio's real financial circumstances, this account must appear altogether unfounded and worthy of a place with the absurdities related by Vasari as to the cause of his death. That he was avaricious is unlikely, for we find him ending a long law-suit about an inheritance with a most generous compromise; but it may be true that he was anxious to save. Motives for prudent economy were certainly not wanting to him. Perhaps it was a presentiment that he might die young, and a desire not to leave his family in humble circumstances; or, again, he may have thought that his daughters, two of whom died afterwards in tender years, ought not to marry without a dowry, nor his son Pomponio be left to support himself solely by his work. Perhaps the very nature he had inherited from his parents – simple, frugal folk, taken up by their business affairs – contributed to his determination, and this parsimony, noticed and misunderstood by some, may all the more easily have given rise to a reputation for avarice, owing to the common and absurd notion that an artist ought to be prodigal, disordered, and fantastic.

On the other hand, it is possible that, as Vasari says, he was "melancholy," and that his temperament was clouded over by a certain sadness. The observation that his art overflows with mirth as well as with beauty proves nothing, for a kind of duality between a man's nature and the character of his intellectual production is by no means a rare occurrence. Nor were causes for sadness absent from the closing years of the artist's life, chief among them being the death of his wife. Vasari may be right, too, when he says that Correggio "afflicted himself more than he should have done in bearing the weight of those passions which ordinarily oppress mankind." Entirely devoted as he was to his work, constantly listening to the marvellous inspiration of his genius, and absorbed in the beauties created by his brush, whenever the slightest annoyance distracted him from the world of art, compelling him to contend with his fellow-beings, Correggio must have felt himself no less perturbed than if he had been faced with some terrible misfortune. His modesty may not have looked for praise, but we believe that he keenly felt and deeply feared the sting of criticism, even when it was foolish and contrary to good sense. The Canon's pleasantry must have been very bitter to Correggio.

And this silent humility, this almost terrified sensibility, will explain why he never attempted to measure himself against the other great artists of his time in the chief centres of culture. Discreet, content with his lot, unassailed by ambition, he may never once have felt the slightest envy at the success of others – never once have thought that he had equalled them, and that in movement, in light, in smiles, he had surpassed them all. His candid soul was satisfied with the affectionate admiration of his pupils and neighbours; his desires and his activity were centred in the tranquil, unremitting exercise of his art.

In 1761 Francesco Algarotti wrote to Antonio Maria Zarotti: " And if fortune fail you, can you not be content with your *virtù*? *Virtù*, believe me, is no idle word; yours at least gives you a livelihood and keeps you agreeably occupied all the day. So, too, thought Correggio and Baroccio: the first never moved from Parma, nor the second from Urbino; and both were more happy and contented, I warrant you, than the first of court-painters."

Correggio was buried in San Francesco, but not much more than a century had passed after his death when his tomb was mishandled and destroyed.

THE ART OF CORREGGIO

Ortensio Landi was the first to draw attention to the exceptional character of Correggio's artistic personality. The long-continued uncertainty of critics in assigning him his masters, and their hesitation, only recently overcome, in determining to what school he belongs, prove better than any declaration, ancient or modern, that in his art the individual elements far exceed those acquired from others. Indeed, if we consider the processes which went to the development of the other great painters of Italy, we shall find that very few of them succeeded in developing their personal aptitude to the same extent as Allegri, and that very few were able to see the world of phenomena from a point of new and in a light so individual as his. In this he can be compared only with Leonardo and Michelangelo, and the advantage remains perhaps with him. For the influence of Tuscan art, and especially of the art of Verrocchio, upon Leonardo, and that of Jacopo della Quercia, Donatello, and Luca Signorelli upon Michelangelo, are far more noticeable than the influence of Mantegna or the Emilian school upon Correggio. There is no need to mention Raphael and Titian in this respect, since the evolution of forms and colours that led up to their manner is evident.

How many discussions, on the other hand, about the artistic development of Allegri! At first it was pretended that he came from the Lombard school and had had " contacts " with Leonardo; next he was seen in Mantua under the tuition of Mantegna; then the new-classicists refused to allow him to be exempted from Roman influences, that is, from the influence of Raphael, Buonarroti, and ancient art; and, last of all, he was snatched from Milan, Mantua, and Rome, and put to school at Ferrara. Now it is true that Correggio tempered his own nature and his early Emilian notions of art with the deep teachings of Mantegna, that he drew elements of his chiaroscuro and his smiles from Leonardo, that he had a certain indirect knowledge of the great productions of Rome, and that he had in all probability seen Raphael's *St. Cecilia* at Bologna and the *Madonna of San Sisto* at Piacenza; but the grand, soaring flight was the work of his genius alone.

This marvellous independence baffled Vasari. Until he visited Emilia and saw the works of Correggio, Vasari was undoubtedly of opinion that the art of that region still continued quietly to follow the formulas of the Quattrocento, and that its development had not progressed, and could not progress, beyond the work of Francia and Costa. To Vasari, living between Rome and Florence, the schools of Emilia seemed antiquated. This is shown by his repeating the legend of

Francia dying of disappointment after seeing in Raphael's *St. Cecilia* the condemnation of his own art, and even more by his remarking with ill-concealed astonishment that Correggio "followed the modern manner perfectly." So unaccountable did this fact appear to him that he laments that the painter never visited Rome, where "he would have worked miracles and caused much ado to many who were accounted great in his day." We need hardly say that Vasari's regrets are not shared by those who believe that Correggio's originality depended chiefly upon the isolation in which he lived.

The compositions of Correggio never follow a lofty development of thought or events. The life which he expresses in all his subjects is never tormented by contrasts, but flows harmoniously on, rippled at the most by faint gradations in a single sentiment. It is a life almost completely detached from realistic and historical relations.

Leonardo in *The Last Supper* achieved the expression of various states of human feeling in contrast with the divine resignation of the Saviour. Raphael in the *Stanze* of the Vatican summed up the spirit of the Papal Court at the time of the Renaissance in all its wonderful theological and humanistic activity by painting together the *Dispute of the Sacrament* and the *School of Athens*. The composition at times shows great simplicity, but the spiritual intention is profound.

The choice and grouping of Correggio's figures, on the other hand, are more living and warm, and the whole composition proceeds from a single idea. There is no interweaving of various themes, but one theme sung by a thousand voices. In the cupola of San Giovanni, it is the Redeemer ascending, surrounded by the Apostles; in the Cathedral cupola it is the Virgin borne upwards to heaven, accompanied by angels and saints. What we have to admire in these two vast works, what forces itself upon our attention, is the greatness of the *painter*; the idea in both is one and the same, an idea extremely simple and immediately understood.

This divergence will appear still more remarkable, if we turn from Correggio's work to that of Michelangelo in the

Sistine Chapel, where life in all its most solemn and fatal significance from the Creation to the Last Day is searched out and scrutinized with a poetic intensity that hovers between the spirit of the Bible and that of Dante.

Correggio has in common with Michelangelo, however, the immediate perception of the subject as form. For both artists the thought, whatever it may be, is not at first purely ideal, and then after a process of inquiry and labour clothed with form; it is born and develops *with* the plastic representation, through the imaginative force exercised by the effect and through the unerring skill of the master-hand. All the impressions which their minds receive are already fashioned artistically. Hence arises the individuality and the originality of their style. Each of them, according to his individual temperament and in his own manner, liberates his figures from his mind, giving them special characters which show that they have indeed been experienced in reality, yet not perceived through the direct means of models. And herein lies the explanation why, except in extremely rare instances, neither Michelangelo nor Correggio painted isolated portraits, or inserted them in their extensive compositions. In this they differ from Raphael, with whom the practice was frequent, from Titian, and from many others. Another significant feature is our artist's refusal to avail himself of the splendour of contemporary costume with its sumptuous stuffs in order to secure pictorial effect. Think of the marvellous fabrics in which the artists of the day arrayed their personages – the superb mantles wherewith Gaudenzio Ferrari draped even his Madonnas, the gorgeous note of colour lent by the bearers to Raphael's *Miracle of Bolsena.* Correggio used only simple stuffs of one colour, not knowing that thereby he was following the principle laid down by Apelles, of whom it is told that " seeing a figure of Helen painted by one of his pupils and adorned all over with gold and jewels, he made fun of him, saying that, unable to make her beautiful, he had made her rich; for Apelles was by nature most averse from ornaments of that kind, preferring beauty unadulterated and sincere."

Needless to say, this community of artistic principles wrought no similarity in the production of the two great masters. Too many other factors intervened to separate them. Michelangelo was grandiose, weighty, austere; Correggio was simple, clear, and gay. In the sober humanity of his nudes, in the glow of his colour, Correggio has the advantage over Michelangelo; he surpasses Raphael in his movement, his transparency, and his happy unconcern; but he falls inevitably below them in figurative variety and meaning, in the solemnity and significance of a manifold composition. Yet all this being granted, and fully admitting the absolute simplicity of Correggio's conceptions, we must nevertheless recognise that the intuition whereby he gave them expression, his remarkable novelty, and what we may call his lyrical power remain unsurpassed. To some critics, indeed, his compositions have seemed deficient, not merely in grandeur, but also in harmony. Perhaps they could not forgive him for his independence from traditional forms of symmetry, or, at least, from academical restraint. Thus, while they have reproved him for making the figures of the Apostles in the cupola of San Giovanni too large, forgetting that their great size would dwarf it, they have found the figures of the cupola of the Cathedral, so small as to cause confusion. These observations are not altogether unjust. To ourselves, however, it seems likely that Correggio made the figures in San Giovanni large because the darkness of that Church would have rendered figures of any less size invisible; and similarly we believe that the figures of the Cathedral cupola did not appear so confused when the painting was still in good condition, and not, as it is to-day, marked by every conceivable kind of damage.

It is true that Correggio is above all a *painter*; indeed, among the great Italian artists he is pre-eminently *the painter*. But because we recognise this truth, there is no need for us to diminish his other qualities. Of his drawing we will speak presently ; yet even with regard to his compositions it has been said that they are of scanty interest, that "not one of them is really beautiful," and, again, that he arranged his groups well, but that all his pictures are constructed with the object of showing off fine masses of light and shade rather than of representing the subject chosen. Such criticisms as these would sacrifice Correggio uselessly to an idolatry for Raphael. They forget the severe and measured arrangement of the Doctors and Evangelists on the pendentives of the cupola of San Giovanni, the arrangement of the Apostles in the cupola itself, and the lunette with the Evangelist of Patmos, remarkable above all for its linear restraint. Nor do they vouchsafe a single thought to the triumphant novelty of the *Madonna of St. Jerome* (plates CLIX to CLXII) and the "*Night*" (plates CLVII and CLVIII), where the new arrangement contrasts with the older and yet revitalised grouping of the Saints in the first and in the last of Correggio's more important altar-pieces – the *Madonna of St. Francis* (plates XX to XXIII) and the *Madonna of St. George* (plates CCXXVI and CCXXVII).

That Correggio was not preoccupied, as has been pretended, by pictorial effects alone, but that a quite perceptible idea of unity influenced his artistic decisions, is proved by his determination to give action to all his personages, and by the exclusion from his pictures of all supernumerary, inert figures, for whose appearance no reason could be given. Correggio was a master in the art of linking up the entire sentiment of a picture by means of the interplay of poses, and in the wonderful animation he has given to the hands of his figures, each of them harmonizing in expression with the subject of the painting. And this is all the more noteworthy, as the art of the period was more bent, in its unfolding of beauty, upon securing a harmony of line than a harmony of sentiment. The number of figures distributed solely for effect in the great works of the century is, indeed, past counting.

In Correggio, on the other hand, everything moves. St. Joseph is no more the familiar figure of the silent and melancholy intruder: he lives and shares in the Virgin's joy, he gathers dates for the Divine Child, or he works apart. The angels no longer pause in passive contemplation or dally in motionless distractions; they try to amuse the Divine Child by turning over the pages of books or by offering Him fruit, or they will help the saints by bending down branches of fruit-trees or tying up the ass. So, too, the *putti*, scattered everywhere throughout the pictures, are either busy holding up models of cities, books, mitres, pastoral staves, and the like, or they divert themselves by spying into the Magdalene's vase and donning the armour of St. George.

This intensity of life, which required for its expression that the various parts of the picture should be in harmony, necessarily introduced into the composition an element of a spiritual kind; and hence the artist's "will to expression" must have been at least as strong as his preoccupation with pictorial effect. We may believe, accordingly, that criticism has sometimes confused beauty and harmony of composition with breadth and profundity of subject.

It is, however, in his drawings that Correggio's pictorial temperament is most clearly seen. Never or hardly ever forming a fine and careful study of details, a conscientious, unswerving attempt to reproduce a contour, these drawings are simple impressions recorded with the twofold purpose of fixing the attitude of the figures and of giving the effect of light and shade. In other words, their concern is with mass.

At first, they were not held in great consideration. Vasari, who possessed a few, remarks that "if Antonio had not carried his works to that perfection which we see, his drawings (although they show good style, elegance, and a masterly skill) would never have given him the name amongst artists which his works have conferred upon him." Naturally, these drawings were in greater request and obtained larger prices when the fame of the Master began to spread.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century we find the following note by Giuseppe Pinacci: " Concerning drawings, all are esteemed when they are the work of the earliest masters in the series, that is to say, of the ancient masters. Drawings for study and delight are those made from the time of Mantegna onwards. Drawings are counted of price when they are of entire works and well preserved. But in respect of studies, as drapery, feet, hands, and the like things, merely sketched out, these, though they be the work of excellent artists, are studies solely for painters, but are of no great esteem. Of such there are only three authors whose every line is esteemed, if it be truly theirs, and as well for the rarity of their drawings as for their great name: these are Michelangelo, Raphael, and Correggio. Every fragment by them has its value.'' And about the same time, Zanetti, writing to an amateur of art on the subject of drawings, exclaims: " You, with your excellent good taste, will know how to protect yourself against vendors who cry up to the skies some sketch worth two half-pence, while with a thousand oaths and perjuries they try to pass it off as the work of Titian – it may be – or of Correggio, or Raphael."

These opinions, however, represent a later point of view, influenced by a tendency in research and appraisement which had been entirely unknown to the old collectors, whose sole motive in gathering together their treasures was that of study. The acquisition of sketches for the purpose of judging the artist after his first thoughts and subsequent repentances – in other words, by the progress of his work – began with the seventeenth century, and must be accounted one of the good things in an age highly distinguished for conscientiousness in art and by craftsmen of supreme merit. It was about this time that Annibale Leonardelli, a Jesuit, taking a sentence in Pliny as his text, wrote the following words in a small book of his now entirely forgotten: " Paintings by good artists which their authors left unfinished are held in great esteem and consideration, because we can discover in them that which we do not see expressed in colour, but which remained as an idea in the minds of the painters now dead. Those sketches on canvas, those imperfect lineaments and interrupted outlines, enable us to understand the beauty wherewith the master intended to crown his work; they reveal to us the hidden secret of his thoughts, the secret which his brush was not allowed to express in a finished work."

But it is not so much for negligences in his slighter sketches and notebook jottings, compensated as they so often are by touches of immediate life and enchanting vigour, that critics have blamed Correggio: the quarrel has rather been with the style of his drawing in his great works. Vasari, for instance, in the first edition of the *Lives* indirectly accuses Correggio of not " drawing profoundly." If his drawing had been as good as his colour, Vasari thinks, Correggio would have " amazed the heavens and filled the earth with wonder." And Lodovico expressed the same view with greater directness: " It is true," he declares, " that he was a finer colourist than a draughtsman."

Naturally enough, the judgment thus expressed towards the middle of the sixteenth century was repeated periodically, with exaggerations, down to the time of Sandrart and Mengs. The latter pronounced Correggio's drawing to be grand and pleasing, but at the same time wanting in accuracy. None the less, it is significant that disparagement has almost always been followed by a kind of repentance. In the second edition of his book, Vasari suppressed the opinion quoted above; and Mengs likewise ended by writing that the charge of inexact drawing preferred against Correggio was, strictly speaking, false. "It is indeed true," Mengs says, "that he did not choose objects with such simple forms as did the ancient artists, nor are the muscles of his figures so robust as in those of Michelangelo, nor did he make display, like the Florentines, of understanding the nude; but, these things apart, he drew with extreme correctness the objects he selected to paint, nor can anything be found in his original works that can be blamed as faulty." We cannot surprise Dolce in any equivalent self-contradiction; but when a writer, however much he may be of the golden Cinquecento, informs us that Correggio was superior to Guilio Romano only in colour and charm, we are entitled to pass over his opinion in silence.

Here and there criticisms may, no doubt, be made as to the greater or less development of certain parts in some of Correggio's figures. We may, for instance, find that the left arm of the Redeemer in the *Coronation of the Madonna* (plate cxxix) is too short, and that the right arm of *Danaë* (plates ccxxxvii to ccxxxix) is too long; but, if the purpose of criticism is merely to judge an artist, not by his work as a whole, but by certain *minutiæ* scrutinized with the aid of a lantern, no artist could survive the test, for no one in the world is without defects, and only rhetoric can permit itself to style Andrea del Sarto the "faultless" painter.

Moreover, the injustice of the criticism is increased when what are taken for instances of incorrect drawing are, not so much partial weaknesses in a few details or the obscurity of certain foreshortenings and intertwinings, as the indefiniteness of Correggio's contours and the freedom of his lines, from which all ostentatious anatomical research and all calligraphy of continuous profile are absent. Whereas if we consider, as we ought to consider, the knowledge of the human body displayed by Correggio, when that body is set at liberty in all its most singular motions and aspects; if we consider the infinite variety of his solutions respecting the play of extremities, where hundreds of feet are viewed from every conceivable angle, and hands are bent in a thousand different ways, sometimes forming clusters – then our admiration will know no qualification, and we shall begin to convince ourselves that not even Michelangelo has propounded and overcome an equal number of problems.

Admiration did in fact grow to such an extent that it gave birth to a legend. Scannelli, who was the first to record it, mentions a rumour current in his day to the effect that Correggio procured certain small figures modelled by a friend. By turning them this way and that, the artist was able to study their foreshortenings with great care. The tale met with success and was repeated. Before very long the sculptor, who, according to Scannelli had been merely " an obliging friend with a certain skill in relief," became provided with the name and surname of Antonio Begarelli. Ratti next took up the legend, amplifying it until at last he almost believed that Begarelli was the author of the Cathedral cupola. " Begarelli." he informs us, " furnished Correggio with plaster models in relief for each figure, and even constructed for him the cornice that runs round the cupola, in order that he might observe the exact effect of each detail as it would appear in reality." Not content with this, he adds that, while Giuliano Traballesi – a painter who lived between 1727 and 1812 – was studying at Parma, he found " one of the aforesaid models in the soffit of the cupola ! " That such a legend should spread and obtain credence, in spite of its having first appeared more than a century after Correggio's death and even then in an hypothetical form, is itself surprising; it becomes still more so when we remember how, profiting by the example of Mantegna, the artist had in his earliest works given proof of his skill in solving problems of foreshortening, and how this skill had gradually been developed and strengthened in the pictures and frescoes painted previously to the cupola of the Cathedral. We must also bear in mind that not one of the hundreds upon hundreds of figures in this vast work is repeated, and that the effects are chiefly obtained by the treatment of light and shade, and by the values of the colour.

What helped Correggio to solve the complicated problems of these innumerable movements was, we may be sure, his constant attention to the motions of the human figure, the treasuring up of the effects perceived, and a spirit of induction. The " unknown " quantities in the problems of foreshortening set before him were in this way worked out by reflection, as though some Cyclops had seized nude bodies in his mighty hand and held them up before the painter's gaze, in order that he might surprise their poses. This, indeed, was the peculiar greatness of Correggio: he was, as Vasari says, " unsurpassed in solving every possible difficulty."

The sentiment that dominates Correggio's work is one of gaiety. None the less, in the expression of grief and austerity he has sometimes equalled and even surpassed his contemporaries. We may point to the anguished contraction of the Virgin's countenance, the sorrowful resignation upon the face of the Redeemer, the ecstatic faith of St. Placidus, the inspiration of St. John the Evangelist. Still, what Correggio succeeds in expressing is individual grief, not the tragicalness of the scene. A head, a figure, even an entire group, will bear the impress of anguish, but the drama is not diffused around them. It would seem as though Correggio were unwilling to dwell upon unhappy themes, and sought to dismiss them as quickly as he could. Thus the *Deposition from the Cross* (plates CXLI and CXLII) and the *Martyrdom of St. Placidus,* (plates CXXXIX and CXL) notwithstanding a great expressive force in parts and the " modern " beauty of their backgrounds, remain upon the whole two of the least pleasing pictures painted by the Master. On the other hand, what fervour, what shouts of joy, when he can abandon himself to triumphant life, to smiles of mirth, to ecstasy !

Michelangelo, ever grandiose and for ever disdainful, smiled but seldom and rarely made his figures smile. When he had finished the statue of Julius II, he heard himself asked whether the figure he had modelled was shown in the act of pronouncing a blessing or a curse. His lofty, generous spirit drew its scorn from the conflicts which, after rending Italy limb from limb and destroying her liberties, led up to the coronation of Charles V and the festal consecration of Italian servitude. Michelangelo was the artist of the stern and the sublime.

Into the classical composure of his forms Raphael breathed his own angelic nature, gently shadowed by melancholy. How often his Madonnas seem to gaze at the Divine Infant with a look of infinite sadness, as though they foresaw His bitter death and were troubled by vague and fleeting visions of Calvary !

Leonardo, the darling of Nature, depicted a greater variety of deep significant feelings. To him it was given to portray for the first time " the smile of inward happiness, the blitheness of the soul." But he turned his heart and mind to all the problems of knowledge, and he longed to embrace the universe. He designs buildings and thinks out new machines; he studies the course of rivers, the effects of light, the structure of plants, the uses of animals, the flight of birds, the anatomy of the human body and the horse. Everywhere and in everything he seeks out the beautiful, and endeavours to express it with technical perfection. Great in art, he enunciates or guesses at innumerable scientific problems, and is at once " the poet and the prophet of æsthetics and all knowledge." And in this way, through the universality of his genius and the dividing of his activity among such varied interests, he left, when he died, only a slender number of paintings, psychologically and technically magnificent, yet without the wealth of attitude and the fulness of spiritual expression attained after him by Correggio.

Correggio's representation of inward joy is so enchanting, so complete, so spontaneous, that it communicates itself to the observer. Already in the sixteenth century, Vasari, Annibale Carracci, and Guido Reni noticed this characteristic feature, declaring that his *putti* breathe and " live and laugh with such grace and truthfulness that you must needs laugh with them." The number of the *putti* interspersed in his paintings is itself an indication of Correggio's natural tendency towards the artistic expression of pleasure and charm. The palaces and churches of half Europe have been invaded by merry troops of *putti* since then, but no other painter has succeeded in painting these tiny creatures with a truth of form and spirit equal to his, or with the same curious knowledge of their naive and grotesquely winning attitudes.

As we have seen, it was just this unbridled expression of joy – living, warm, strong, vertiginous – that caused the excess of movement and the tumultuous crowding of the figures upon the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Yet the observation is, after all, no more than a purely subjective impression. We cannot blame Correggio for having satisfied the demands of his artistic feeling by displaying his capability – his " virtuosity " – to the full. Michelangelo exceeded in his anatomy, because, when he had once become expert in it, he felt a kind of necessity urging him to display his science. Movement was to Correggio what plastic experiment was to Buonarroti. Nor was he able to refrain from an excessive use of movement even in his chiaroscuro figures intended to imitate statues or groups, and thus they came to lose their " sculptorial immobility."

But the highest good fortune of Correggio lay in this, that, without overstepping the due limits and so falling into mannerisms and finical refinements – a danger from which he was saved by the robust, healthy structure of his figures – he obtained an expression of sweetness and grace that was perfectly right. The vigorous painters of the Bolognese school proved that this fact had not escaped them, when they refused to compare Parmigianino with Correggio on the ground that the former was too " far removed " from our artist, as having exaggerated his grace and " marred the purity of attitude and the propriety of pose " displayed in his figures.

A further charge has been laid against Correggio because of the profusion of *putti* in all his paintings, sacred no less than profane, and because the same sweet expression of enjoyment predominates equally in both, together with an exactly similar execution. He has not, it is said, distinguished rightly the sinful gods of antiquity from the saints of the new religion, and he has associated them far too closely in a common joy of life.

Now it is indeed true that we shall look in vain for depth and sincerity of religious feeling in the figures of saints painted by Correggio. Only in his first works, still faintly redolent with the sweet perfume of Quattrocento art, can we find a touch here and there of ascetic and contemplative expression. Perhaps we may make an exception, if we will, for the heads of St. Placidus and St. Flavia, but there is surely nothing more. Even dramatic figures like the swooning Madonna, the dead Christ, and one or two others, awaken, not a sense of adoration, but merely a feeling of pity for human pain. But we must not lay upon Correggio alone the blame for a defect or, rather, for a feeling characteristic of almost the entire artistic production of his time. Art had ceased to be contrite and simple; nay, largely through the acquisition of many new elements of technique, it had become definitely courtly and sensual. Correggio was, undoubtedly, more " worldly gay " than the rest – but this is not to say that he introduced scandalous novelties into art. The lofty, austere ideal of Michelangelo and Raphael, the solemnity of Titian, the magnificence of Paolo Veronese, the terribleness of Tintoretto – it is only when these are contrasted with the simple and almost ingenuous naturalness of nearly all the paintings of Correggio, that the latter has seemed guilty of excessive "humanization."

Again, granted that in his unfettered choice of subjects akin to his own nature Correggio kept less closely than others to Christian sensibility, no one will on that account confound the expressions of his Madonnas with those of his mythological goddesses, the chaste smile of the Madonna of St. Jerome with the sensual smile of Danaë – the calm resting of the Zingarella with Antiope's voluptuous sleep – the pure delight of the Madonna "*della Scodella*" with the spasm of Io. The difference is there, clear and distinct; but the observer will not see it, if he turns from the contemplation of the pagan figures to the Madonnas, expecting to find, not the good and tender Mother, but the lofty, mystic creature, " fixed term of eternal counsel," and then raises the old question about religious and moralizing art.

For art is first and foremost form, and the sensuality blamed in some painters (no less than the ascetic spirituality praised in others) is very often and very largely the result of pictorial type and technique. How many hymns are raised to the sweet, mystical sentiment of Trecento paintings by persons who have never considered that that sentiment derives in large part from unreal forms and unreal colour!

The pictures held miraculous by the great mass of the faithful are either those painted by Byzantine artists or those of the Trecento that are farthest from reality. And they appear so to believers in proportion as they are farther removed from reality, from the normal characteristics of men and women. Many discover the superhuman in what is not human; in what is not natural, they see the divine.

Not one, indeed, of all the lovely Madonnas of the Renaissance with their bloom of beauty and their smiles – and least of all, the Madonnas of Correggio – can ever hope to receive the treasures and supplications poured out before the most harsh and emaciated of Byzantine effigies or before one of their pallid, sleepy-looking sisters in Trecento art. Is it likely that the vague feeling of sadness which turns to fervent prayer would be awakened by the *Madonna "della Scodella"* (plates CLXIII to CLXVI) or by the *Madonna of St. George* (plates CCXXVI and CCXXVII)? They are just delightful mothers caressing their infant Son – a Child healthy, happy, and at play. Their faces have no wan hue that betrays the passage of sorrow: they are coloured, as Vasari said, with "strokes of flesh." The artist will adore their beauty, but the devotee will remain cold when he stands before images reminding him of a thousand familiar movements of family life, and finds himself in the presence of such young and loving forms. And this effect, common to all the artists of the Renaissance, is naturally heightened in the case of Correggio by the geniality of his types and the gaiety of his feeling and technique. On the other hand, if the types of countenance dear to our artist, if his drawing and the magic of his colour lend a note of debonair humanity to sacred themes, they also spiritualize pagan sensuality. No one, for example, will deny that the mythological nudities of Titian, with their energetic, overabundant forms and their vigorous, warm colour, appear somewhat vulgar in comparison with those of Correggio.

Burckhardt has remarked that from the point of view of strict technique Correggio represents the last and highest development of Italian painting. The most remarkable of all his methods, however, is that of his chiaroscuro. Many artists, especially at the beginning of the sixteenth century, had already laboured in the same direction, yet hitherto the advance had been but slight. Only in Leonardo and Giorgione had the treatment of light and shade reached a high development. To Leonardo the essence of painting seemed almost to consist in gradations of tone rendered almost imperceptible by their union and fusing. Such painting, he thought, would no longer have need of hard, clear outlines in order to give the effect of relief. Leonardo, it is true, attempted the interplay of reflex lights, but it was reserved for Correggio to introduce chiaroscuro into the shaded masses, obtaining a transparency that we vainly seek in the works of his great predecessor and in those of almost all the artists who have since endeavoured to imitate him. Before long, the sharp contrast of light to shade gained the upper hand, and there was no artist capable, as Correggio had been, of giving to each shadow the tone exactly corresponding to its colour. With what fine gradations Correggio obtained his relief may be gathered from an examination of certain of his tints for shade; in the chromatic scale of other great painters – we may mention Leonardo and Raphael – these tints appear solely in the illuminated parts. Yet it is precisely to these half-tints that human bodies owe a very large part of their visible charm.

By his unerring use of chiaroscuro effects and by keeping them in constant relation, that is to say, by avoiding the rigid counterposition of an excess of light to an excess of darkness, Correggio obtained an extraordinary force of colour and relief, working by means of transparent veils of colour. Mengs affirms that he painted over his panels and canvases many times. In this way the light permeated figures and objects, penetrating into the more remote and secondary parts, and created a new and perfect illusion that the forms imagined by the Master really moved in space.

The older biographers and writers of treatises upon art did not examine these special features; their admiration expended itself in praises of Correggio's colour and his use of the brush. Vasari declared that " no one touched colours better than he, and no artist painted better or with greater relief and charm; so great was the softness of the flesh that he painted, and the grace with which he finished his works." And Lomazzo, using words that made a great impression upon Domenichino, asserted that if any one desired to possess two pictures of " supreme perfection," an Adam and an Eve, the Adam would need to be painted by Michelangelo, and the Eve to be drawn by Raphael and painted by Correggio. " These," Lomazzo concludes, " would be the finest pictures that ever existed in the world." Lomazzo's opinion is, no doubt, ingenuous; yet it proves that at the close of the sixteenth century Correggio was considered the most splendid of colourists. So, too, not long afterwards, Baldinucci calls his tints " marvellous, smooth, *made with breath* "; nor have successive schools of criticism been able to modify his verdict.

The brilliant effect of Correggio's light caused the turbid executants of Baroque art to entertain curious suspicions as to the way in which Correggio prepared his panels. Even in the eighteenth century legends sprang up about his technique. Amongst others, Richardson maintained that Correggio made use of a gold varnish, while a painter once confessed to Lanzi a belief that " Correggio heated his panels at the fire or in the sun, in order that the colours might mingle well together and spread with a certain equability, and so they appear rather fused than laid on by the brush."

In reality, the priming used by Correggio – very thin and made up of fine chalk, boiled oil, and veneer – is in no way different from that employed by other careful masters of the period; and the same may be said of the intonaco of the walls on which he painted his frescoes. In his use of the brush he shows an extreme delicacy, as well in his large as in his small works. The tones are obtained by superimposing liquid colour or " veils," thus enabling him to correct the drawing while he painted. His aversion from thickening and clotting colour was so great, as we have seen, that he made his corrections and changes with light retouches, often leaving them visible. It is moreover certain that, painter before all else as he was, Correggio not only corrected but drew a good deal with his brush. The number of parts obtained by simple gradations of colour without any definite mark of outline is infinite. This is particularly true of the extremities. Dangerous as this procedure would be for mediocre artists, it enabled Correggio's genius to obtain soft effects that are simply incredible in their tenuity. In spite of Scannelli's rebuke of Vasari for insisting overmuch on minute details, we feel that the latter had every excuse for amazement and for describing no less than three times the way in which Correggio " made hair so lovely in colour and so perfectly spun out and treated that it cannot be seen better done and is such as to show how hair should be painted." Thus Vasari writes in the biography of Correggio; while in the Preface to the Third Part of the *Lives* he had already declared that " it is impossible to express the loveliness and vividness he put into his works, spinning out the hair in a way that was altogether unlike the manner of the artists before him, which was difficult, sharp, and dry; for he made it soft and downy, so that the single hairs could be seen through his skill in painting them, appearing as if made of gold and far more beautiful than real hairs, which were thus surpassed by his hairs wrought in colour."

It was the possession of these complex and marvellous pictorial gifts that enabled Correggio, as Passeri says, to break still farther away from the common use, and to conceive and solve the problem of cupolas " with a single subject and with a perspective of human figures." It will not, we hope, be claimed that he took this surprising novelty, which effected everywhere an immediate revolution in monumental decoration, from Rome! At Rome, in 1509, Pintoricchio painted the vault of the presbytery of S. Maria del Popolo in compartments, after the Quattrocento manner; and again at Rome, between 1509 and 1514, the vaults of the *Sala della*

Segnatura and the *Sala dell'Eliodoro* in the Vatican were decorated in the same way. Even Michelangelo kept to an architectonic arrangement of the vault of the Sistine Chapel, framing his subjects within it, as though they had been so many separate pictures. It was left to this modest son of Emilia, born in a small town, and spending his days far from the great centres of art and life amidst the level solitude of the valley of the Po, to work the miracle by the strength of his genius alone. For even if we would compare his work, so adventurous in its animated intricacy of figures and foreshortenings, with the *Last Judgment*, it must not be forgotten that Michelangelo began his fresco when the cupolas of Parma were already finished.

Correggio communicated to art a thrill of movement, light, and joy. For three centuries its vibrations spread throughout all Italy and even beyond her frontiers, nor can it be said that they have altogether died away.

THE PAINTINGS OF CORREGGIO AND THEIR HISTORY *

PLATE I. (1506 ?). – THE MADONNA AND CHILD (p. 23). – Panel, W. 0.40, H. 0.55, Hitherto attributed to the " School of Mantegna." The property of the heirs of Lord Barrymore (d. 1925) in London, where the panel was on view in 1910 in an exhibition of " Ancient Masters." Previously in the collection of pictures formed in the eighteenth century by James Hugh Smith Barry of Marbury Hall, Cheshire.

Reproduced in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Paris, 1910, III, I sem., p. 57.

PLATE II. (1507-1508 ?). – THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOSEPH, ST. ELIZABETH, and ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (p. 24). Panel, W. 0.37, H. 0.49. The Medici escutcheon impressed on the back. Seen by the author twenty-five years ago in the studio of Luigi Cavenaghi at Milan, the painting was at that time the property of a Signor Villa. At present it belongs to Marchese Guiscardo Barbò in Milan.

PLATE III. (1508 ?). – THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF SAINT CATHERINE (pp. 23, 25). – W. 0.21, H. 0.28. This small painting was formerly in a collection known as the Quadreria Costabili at Ferrara, where it was variously assigned to Raphael and to Fra Bartolomeo della Porta. About 1840 Theophilus Geyser of Leipzig with wonderful intuition for that period maintained that it was " a Correggio of the first manner, similar to others seen by him in various Galleries " (CAMILLO LADERCHI, *Descrizione della Quadreria Costabili*, Ferrara, 1841, III, p. 60). Morelli confirmed this attribution a few years later. The picture, somewhat damaged, was acquired by Gustavo Frizzoni, and after his death (Feb. 20, 1919) it passed to his heirs (Ginoulhiac), who sold it in 1929 to Ing. Bonomi of Milan.

Drawing. – There is a drawing representing the *Marriage of St. Catherine* in the Library of the Royal Palace at Turin. Although the minuteness of the drawing has led some writers to consider it a copy after Correggio, we believe it to be his, regarding such minuteness as a result of the painstaking care which the youthful artist put into his first works.

PLATE IV. (1509-1511 ?). – THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. FRANCIS AND ST. QUIRINUS (p. 25). – Fresco, W. 1.12, H. 0.94. Below to the right is a scroll, damaged and restored, which is now deciphered thus: A B d N D. f. MCCCCCXI. This is explained by some to mean " Antonio Bartolotti da Novellara Dipintore fece MCCCCCXI " or " Antonio Bartolotti de Nostra Devotione facta MCCCCCXI " (cf. A. VENTURI, *Galleria Estense*, Modena, 1883, pp. 342-344).

Originally in the Church of San Quirino at Correggio, the fresco was transported with its piece of wall to the Church of Santa Maria della Misericordia in the same city, and in January, 1707, it was transferred to Modena and placed in the Galleria Estense, where it still is and bears the number 127. It was transferred to canvas in 1845.

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* The dimensions of the width (W) and height (H) of the paintings are given in metres.

At Correggio, and for a long time at Modena, the fresco was unhesitatingly attributed to Correggio. A description of the pictures in the Ducal apartment at Modena, published in 1787, calls it a work of the incomparable Antonio Allegri and adds: "Although, as appears from registers obtained from the City of Correggio, this work belongs to the painter's first youthful period, it nevertheless fully reveals the character of the great artist" (LUIGI PUNGILEONI, *Memorie storiche di Antonio Allegri detto il Correggio*, Parma, 1817-21, II, pp. 28-29). Later, a hypothetical interpretation of the enigmatical scroll caused the fresco to be attributed to Bartolotti, but at the present time critics have returned – in our opinion, rightly – to the first attribution.

PLATE V. (1512-1513?). – ST. MARK THE EVANGELIST WITH THE LION (p. 26).

PLATE VI. – ST. MATTHEW THE EVANGELIST WITH THE ANGEL (p. 26).

PLATE VII. – ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST WITH THE EAGLE (p. 26).

PLATE VIII. – ST. LUKE THE EVANGELIST WITH THE OX (p. 26).

These four frescoes are on the pendentives of the small cupola (diameter 4.45) of the Mortuary Chapel of Mantegna in the Church of Sant'Andrea in Mantua (pp. 26-27). They were considered in the past as indubitably the work of Correggio. DONESMONDI in his *Istoria Ecclesiastica di Mantua*, 1612, VI, p. 47, says. " There also Antonio of Correggio painted the four Evangelists in the angles of the cupola, and a number of angels in chiaroscuro above the window of the altar. The angels hold up a small shield, and receive the light from below upwards, so that they appear exactly as if in relief."

CADIOLI (in his *Descrizione delle pitture... che si osservano nella città di Mantova*, 1763, p. 54) confirmed this attribution, adding, however, that in his day the angels had been destroyed in order to enlarge the window.

This early attribution of the pendentives to Correggio was subsequently abandoned for a generic ascription to the School of Mantegna but Venturi re-asserted it with good reason in 1915, and his view has now been accepted. Cf. *L'Arte*, XVIII, pp. 110-115.

PLATE IX. (1513?). – THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOSEPH, ST. ELIZABETH, AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (p. 27).

PLATE X. – CHRIST LAID IN THE SEPULCHRE (p. 27).

Frescoes in two rounds (diameter 1.51) in the atrium of the Church of Sant'Andrea in Mantua, seriously damaged owing to their having been covered up in the early part of the nineteenth century. At Venturi's suggestion in 1916, they were uncovered by Guglielmo Pacchioni, who published an account of the discovery in *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1916, pp. 147-164.

As with the fresco transferred from Correggio to Modena and with the pendentives of Mantegna's Mortuary Chapel in this Church, the first unequivocal attribution to Correggio was forgotten, largely through the influence of Tiraboschi and Pungileoni, and the disappearance of the frescoes completed their work.

Plate XI. (1513 ?). – The Madonna and Child (p. 27). – Small panel, W. 0.55, H. 0.66. Somewhat damaged, but certainly by Correggio. It was discovered in 1926 by Hermann Voss, Director of the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, in the Chapel of the Castle of Hellbrunn (Salzburg) and was acquired by the Vienna Staatsmuseum in 1928. Voss published a reproduction shortly after the discovery in *Der Kunstwanderer*, Berlin, 1926, p. 90.

Plate XII. (1513 ?). – Judith (p. 27). – Small panel, sadly ruined, in the Gallery of Strasburg. W. 0.20, H. 0.27.

Plate XIII. (1513 ?). – The Madonna and Child (p. 28). – Small panel, W. 0.163, H. 0.20. Transferred in 1797 from the Grand Ducal Wardrobe to the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. Variously ascribed in the past to Titian and to the Ferrarese school.

Plate XIV. (1513-1514 ?). — The Holy Family, with St. Elizabeth and St. John the Baptist (p. 28). – Small panel, W. 0.21, H. 0.27. Much damaged. Formerly the property of the Malaspina family, and considered to be by Francia. On the back is a small piece of paper with the Malaspina escutcheon and the name of Luigi Malaspina di Sannazaro, who in 1834 opened a " Cabinet of Fine Art " in Pavia – the first beginning of the actual Civic Museum.

Plate XV. (1514 ?). – The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine (p. 28). – Panel, W. 1.23, H. 1.56. This painting, formerly in the collection of Charles I, and later in the gallery of Prince Kaunitz in Vienna from 1783 to 1826, when it passed to the Adamowicz collection, became subsequently the property of Andreas Ritter of Reisinger who sold it to the banker, Camillo Castiglioni, about the year 1920. It was subsequently put up for auction by Castiglioni with a large part of his important collection at a sale held by Friedrich Müller and Co, and was bought on Nov. 17, 1925, by the Museum of Detroit, U. S. A., for the sum of 800,000 Italian *lire*. Cf. *Collections Camillo Castiglioni de Vienne : I, Catalogue des Tableaux, Sculptures*, etc., Amsterdam, 1925, p. 6.

That the painting was not originally in the Gonzaga Gallery, and thence sold to England in 1627 or 1628, is proved by its absence from the Inventory drawn up in 1627 and published by A. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627-1628*, Milan, 1913. Correggio must certainly have painted it for some church in the province of Emilia.

Plate XVI. (1514 ?). – Jesus taking leave of his Mother (p. 29). – Painting on canvas, W. 0.74, H. 0.84. The first notice of this picture is that given by the Abate Carlo Bianconi to Girolamo Tiraboschi. " It has a very decided air of Correggio, " he writes, " and every part of it breathes the simplicity and greatness of that painter, albeit it has little of the dryness that characterizes his first works. " At that time it was in the possession of a certain Rossi at Milan. From Milan it passed into the possession of the Parlatore family in Florence, and thence to London, first to the Benson Collection, and later to the National Gallery.

Plate XVII. (1514 ?). – The Four Saints: St. Peter, with the Keys, St. Martha with the Dragon, St. Mary Magdalene with her vase of ointment, and St. Leonard with the Fetters (p. 30). – Canvas, W. 1,26, H. 1.72.

For many years in London in the possession of Lord Ashburton. In October, 1907, it was offered by Messrs. Agnew to the Italian Government for 625,000 *lire*, and was subsequently bought by the Metropolitan Museum of New York in 1912.

It has been supposed that this painting belongs to the year 1518 on account of its alleged identity with a picture mentioned in a document of December 15, 1517, whereby a certain Melchiorre Fossi made the Church of San Quirino, in Correggio, his heir, with the condition that a chapel should be erected containing a panel painting of the four saints named above. But, apart from the fact that the painting displays characteristics which cannot be assigned to the period at which Correggio decorated the Camera di San Paolo, it must be borne in mind that on August 29, 1528, Fossi made a new will, in which he named the Church of San Domenico as his heir instead of that of San Quirino, and made the same stipulation regarding a picture of the four saints – an evident proof that up to that time the picture had not been painted. Fossi, however, already possessed an altar in the Church of Santa Maria della Misericordia – the Church to which he finally bequeathed all his property – with a picture of these four saints (to whom he professed a special devotion) placed above it. That this was the picture painted by Correggio is proved by Zuccardi's *Chronicle* and also by the following note, inserted by a seventeenth-century writer in a copy of the 1550 edition of Vasari's *Lives* now belonging to the Victor Emmanuel Library in Rome: " In Correggio, his native place, in the Church of Santa Maria known as ' li Bastardini ' there is a large picture which serves as an altar-piece, a very wonderful work, wherein are seen a St. Peter, a St. Leonard, a St. Martha, and a St. M. Magdalene."

There is now merely an ancient copy of the picture in the Church of San Francesco at Correggio.

Drawing. – No painting corresponding to a drawing in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence (No. 10913) with St. John the Baptist, St. Anthony the Abbot, St. Agatha, and St. Roch (CCXLII) has come down to us, and we have no knowledge that such a picture was ever painted by Correggio. The drawing, which belongs to the artist's mature age, is certainly by Correggio, in spite of its having been worked over in ink – perhaps because the pencilled outline was beginning to disappear. A reproduction of the drawing, also in the Uffizi Gallery, has been worked over in ink in the same way, obviously with the intention to deceive.

PLATE XVIII. (1514 ?). – THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. ELIZABETH AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (p. 30). – Small panel, W. 9.68, H. 0.61. After being for many years in the Hohenzollern of Sigmaringen collection, the painting passed in 1914 into the possession of John G. Johnson, Philadelphia, U. S. A. Cf. I. A., " Another Correggio for America, " in *Art in America*, II, pp. 158-159.

PLATE XIX. (1514 ?). – THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (p. 30). – Canvas W. 0.52, H. 0.73. Purchased by the Ministry of Public Instruction in 1927 for 300,000 *lire* and now placed in the Borghese Gallery in Rome. Previously it was in the Fochessati di Bagno collection at Mantua. A good copy of ancient date, supposed by some to be the work of Correggio, was on view in the Vienna Museum until the discovery of the Mantua painting with its greater softness and luminous quality.

PLATES XX-XXIII. (1514-1515). – THE MADONNA OF ST. FRANCIS (pp. 31 ff.). – Panel, W. 2.455, H. 2.99. Commissioned on August 30, 1514, and payment completed on April 4, 1515. The painting remained in the Church of San Francesco at Correggio until 1638. In March of that year the painter J. Boulanger, who had recently entered the service of Francesco I, Duke of Mantua, suddenly appeared in Correggio, made a copy of the painting, and departed. On April 12 a rumour spread that the original had been stolen and Boulanger's copy put in its place. The population rose in mass and invaded the church, while the great bell of the Commune was rung as if for a public calamity. Accompanied by a throug of citizens, the Counsellors presented themselves before Annibale Molza, the Governor and representative of the Duke in Correggio, announcing that the theft "had probably been committed by Boulanger with the aid or at least with the connivance of one of the friars belonging to the Convent, and that the citizens of Correggio, who were aware both of the fact and of the quality of the painting (which had always been the object of the love and esteem of the entire population), had resolved to conclude the sitting of their General Council before the Governor, imploring him to use his influence with his Serene Highness to the end that their most gracious and merciful Ruler would give orders for the delinquent to be found." In this way the citizens of Correggio merely walked into the lion's den, for the delinquent was the Duke, and Boulanger, and the Franciscans had merely obeyed his orders. Shortly afterwards the panel made its appearance in the Este collection, where it remained for little more than a hundred years, being subsequently sold by Francesco III to Augustus, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony. In the summer of 1746 it was carried with other works by Correggio, and with many – far too many – paintings by other artists, to Dresden, and is still in the Art Gallery of that city.

PLATE XXIV. (1514-1515 ?). – THE MADONNA AND CHILD (p. 34). – By Correggio ? Venturi is responsible for the attribution of this painting to Correggio. It is, he says, in a private collection in Switzerland. Cf. A. VENTURI, *Correggio*, Rome, 1927, plate 193.

PLATE XXV. (1514-1515 ?). – THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (p. 34). – W. 0.49, H. 6.68, This painting passed from the Bolognini family to the Ambrosian Library in Milan, and thence to the Museum of the Castello Sforzesco, its present home. Originally painted on wood, it was later transferred to canvas and has been much restored.

PLATE XXVI. (1514-1515 ?). – THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI (p. 35). – Canvas, W. 1.08, H. 0.84. Formerly in the Palace of the Archbishops of Milan, being one of the pictures acquired in 1650 through the legacy of Cardinal Monti. In 1895 it passed to the Brera Gallery. Cf. C. RICCI, Article in *Per l'Arte*, Parma, 1896; and G. BERTINI, "I sedici quadri del legato Monti nella R. Galleria di Brera in Milano" in *Le Gallerie Nazionali italiane*, Rome, 1897, III, pp. 112-113.

PLATE XXVII. (1514-1515 ?). – THE CRIB AT NIGHT (pp. 35 ff.). – Panel. W. 1.00, H. 0.79. This painting, somewhat restored, was acquired by Cav. Benigno Crespi in London, where it was assigned to the "School of Dosso," and given by the Crespi family to the Brera Gallery in 1913.

Plate XXVIII. (1514-1515 ?). – The Holy family and St. John the Baptist (p. 34). – W. 0.21, H. 0.255. This small panel, formerly in London in the possession of C. Fairfax Murray, was acquired by the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, U. S. A., in 1923.

Plate XXIX. (1514-1515 ?). – Shepherd-Boy Playing the Pipes (p. 37). – By Correggio ? Small panel, W. 0,16, H. 0,19. In the Munich Pinakothek. As we have said in the text, we doubt the correctness of the attribution to Correggio, and the picture has been variously assigned to Palma Vecchio, Lotto, Dosso Dossi, and even to Giorgione. It is noteworthy that the same figure, with few modifications, appears in a picture which belonged to the Marczell de Nemes collection in Munich – the collection was sold by auction in November, 1928 – and has been assigned without hesitation by Venturi to Palma Vecchio. Cf. A. Venturi, *Studi dal vero*, Milan, 1927, p. 262, and see the catalogue of the above-mentioned collection, printed at Amsterdam in 1928, p. 11 and plate 27.

Plate XXX. (1514-1515 ?). – Venus pricked by the Thorn (p. 38). By Correggio ? – Painting on canvas. W. 0.63, H. 0.93. In the Gardner Museum, Boston, U. S. A. Attributed to Correggio by Venturi. (Cf. *Correggio*, cit., plate 50).

Plate XXXI. (1514-1515 ?). – St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness (p. 38). By Correggio ? – Painting on canvas. W. 0.75, H. 1.05. The painting has evident characteristics of Correggio's manner, but is so ugly that G. Gronau (*Correggio*, Stuttgart, 1907) hesitates to ascribe it to him. It was formerly in the collection of the Grand Dukes of Oldenburg, and was sold with the collection at Amsterdam on June 25, 1924, for 2400 Dutch florins (about 20,000 *lire*). The painting is said to be still for sale.

Plate XXXII. (1515 ?). – Pietà (p. 38). – Panel. W. 0.413, H. 0.533. Formerly in the Eissler collection in Vienna, and now in Lord Lee of Fareham's collection in London. In 1734 there was a small *Pietà* ascribed to Correggio at Ferrara, in the Gallery of Cardinal Tommaso Ruffo, who had purchased it for 4000 *filippi* from the heirs of the Marchese del Carpio. Cf. J. Agnelli, *Galleria di pitture del Card. Tommaso Ruffo*, Ferrara, 1734, pp. 44-45.

Plate XXXIII. (1515 ?). – St. Anthony the Abbot (p. 39). – Panel. W. 0.32, H. 0.49. Formerly in the sacristy of the Church of the Gerolamini in Naples, and acquired by the National Museum of Naples in 1905. An early copy exists in the depository of the Corsini Gallery in Rome.

Plate XXXIV. (1515 ?). – The Madonna and Child known as the Càmpori Madonna (p. 39). – Panel. W. 0.45, H. 0.58. Formerly in the chapel of the Castle of Soliera, which is situated about seven miles from Modena and was purchased in 1636 by Cardinal Càmpori for his nephew Pietro. Subsequently removed to Modena, the painting was eventually bequeathed to the Galleria Estense, where it now is.

Plate XXXV. (1515 ?). – The Madonna and Child with St. John the Baptist known as The Madonna of Casalmaggiore (p. 39). – Painting on canvas, considerably damaged. W. 0.73, H. 0.91. Found by Henry Thode at

Milan about the year 1890 and given by him to the Gallery of the Städel Institute, Frankfort-on-Main. Thode believed that this was the painting (formerly in the gallery of Modena) known as " The Madonna of Casalmaggiore " owing to its having been removed from Casalmaggiore at the time of the occupation by Francesco I in 1646. At the end of the eighteenth century, according to Thode, it passed from Modena into France, and thence into England, and from England again into Italy in the possession of an English lady. Thode's view, however, has been much discussed, especially on account of the uncertain nature of ancient descriptions of the Madonna of Casalmaggiore, *e. g.* those by Scannelli (1657) Gian Filiberto Pagani (1770) and the Conte della Palude (1784). Cf. H. Thode, " Correggio's Madonna von Casalmaggiore " in *Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XII, Berlin, 1891, pp. 104-105.

Plate XXXVI. (1516 ?). – The Madonna and Child known as La Zingarella (p. 40). – Panel. W. 0.37, H. 0.46. From the " Inventory of the Wardrobe of Rannuccio Farnese " drawn up in 1587, it is clear that the *Zingarella* belonged to that prince. By his will of July 23, 1607, Rannuccio left the painting to his sister Margherita, who resided from 1583 onwards – the year in which Vincenzo Gonzaga abandoned her on the ground of her childlessness – in the Convent of San Paolo at Parma under the name of Suor Maura Lucenia. After her death the picture returned to the Farnese family, and is mentioned as forming part of their collection a century later, when Charles I of Bourbon, after taking possession of the kingdom of the two Sicilies and transferring his residence to Naples, caused the collection to be removed thither in 1734. After his defeat at Civita Castellana in 1798, Ferdinando, who fled to Palermo, had the *Zingarella* and thirteen other pictures transferred from the Palace of Capodimonte to his new home. Finally, upon the return of the Bourbon Court, it was brought back in 1815 to Naples where it is now in the National Museum.

Plate XXXVII. (1516 ?). – The Sojourn in Egypt (p. 41). – Painting on canvas. W. 1.065, H. 1.235. Formerly in a chapel belonging to the Munari family in the Church of San Francesco at Correggio, the painting, with the consent of the Franciscans, was removed by the Duke of Modena and substituted by a copy, which still exists in the Church of San Sebastiano at Correggio. In 1649 the original painting passed to Florence in exchange for the *Sacrifice of Isaac* by Andrea del Sarto – a painting removed to Dresden in 1746. Cf. C. A. Lumini, " Le Vicende del Riposo in Egitto del Correggio " in *Rivista d' Arte*, VI, Florence, 1909, pp. 225-259; and G. Poggi, " Cambi di quadri fra Firenze e Modena nel sec. xvii, " *ibid*, VIII, 1912, pp. 45-51. There is a good copy of the picture without the figure of St. Francis in Lisbon.

Plate XXXVIII. (1516 ?). – The Madonna and Child with St. John the Baptist (p. 41). – Panel. W. 0.37, H. 0.48. Formerly in the collection of Isabella Farnese and transferred from the Palace of Sant'Ildefonso to the Prado Museum, Madrid, where it now is.

Plate XXXIX. (1517-1519). – The Madonna of Albinea (pp. 42 ff.). – The original painting on canvas – W. 1.50, H. 1.60 – has been either destroyed or lost. To judge from the Brera copy, there was a stone in the foregound with the signature *Antonius Laetus faciebat.* Several copies are known to us. There are two at Albinea situated on the hillis a few miles distant from Reggio Emilia; a third, at one time in the Church of San Rocco at Reggio Emilia, is now in the Brera Gallery at Milan; a fourth – the copy here reproduced – is in the Capitol Museum at Rome; a fifth is in private possession in Rome; a sixth at Reggio Emilia, etc.

The picture remained in its original place until 1607, when it was removed " with violence " by the representatives of the Commune of Albinea and consigned to Duke Francesco I " who had shown a desire to possess it." What actually occurred was as follows: The inhabitants first of all informed the parish priest – a certain Claudio Ghidini – of the Duke's wishes and of their intention to gratify them. Ghidini objected violently and asked what rights the Commune had to the picture. He then proceeded to use " bad words," making no secret of his private views concerning the spoliations commonly practised by the Duke. These were promptly reported by " malignant persons without the fear of God" to Francesco, and Francesco complained to the Bishop of Reggio – one Coccapani. The Bishop, being a humble and dutiful subject, summoned the parish priest to Reggio and kept him sequestered there during seven long months, during which time the picture was removed *armata manu* and carried to Modena, while a copy was put in its place above the altar at Albinea.

The Duke, however, professing a wish to offer some compensation, ordered that a credit of 7494 Modenese *lire*, due to him from the Commune of Albinea, should be paid instead to the church. This led to a law-suit that lasted for upwards of a century between the church and the Commune, which either could not or would not pay. Cf. GIOVANNI SACCANI, *La Storia di un capolavoro*, Reggio Emilia, 1915.

In 1915 a doubt was expressed in certain quarters whether the original painting might not be found and identified with one of the paintings known as copies. Hence arose a violent polemic, which gave birth to an infinite number of articles, between those who affirmed and those who denied that the painting now to be seen above the altar of the church of Albinea was the original. But it was finally agreed that this, too, is a copy – the work, as usual, of the exceedingly able Boulanger, who was engaged by the Duke to paint copies of Correggio's works with the precise object of substituting them for the originals.

On April 17, 1929, we returned ourselves to Albinea and examined the painting which had been taken down from the altar and exposed to the full light. Our surprise was great that such a controversy should ever have arisen, for the painting is not only a copy, but a copy dashed off with the utmost speed in certain parts, and particularly the background.

PLATE XL. (1517 ?). – ST. MARY MAGDALENE (pp. 43 ff.). – Painting on canvas. W. 0.30, H. 0.38. This picture forms part of the Salting Bequest in the London National Gallery. The number of copies of a similar Magdalene by Correggio is considerable. We know one in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, another at Siena in the Chifi Saracini Collection, others in Rome, Bologna, Parma, Milan, and elsewhere.

In 1631 there was in the Palace of the Duke of Savoy at Turin a picture with a Magdalene said to be by "the hand of Correggio." It was of greater width than height, and approximately of the same measurements as those of the copies of the Magdalene described in the text (1 ½ft by 2 ft). These indications, however, do not enable us to determine whether the Magdalene referred to is the Magdalene now in London, or whether it was an authentic work by Correggio. Cf. G. CÀMPORI, *Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventarii inediti*, Modena, 1870, p. 76.

PLATE XLI. (1517 ?). – THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF SAINT CATHERINE (p. 40). – Small panel. W. 0.24, H. 0.28. This painting was transferred with the Farnese Collection from Parma to Naples in 1734 and placed in the Palace of Capodimonte, where it shared the fortunes of the *Zingarella*, being moved in 1798 to Palermo and taken back to Naples in 1815. It is now at Naples in the National Museum.

The number of copies of this small picture is incredible. We have ourselves seen at least a score, some of them exhibited in public galleries, and it is hardly necessary to say that many copies, all of them proclaimed to be the original, exist in the hands of private persons. The copy belonging to the Fabrizi family in Rome was for some time held to be the original, even by authoritative connoisseurs. Others made the same claim for the copy owned by Dr. Schall in Berlin. The copies in the Hermitage at Petrograd and in the Barberini Gallery in Rome have also been supposed to be by Correggio. We, however, consider the delightful painting at Naples to be beyond all possible discussion the original.

An engraving of it was made in 1620 by G. B. Mercati, from a copy at that time in the possession of Lelio Guidiccioni in Rome. Antonio Zaballi's print reproduces the original " in the Museum of the Royal Palace of Capodimonte " and bears the date 1781. Moette's engraving reproduces the composition of the Naples Magdalene, but says that it was on canvas with the following inscription on the back: " *Laus Deo, per Donna Metilde d'Este Antonio Lieto da Correggio fece il presente quadretto per sua devotione, A.* 1517. "

PLATES XLII-LXXIX. (1518 ?). – DECORATION OF THE CAMERA DI SAN PAOLO (pp. 45 ff.). – 6.50 by 7.00. The work has suffered greatly from long neglect and faulty restorations. The Camera was first damaged in 1560 when a refectory was built near to it, throwing it into shadow; a second time when the tapestries *a verdura* which harmonized with the decoration of the vault were taken from the walls; and again in 1856, when the large west entrance, supported on two columns, was opened out in order to give more light. The leaves of the imitated pergola have been clumsily repainted with dabs of colour, instead of separate leaves with clear outlines, particularly round the oval compartments. The sky behind the *putti*, originally of a bright and tender greenish blue, is now, except in very few places, covered by a heavy ashen colour. The whole of the fresco at the sides of the ancient chimney has suffered from damp caused by snow and rain coming down it.

The spirit of reform which made its appearance shortly before the middle of the sixteenth century in the interests of Church defence, and the tightening up of ecclesiastical discipline with the revival of religious practices by the Council of Trent made entrance into the Convent at first difficult and then almost impossible. Restriction of communications with the outside world gradually brought Correggio's decoration into oblivion, and it is indeed surprising that amid the ascetic exaltation and ostentation of the seventeenth century it never occurred to any one of the successive abbesses to cancel so many nudities and Pagan gods. Is it possible that a sense of the treasure in their possession restrained them ?

Only at intervals do we find vague and doubtful allusions to Correggio's work. Padre IRENEO AFFÒ in his *Ragionamento sopra una Stanza dipinta dal celeberrimo Antonio Allegri nel Monistero di S. Paolo in Parma,* Parma, 1796, was not able to do more than collect a number of short notices taken from writers of his own century. The first among these was PADRE MAURIZIO ZAPPATA, who wrote at the beginning of the eighteenth century; then the anonymous author of the *Nota delle più famose pitture delle chiese di Parma,* printed in 1725 who was followed by G. C. RATTI, author of *Notizie storiche sincere intorno la vita e le opere del celebre pittore Antonio Allegri da Correggio,* Finale, 1781, and, lastly, by GIROLAMO TIRABOSCHI, who discussed the frescoes in the sixth volume of the *Biblioteca Modenese,* Modena, 1786, basing his remarks on a report made by the painter Antonio Bresciani. Even in 1806, Vincenzo Monti, who happened to be visiting Parma, met with such difficulty in obtaining leave to view the Camera that he wrote to Pietro Cavagnari, the Secretary-General of the Governor of Parma and Piacenza: " Do not forget the request I made to you yesterday for permission to see Correggio's room " (A. BERTOLDI, *Epistolario di V. Monti,* III, Florence, 1929, p. 15). By a stroke of good fortune, however, we have been able to publish a precious testimony left by a visitor who lived during the Cinquecento itself. In the unpublished *Diario parmigiano* of SMERALDO SMERALDI, a well-known mathematician and an authority upon hydraulics in his day, there is a description of a " Visit paid to the Monastery of San Paolo in the company of Sig. Cesare of Ferrara " and others on August I, 1598. Smeraldi speaks of Correggio's Camera as follows: " We went next to see the rooms in the apartment which was occupied by the Lady Princess. Then they made me see the saloon painted by Maestro Antonio of Correggio, which is a vault with grapes and fruit, and certain ovals wherein are many most beautiful *puttini* with various and diverse actions and motions. Also there are certain ' histories ' in chiaroscuro in the lunettes, and there is a cornice below, round which are fastened cloths holding various cups, ewers, and other vessels imitated to resemble silver, all being of exceeding beauty " (Ms. in the Palatine Library of Parma, No. 535, f. 81). For discussions relative to the Camera di San Paolo and summarized in the text cf. A. BARILLI, *L'Allegoria della Vita umana nel dipinto correggesco in S. Paolo di Parma,* Parma, 1906; O. HAGEN, " Correggio und Roma " in *Zeitschrift f. bildende Kunst.,* XXVIII, 1917, pp. 110-120, and *Die Camera di S. Paolo in Parma,* Munich, 1924; and A. VENTURI, Article in *L' Arte* XXVI, pp. 230-232.

Drawings. – The drawing now in the Museum at Weimar of five of the oval compartments with *putti* has undoubtedly been copied from the fresco; but the drawing at Wilton House, London (CCXLIII *a*), showing one of the ovals, is certainly by Correggio, who modified it later in the actual painting. Two further drawings of *putti* at Wilton House (CCXLIV *a*) and in the Hamburg Gallery (CCXLIII *b*), perhaps have reference to the decoration of the Camera. We may here mention the drawing of a *putto* in foreshortening (CCXLV *b*) belonging to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, in which the *putto* is shown apparently upright upon a large bowl or basin decorated with flowers and fruit. This drawing is especially interesting as showing how constantly the Master kept the *Camera degli Sposi* in the Castle of Mantova before his mind, for in its central disc there is a foreshortening exactly similar to that of the Oxford *putto.*

PLATE LXXX. (1519 ?). – ST. JEROME (p. 64). – Panel. W. 0.51, H. 0.63. In all probability the painting registered in the *Inventario dei quadri* compiled in 1627 for VINCENZO GONZAGA: " 313. A picture showing St. Jerome in contemplation, with a skull. Half Figure... the work of Correggio, L. 240 " (A. LUZIO, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga*, etc., p. 115). From Mantua the picture passed to London.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century it was in the Royal Palace of Sant'Ildefonso (La Granja) not far from Segovia. PONZ in his *Viaje de Espana* Madrid, 1793, X, p. 147, makes note of a " St. Jerome attributed, I know not with what foundation, to Correggio. " It was subsequently moved with other paintings to the Academy of San Fernando in Madrid, its present home. Cf. R. LONGHI, " Il Correggio nell'Accademia di S. Fernando a Madrid e nel Museo di Orleans " in *L'Arte*, XXIV, Rome, 1921, pp. 1-4.

A sheet with various figures of St. Jerome sketched in different ways, belonging to the Albertina in Vienna, has been reproduced by VENTURI in *Correggio*, cit., plate 180.

PLATE LXXXI. (1519 ?). – THE HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. JAMES (p. 64). – Panel W. 0.52, H. 0.67. Formerly in the Collection of Charles I and now in the Picture Gallery at Hampton Court.

PLATE LXXXII. (1519 ?). – THE HOLY FAMILY AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (p. 64). – Panel. W. 0.53, H. 0,64. Formerly in the Collection of Louis XIV. Until 1872 the painting was exhibited in the Louvre with the simple attribution " Italian School. " In the old catalogue printed three years previously Villot had written: " *Donné par Bailly et tous les inventaires à l'Allegri: n'est assurément de cet artiste.* " This mistake caused the Directors of the Louvre to include the painting in the first batch of so-called secondary pictures destined for distribution among provincial museums. Roberto Longhi discovered it in the Museum of Orleans in 1920. Cf. the article by R. LONGHI mentioned above (plate LXXX).

PLATE LXXXIII. (1519 ?). – THE YOUNG MAN FLEEING FROM THE SEIZURE OF CHRIST (p. 44). – The original of this painting has been lost, but no fewer than ten copies of it are in existence, including the picture in the Gallery of Parma here reproduced. This is a painting on canvas, W. 0.55, H. 0.66, and came from the Rosa-Prati collection in 1851. There is a second copy in the Palazzo Colonna of Marino, and Gronau has lately informed us that he saw in London a " version " of the subject so good that he considers it to be the lost original. Others have supposed that the original was a picture existing during the seventeenth century in the Barberini Gallery in Rome, and that after being taken (it is said) to England, it eventually disappeared. Was this the picture offered for sale in 1663 by Giuseppe de Bosis, for the great Gallery in Messina belonging to Don Antonio Ruffo of Bognara, and declared by Salvator Rosa to be " very beautiful and by the hand of Correggio " ? It may be so. The authority of Rosa and the price of 250 *scudi* asked for the picture – a very high price for those days – certainly point to its being the original. Cf. VINCENZO RUFFO, " Galleria Ruffo nel secolo XVII. in Messina " in *Bollettino d'Arte*, X, Rome, 1916, p. 169. A French collector named Romegous, describing a copy in a catalogue, printed at Parma in 1804, of ninety pictures belonging to himself, assigned the original painting to Lelio Orsi of Novellara, but that the latter was really by Correggio is shown by the colour, the forms and spirit of the figures, and the composition, even in the copies.

Plate LXXXIV. (1520 ?). – The School of Love (pp. 64 ff.). – Painting on canvas. W. 0.92, H. 1.55. Has been much damaged by repeated journeys, neglect, and unskilful restorations. In the *Inventory of Pictures* belonging to the Gonzaga family quoted above, the picture is thus described: " A Venus, a Mercury teaching Cupid to read, with an ornamentation in gold. Work by the hand of Correggio. Valued at 100 *scudi*, 600 *lire.*" From Mantua the picture passed to the collection of Charles I in London. After his execution in 1649, it was taken to Spain by the Duke of Alba, who had purchased it for 800 *lire.* It subsequently belonged for a time to a Spanish prince, but on the sale of his collections during the French occupation of Madrid in 1808, it was acquired by Murat, who brought the picture back to Italy and placed it in the Palace at Naples. The pilgrimages of the unfortunate canvas were, however, not yet ended. It was carried by Caroline Bonaparte, ex-Queen of Naples, to Vienna in 1834, and there sold to the Marquis of Londonderry, who finally parted with it to the English Government. The painting is now in the National Gallery. Of the various copies, one was in the possession of Queen Christina of Sweden, who believed it to be the original; and in the eighteenth century there was another, attributed to Parmigianino, in the Gonzaga Gallery at Novellara. The copy which in the eighteenth century belonged first to the Odesalchi family and later to the Duke of Orleans was probably the copy previously owned by the Queen of Sweden.

A copy of the figure of *Cupid reading* in the Munich Pinakothek was attributed in the past to the Master. Most remarkable is a variation upon the same subject at Stafford House, London; this is attributed to Titian, but it is really of the Emilian School.

Drawings. – Venturi has published a pen-and-ink drawing of Cupid in his *Correggio*, plate 97. This drawing is in the British Museum, which contains a second (and far more beautiful) study of the same subject, sketched in pencil and with the lights in white lead (CCXLVI *a*). A drawing for the head of Mercury in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, has been treated in the same way (CCXLVI *b*).

Plate LXXXV. (1520-1521 ?). – St. Mary Magdalene (pp. 64 ff.). – Painted on copper. W. 0.395, H. 0.29. In the Dresden Gallery. The historical notices relating to this picture have been dealt with in the text. We insert here a short note upon the painting of the Magdalene mentioned at p. 65. The letter of September 3, 1528, in which Veronica Gambara informed Isabella d'Este that Correggio had just finished a picture of the Magdalene, says that the figure was shown " in an horrid grot," kneeling at the right side of it, and with hands joined and raised to heaven. As this letter was discovered and published by Willelmo Braghirolli in 1874 (in *Giornale d'erudizione artistica*, Perugia, I, p. 325), it could not have been known to Ferdinand Pilotj or Piloty, who was born in 1786 and died in 1844, nor could it have furnished him with a suggestion or an incentive to imagine a similar composition and attribute it to Correggio. In the Gabinetto delle Stampe in Rome, however, there is a woodcut representing a Magdalene in a cave, kneeling upon her right knee and with her hands joined, etc. Above the figure are two angels seated upon clouds, and one of them holds the vase of ointment. Below on the left is the artist's signature, *F. Pilotj del.*, and also to the left, the name *Correggio*. Where did Pilotj see such a picture? We do not know. Only it should be remembered that CÀMPORI quoted from the *Inventario de' quadri esistenti nel palazzo del giardino di Parma del* 1680 (p. 304) the following indication: " A picture 5 *on.* high by 6 *on.* wide on a panel. St. M. Magdalene prostrate with her hands joined. Sketch by Correggio."

PLATES LXXXVI-LXXXVII. (1520-1521 ?). – TRIPTYCH OF THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST (p. 44). – Originally placed above the altar in the Oratory of Santa Maria della Misericordia at Correggio. The copy in the Vatican Gallery of the central part showing the Redeemer seated with outstretched arms above a glory of angels is held to be by the Carracci. It is a painting on canvas – W. 0.98, H. 1.05 – and is the picture reproduced in the present volume. The original of the left part, showing St. John the Baptist advancing towards the right, with his head in perspective and turned towards the observer, is thought to be the fine canvas in the J. C. Robinson collection in London. There are several good copies of this figure, one at Windsor Castle, a second in the Càmpori Gallery at Modena, a third in Correggio, etc.

Of the St. Bartholomew, which formed the right-hand portion of the triptych, we have neither the original nor any copy.

In 1612 Siro d'Austria, the last Lord of Correggio, entered into negotiations with the Prior and the Syndic of the Confraternity of the Misericordia with a view to purchasing the three paintings, and in December of that year Giacomo Barbone, a painter of Novellara, after making an estimate of their value, set to work upon the copy destined to take their place in the Oratory. Tiraboschi supposed that after entering into Don Siro's possession, the original paintings were taken to Mantua and perished in the sack of the city in 1630. This is incorrect. On being despoiled of his State the investiture of which was given by the Emperor to Francesco I, Duke of Modena, Siro attempted to place in safety as many of his possessions as he could, and to this purpose he approached the princes of Novellara with a request that they would receive and keep in their castle his pictures painted by Correggio. The pictures were handed over in June, 1635. Nine years later, when Don Siro, who was in Mantua, asked for the return of the paintings, the Lords of Novellara turned a deaf ear, nor to all appearances did a second request on the part of Don Siro meet with better success. He died at Mantua on October 25, 1645, without having recovered possession of the paintings.

As to the copy of the Redeemer by the Carracci, we have the following account. The copy was sold to Count Marescalchi of Bologna, the Minister of Napoleon I, by a picture-dealer named Giuseppe Armano, who naturally informed his patron that the picture was the original painting, and that he had bought it from the Gritti family in Venice, into whose possession it had passed from the Renier Gallery. The second part of this statement may have been true, for there existed in 1666 a painting in the Renier Gallery, representing the " Saviour, nude, seated upon a rainbow." While the copy was in Bologna, Gaetano Guidignini made an engraving of it upon copper in 1831. Marescalchi took the copy with him to France, but in 1832 it passed to the Vatican, having been either recovered or recalled by the Papal Government.

And the original or, rather, the originals of these paintings ? The county of Novellara, where Siro had " stored " his pictures in 1635, remained in the possession of a branch of the Gonzaga family until the death of Count Filippo in 1728, when it was declared once more to be an Imperial fief.

As, however, the Emperor Charles VI was debtor for a large sum to Rinaldo, Duke of Modena, the county was conferred upon the latter in lieu of payment. The collection of pictures belonging to the Castle of Novellara then passed to the sister of the deceased Count Filippo – Maria Ricciarda, wife of Alderano Cibo, Duke of Massa. Donna Maria, living at a distance, took little care of the collection, which suffered considerable damage and losses in consequence. These proved still more serious in 1770, when the castle was sold by Francesco III to the Commune, and the collection was removed. Nevertheless, at the time of the French invasions, a few of the original paintings were still preserved at Novellara, though we are not in a position to say whether a figure of St. John the Baptist holding a cross, which was purchased by one Panelli at Novellara in 1797, subsequently passing into the hands of Dr. Giuseppe Bianconi, was a copy or the original painting – the picture now in the Robinson collection in London. Cf. " Intorno a una pittura del Correggio rappr. san Giovanni esistente in Bologna" in *Memorie originali italiane riguardanti le Belle Arti*, collected by M. A. Gualandi, 2nd Series, Bologna, 1841, pp. 163 ff. and, for the history of the triptych, cf. also G. Copertini, *Note sul Correggio*, Parma, 1925, pp. 9-29.

Plates LXXXVIII-CXXV. (1520-1522). – The Decoration of the Cupola of San Giovanni Evangelista (pp. 68 ff.). – Slightly elliptical. Diameter on the axis of the Church, 9.66 m., on the axis of the transept 8.88 m. Negligence in the past has caused serious damage to the fresco which cannot now, unfortunately, in many parts be remedied. Moreover in consequence of the removal by the French of the copper covering of the cupola – the metal having been stripped off towards the close of the eighteenth century in order to sell it – water from snow and rain penetrated into the painting at various points, soaking through, disintegrating, and consuming it. The pendentives suffered particularly, as the water which collected inside the roof ran off more abundantly over them. In this way the two large figures of St. Mark and St. Gregory upon the S. W. pendentive have entirely disappeared. Again, the crown of the cupola, although less injured by the water (which ran off more easily over the outer rounded covering), suffered severe damage, first, by the formation of two large cracks upon the E. S.E. line, caused either by earthquake or by settling down, and next by an infinite net-work of small cracks in the intonaco, due perhaps to the alternation of cold and heat beating upon the cupola, exposed as it is to the snow and ice of winter and to the fierce sun in summer. We cannot, however, indicate here all the various kinds of damage one by one: they are besides sufficiently apparent in the reproductions, to which we refer the reader.

Restorations of the cupola have been attempted from time to time, but unfortunately not always with good results. Those undertaken about the year 1900 gave rise to much discussion. In March, 1901, the work was suspended, in view of the arrival of a Special Commission nominated by the Ministry of Public Instruction and consisting of the painter, Cesare Maccari – an artist profoundly versed in the technique of fresco – Francesco Jacovacci, and Filippo Carcano, with whom was associated the sculptor, Ettore Ferrari. The Commissioners were instructed to make an examination of the frescoes on the spot, and they published afterwards a Report, of which it will not be out of place to quote here the more important passages. They say: " Before acquainting your Excellency with our observations in detail, we are happy to state that, to our great relief and contrary to the fears which we were led to form as to the irreparable loss of the fresco, we have found the greater part of it intact, and we have been able to convince ourselves that, in spite of the cleaning carried out upon the lower zone, it still presents a wonderful appearance and remains a monument of singular artistic importance. Yet while we make this declaration with lively satisfaction, we cannot but recognise that in certain parts of the fresco, and specially in the painting of the clouds, the harmonious effect of the colouring as a whole has already been seriously impaired. As the Commission was anxious to arrive at an explanation of the causes which had produced this alteration, a careful examination of simple parts of the fresco was undertaken, and with the assistance of the local authorities and of the restorer, Signor Venceslao Bigoni, an experiment was made to see whether modifications in the tints of the fresco would be caused by cleaning carried out by means of crumbled bread alone. The experiment proved that the tints, and particularly the tints of the clouds, were in this way not merely cleaned but modified to the prejudice of the tone of the painting; and the same result was obtained from experiments made on parts of the fresco already cleaned. Now, as we must exclude, in view of the explicit statements of Signor Bigoni, that he has in any way retouched the fresco in any part, we are forced to conclude that the explanation is to be found in the saltpetre produced by the damp, its corrosive action having rendered the colours as well of the fresco as of the painting *a secco* – it will be remembered that all the experts who have examined the paintings of the cupola of San Giovanni have recognised the employment of the latter process – less resisting to the cleaning. The cleaning carried out so far has thus caused a great want of balance in the general tone of the fresco, and more particularly between the ground and the clouds and the rest of the painting. It is evident, therefore, that, as this cleaning ought never to have been undertaken, so it must now be made to cease.... and the efforts of the restorer must be directed solely towards maintaining in their integrity those parts of the fresco which hitherto have not been touched by the cleaner, by attempting to fix the parts of the plaster which are in danger, as has already been done at a number of points, and, if possible, without detaching them. The cleaning hitherto carried out shows, as we have said, a marked difference in tone between that part of the fresco to which it has been applied and the far larger portion of the fresco which has not been touched; it is necessary, therefore, to render this difference less noticeable, so that the admirable harmony and intonation of the painting shall not be left seriously impaired as at present. With regard to the ancient cracks in the vault and those winding in and out of the fresco, of which a certain number have already been filled up with the object of securing the edges of the intonaco in danger, the Commission is of opinion that the wisest course will be to continue the filling up of the gaps, in order by this means to make the surrounding intonaco thoroughly firm. On the other hand, the Commission considers it necessary that the stucco fillings in the cracks be not masked or concealed by means of tints continuing the painting, but, on the contrary, plainly indicated by a dark colouring, which, while it cannot possibly be confounded with the painting, will in no way disturb it. It will, however, be advisable to colour the edges of the joins in the portions of intonaco which have been secured – in other words, the so-called *abbottature* – in such a way that they may continue the tints of the painting."

In consequence of this report and of the controversies provoked by it, the work of restoration remained long suspended; at all events, very little was done. Work was resumed during the summer of 1927 by Prof. Tito Venturini-Papari, who repaired the drum of the cupola and the pendentives. Portions of the intonaco which had broken away and at certain points were actually falling, were consolidated after a previous cleaning of the painting where it had been dulled by saltpetre, dust, and smoke. The numerous holes and cracks were stopped with stucco, and a thin neutral tint was spread over them and extended as well to the parts which had been lost.

In 1894, at our suggestion, a hundred and twenty-four electric lamps were placed upon the cornice in such a way as not to be visible, while they can be lighted whenever it is desired.

Drawings. – There is a large number of preparatory drawings and sketches for the frescoes of the cupola of San Giovanni. A pen and ink drawing in the Witt Collection, London (CCXLV *a*) with a *putto* embracing the eagle of St. John the Evangelist, is a preparatory sketch for the border with the symbols of the four Evangelists. Two other drawings of *putti* with the symbols, respectively, of St. John and St. Mark are in the Louvre (CCXLVII). The pendentive with St. Matthew and St. Jerome is represented by drawings in the Munich Gallery (CCXLVIII *a*) and at Windsor Castle (CCXLVIII *b*). For the crown of the cupola we have a drawing of St. Paul in the Albertina at Vienna (CCXLIX *a*) and one of St. James in the Louvre (CCXLIX *b*). We have given a reproduction of the drawing of three Apostles or Saints seated upon clouds belonging to the Vienna Museum (CCL *b*), although we doubt its attribution to Correggio. Nothing corresponding to it is to be found in the fresco of the cupola of San Giovanni nor in any other of Correggio's works. Moreover, the handling of the arms, legs, and heads is less sure than his. Perhaps the drawing is by a Bolognese artist (Tiarini ?). This point will easily be determined by a study of the numerous frescoes painted by that prolific school – a study as yet hardly begun. To Correggio, on the other hand, may belong the British Museum drawing of a naked man bending down to write with two *putti* beside him (CCL *a*). In spite of the anatomical extravagances, it is impossible to deny its Correggesque character.

PLATES CXXVI-CXXXVII. (1522-1523). – DECORATION OF THE APSE OF SAN GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA IN PARMA (pp. 76 ff.). – Diameter, 10 m. Four fragments and a few copies are all that is left of this great work in fresco. Scarcely sixty-two years had passed since the day on which Correggio finished it, when the Benedictines, in 1586, ordered Cesare Aretusi to make a copy of the fresco. In the following year the entire apse was demolished in order to enlarge the church, and Aretusi reproduced the copy upon the new tribune with the aid of Ercole Pio and Giov. Ant. Paganino.

Malvasia and Ruta tell us that Aretusi entrusted the preparation of the copy to Agostino and Annibale Carracci – naturally, upon separate canvases – and that Annibale had already six years previously made a number of studies of the original. In the Palazzo del Giardino at Parma some large canvases upon which the Carracci had reproduced the apse were to be seen as late as the year 1734. These paintings are now in the Naples Museum and appear to have served the purpose indicated by Malvasia and Ruta. The figures are not reproduced in parts, nor singly, nor adapted to form independent pictures; they simply present with slight adjustments entire zones of the original painting, showing at the edges of the canvas portions of interrupted figures. The copies in the Gallery of Parma, on the other hand, appear to have been made with a different object, as though the artist intended to take and adapt from Correggio's fresco parts capable of forming a composition by themselves. These last do not come from the Farnese collection to which passed the copies employed by Aretusi. The canvases of the Parma Gallery are assigned by ancient and modern catalogues alike – on what grounds we do not know – partly to Agostino and partly to Annibale Carracci. It is certainly true that in 1580 Annibale wrote to Ludovico from Parma, asking him to persuade Agostino to come and study Correggio with him. It is also true that Cavedoni maintained that Agostino joined his brother, but Francesco Albani, who was able to adduce a series of well ascertained facts, thanks to his knowledge of what actually occurred, asserted that Agostino did not at that time go to Parma but went there with Annibale *a long time afterwards*. Indeed, we find Agostino at Parma in 1586, when he painted and dated a picture, which is now in the Parma Gallery, for the nuns of San Paolo. Consequently, it is clear that the copies in the Gallery (which must have been executed in 1580) are to be assigned to Annibale alone. Pietro Martini has written that " the copies painted by the Carracci appear to have come into the hands of a certain Caporale mentioned by Annibale... and subsequently passed into the possession of other persons who disposed of them to the Gallery." But if we keep to the words of Annibale, it is not possible to follow Martini's account nor his conjecture. What Annibale says is that the " Gran Caporale " proposed to buy from him *all the heads* which he had copied *from the cupola*. But the question here is not one of heads nor yet of the cupola. The canvases now in the Gallery of Parma were in the possession of the Counts Baiardi; later on, with the exception of two, they all passed to Antonio Rosazza, and from him to Salvatore Tarchioni, who was Rosazza's heir. Tarchioni offered them on March 6, 1837, to the Academy of Fine Arts in Parma, and the Academy purchased the lot for 9000 *lire*. Such is the history of the Parma and the Naples copies.

To pass now to the original fragments. The central part, with the upper half of the Madonna and the Redeemer, and a few fragments showing heads of angels were saved during the demolition of the apse. The central part was taken to the Farnese Palace and is still to be seen at the end of a long room in the Palatine Library. Three heads of angels found their way to the house of Marchese Rondanini in Rome, where Mengs viewed them. They passed subsequently into the possession of the Earl of Dudley; and, after the sale of his collection, one went to the National Gallery, where owing to its pitiful condition it was confined to the depository, and the other two were acquired by Dr. Ludwig Mond, who bequeathed them in turn to the National Gallery.

Drawings. – For the *Coronation of the Madonna* we have two beautiful drawings by Correggio, the first in the Weimar Museum (CCLI) and the second, showing only the figure of the Virgin, in the Louvre (CCLII *a*). A drawing in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth is reminiscent of the figure of the Redeemer (CCXLIV *b*).

PLATE CXXXVIII. (1520-1524 ?). – ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST (pp. 79 ff.). – Lunette in fresco. Diameter, 1.60, H. 0.79. The painting was very much soiled with dust and smoke, crinkled in parts and in a dangerous state, when it was skilfully repaired in 1894, gently freed from dirt, and covered with glass.

PLATES CXXXIX-CXL. (1523-1524 ?). – THE MARTYRDOM OF SS. PLACIDUS, FLAVIA, EUTICHIUS AND VICTORINUS (p. 80). – Canvas. W. 1.82, H. 1.57. Now in the Gallery of Parma. Originally on the right wall of the fifth chapel on the right, as you enter the church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma. The painting remained in its original position until 1796, when it was included in the French booty and taken to Paris. It was brought back to Parma in 1815. Both at Paris and later at Parma it was cleaned and slightly retouched.

Nicola dell'Abate in his *Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul*, now in the Dresden Gallery, imitated the two figures of St. Placidus and his executioner; the latter figure was also imitated by Frederico Barocci in the *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* in the Cathedral of Urbino.

Drawings. – Correggio's first conception for this picture is to be found in a drawing in the Louvre (CCLIII), but it is much less felicitous than the painting. In the drawing, the angel bearing the palm-branch and the crown of martyrdom is in the full centre of the composition and in full view, while Eutichius and Victorinus, beheaded and kneeling side by side with their severed heads before them, form (like caryatids) a uniform symmetrical line – the same curves of their backs, identical spurts of blood and heads. Also the arrangement of St. Placidus and St. Flavia with their respective executioners lacks variety. Correggio seems to have perceived this and to have changed the entire composition in consequence.

PLATES CXLI-CXLII. (1523-1524 ?). – THE DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS (p. 81). – Canvas. W. 1.82, H. 1.57. This picture has the same history as the preceding. During the journey it suffered great damages, and in Paris it was subjected to an excessive cleaning. The tear, badly mended, which alters the left hand of the Madonna, was caused in 1792 by the painter Giuseppe Turchi, as he was putting the picture back into its place from which it had been taken for him to copy it.

PLATES CXLIII-CXLIV. (1522 ?). – THE ANNUNCIATION (p. 83). – Lunette in fresco transferred to canvas. Diameter, 3.15, H. 1.57. Now in a state of total ruin, and with only a few traces of the heads of the Virgin and the Angel visible. To make anything out of the surviving patches of colour, recourse must be had to the engraving by Toschi and Costa which is here reproduced.

The fresco was painted by Correggio for the Church of the Annunziata which was pulled down in 1546 in order to make room for the fortress or castle built by Pier Luigi Farnese. On this occasion, Vasari relates, the Fathers of the Church of the Annunziata " caused the wall surrounding the fresco to be enclosed with pieces of wood strengthened with iron, and after cutting it out piece by piece, they placed it in a most secure place in another part of the wall of the same Convent." They subsequently erected a new church in the quarter of the city known as Capo di Ponte, and here the fresco was placed to the left of the entrance " where the noble family Aiani erected an altar."

In 1832 the Academy of Fine Art made efforts to secure the removal of the fresco in order to prevent its suffering further damage, but leave was not obtained until 1875. The removal of the fresco to the Gallery of Parma, where it now is, took place at the beginning of the following year and gave it the *coup de grâce.*

Drawings. – There is a beautiful squared up drawing for this picture at Wilton House, London (CCLII *b*). A second drawing of the Virgin, in the Louvre, also squared up but corresponding to no surviving painting, is attributed to Correggio (CCLIV *b*). In the British Museum there is a drawing of the Angel of the Annunciation with characteristics of Correggio, yet entirely different from the figure in the painting. Roberto Longhi draws our attention to a drawing of the Angel in the Budapest Museum (E. 3, p. 22 *a*).

PLATE CXLV. (1522 ?). – THE MADONNA "DELLA SCALA" (p. 82). – Fresco. W. 1.10, H. 1.60. Correggio painted this fresco upon the inside of the east gate of Parma. A bulwark having been erected upon this spot in 1545 in accordance with the military needs of the time, a number of citizens, inspired by their admiration for the beautiful painting, united together with the object of collecting funds, and, after obtaining the support of the Confraternity of San Michele, presented a petition begging that the tract of wall upon which the fresco was painted might be respected and incorporated in an Oratory, approach to which was to be obtained by a staircase. The staircase was subsequently made, and gave its name to the Madonna. In view of the character of the situation, leave was granted with difficulty, certainly not before the spring of 1555. The Oratory was afterwards decorated by G. B. Tinti, and two pictures for the side-altars were painted by him and by Malosso. In 1812, the Oratory was removed in order to provide space for the Customs-house. On this occasion the famous image was once more saved by its artistic importance and transferred to the Gallery of Parma, its present home.

Drawings. – There are two very fine sketches for this Madonna: the first, in the Dubini Collection at Milan, is a drawing in black pencil with swift vivacious lines full of expression (CCLV *a*); the second, in the British Museum, is in pencil and water colour (CCLV *c*). In translating the work into fresco, however, the Master considerably modified his first conception.

PLATE CXLVI. (1523-1524 ?). – THE MADONNA "DELLA CESTA" (p. 84). – Small panel. W. 0.25, H. 0.34. The painting was given by Charles IV of Spain to his master, Manuel Godoy, later known as the "Prince of the Peace" (1795), in whose possession it suffered from excessive cleaning. During the French invasion of Spain, it came into the hands of the English painter, Wallace, who put it up for sale for 1200 pounds without finding a purchaser. In April, 1825, however, the picture was in the Lapeyrière collection and was again offered for sale at a public auction in Paris. The purchaser on this occasion was C. I. Nieuwenhuys, Sen., who immediately afterwards disposed of it to the London National Gallery where it now is. This is the account given by J. MEYER in his *Correggio*, Leipzig, 1870, pp. 138 and 326. The Catalogue of the National Gallery, however, states that the painting was brought to England in 1813 by a Mr. Buchanan and bought from him twelve years later by M. Perrier, who presented it to the Gallery.

Drawing. – In the Albertina at Vienna there is a sheet of sketches by Correggio with various groups of figures (CCLVI *b*). One shows the Madonna with St. Anne and the two children embracing each other and seated on the ground. Nothing in the sketch except this small detail recalls the Madonna of London, but the figure of St. Joseph at work is similar to that of the St. Joseph in the painting. A flying angel in one corner of the sheet has a certain affinity with the Angel in the *Christ in the Garden of Olives*. More remarkable is the explicit idea of the *Madonna " del Latte"* (at Budapest) appearing in three figures at the opposite angle of this drawing.

PLATE CXLVII. (1523-1524 ?). – THE MADONNA "DEL LATTE" (p. 84). – Panel. W. 0.57, H. 0.68. In the Budapest Museum. The history of the painting is much confused both by contradictory accounts and also by the number of ancient copies, some of which, like the copy in the Hermitage at Petrograd, were for long passed off as the original. A similar picture is mentioned by Domenico Ottonelli in his *Trattato della pittura* (1652), but it is not possible to follow up its traces, nor to identify it with the original or with any of the copies. Ottonelli saw it when it was in the hands of a certain Gottifredo Periberti, into whose possession it had come from the Aldobrandini family, through the Princess of Rossano, their heiress, and the Cardinal of St. George.

The history of the painting is farther complicated by the fact that some ancient descriptions of it affirm that the Child receives the fruit from an angel, others from St. John the Baptist. The latter description has been taken to apply to the Petrograd picture, where, it is said, there is a little St. John but no angel. However, as there *is* an angel in the Petrograd picture, this argument falls to the ground.

The only certain fact is that the picture in the Budapest gallery came from the Esterhazy collection. We may add that few pictures by Correggio have given birth to so many copies, and that some of these are so good as to be considered copies made by the Master. We will mention two in Rome; the first in the Palazzo Ruspoli, the second in the Palazzo of the Caetani di Sermoneta. We have seen a third at Livorno; a fourth, belonging to Signor Bricheri Colombi, in Florence; and others in Rome, Milan, Bologna, etc.

PLATE CXLVIII. (1523-1524 ?). – THE VIRGIN ADORING HER SON (p. 84). – Canvas. W. 0.67, H. 0.81. Presented by the Duke of Mantua to Cosmo II de' Medici in 1617. Milanesi has written that the donor was the Duke of Modena, but in the Inventory of the Gallery from 1589 to 1634, f. 55, n. 86, we read that the picture was " given to His Serene Highness by His Serenity of Mantua." It is strange, moreover, that critics, who with the greatest ease have assigned to Correggio pictures altogether unworthy of him, should yet have dared to deny to him this work, the authenticity of which is unquestionable.

PLATE CXLIX. (1523-1524 ?). – NOLI ME TANGERE (p. 85). – Panel. W. 1.03, H. 1.30. Vasari saw this picture at Bologna in the house of the Hercolani family, and Pietro Lamo in his *Graticola di Bologna*, written about 1560, confirms Vasari's statement. He says: " In the house of Count Augustine Arcolano there is a Christ in the Garden with the Magdalene at his feet. Most beautiful." After being in the possession of Cardinal Aldobrandini and, later, of Cardinal Ludovisi, the picture was taken to Spain and was there presented to Philip II by Don Ramiro Nugnes de Gusman, Duke of Medina de las Torres. Charles II placed it in the ante-sacristy of the Escurial. The picture has suffered from retouches, which were removed, though at the cost of an excessive cleaning, by Josè Madrazo.

PLATE CL. (1524 ?). – CHRIST IN THE GARDEN of OLIVES (p. 85). – Panel. W. 0.40, H. 0.37. Vasari says that in his day the picture was at Reggio Emilia. This statement is confirmed by a letter written on March 16, 1584, by Fulvio Rangoni, from which it appears that the owner was Francesco Maria Signoretti of Reggio, who is known to have been a member of the College of Physicians in that city. The letter also states that a few years previously Pompeo Leoni, who had been commissioned to buy pictures for the King of Spain, entered into negotiations with a view to purchasing it, but desisted on finding himself confronted by a firm demand for 500 *scudi*. This information was given to Duke Alfonso II, who was desirous of gathering together a large number of pictures in his Castle at Ferrara. Six years afterwards, Lomazzo relates that the picture was sold for 400 *scudi* to Piero Visconti. Visconti parted with it for 750 *doppie* to the Marquis of Caracena, Governor of Milan, who bought it on behalf of Philip IV of Spain. After the battle of Vittoria the picture was found in the travelling-carriage of Joseph Bonaparte, which was looted by a colonel belonging to the Duke of Wellington's army. The Duke with chivalrous generosity caused the picture to be returned immediately to the King of Spain. Ferdinand VII, however, not wishing to be outdone in generosity, made a gift of it to the Duke, and it now forms the chief treasure of the collection at Apsley House, London.

Drawing. – There is a drawing for the figure of Christ in black pencil with bold sweeping lines (CCLVII) in the British Museum, London.

PLATE CLI. (1525 ?). – ECCE HOMO (p. 86). – Panel. W. 0.80, H. 0.97. Formerly in the possession of Counts Prati of Parma, from whom it passed to the Marchesi Dalla Rosa, or, according to others, to the Baiardi family. It appears to have been at a later date in the Colonna Gallery in Rome, where Ramdohr and Mengs certainly saw a picture very similar to it. After being sold by the Colonna family to Simon Clarke, it was again sold by the latter, who was unable to remove it from Italy, to Murat who was at that time King of Naples. In 1834 it was the property of the Marquis of Londonderry, and from him it passed to the London National Gallery, where it now is.

The number of ancient copies is large, and in many cases it is claimed that the copy is the original. In his *Microcosmo della Pittura* (Cesena,1657,) FRANCESCO SCANNELLI indicated a canvas owned by the Salviati family in Florence as the original painting; it is possible that the various copies existing in Florence are derived from this canvas.

PLATES CLII-CLIII. (1525 ?). – THE MADONNA OF ST. SEBASTIAN (p. 87). – Large altar piece on rounded panel, W. 1.61, H. 2.65, painted by Correggio for the Confraternity of San Sebastiano at Modena. In 1659 Duke Alfonso IV obtained it for his gallery, in exchange for a copy by Boulanger and the decoration of the vault of the choir in the Confraternity Chapel by the Bolognese artists, Colonna and Mitelli. The picture, include damong the works sold by Francesco III to Augustus III, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, was taken in 1746 to Dresden and is now in the Art Gallery.

The painting has now lost much of its original freshness. The history of its wanderings, unlike that of almost all the other pictures of the Master, is simple, but the record of the "torments" inflicted upon it is both painful and long.

GIAN BATTISTA SPACCINI (1588-1636) in his *Cronaca Modense*, published at Modena in 1911, relates that already in 1611 Ercole Abba made an attempt to remedy the damage caused by the injudicious action of Ercole dell'Abate who " in order to unite the colours together " set the picture in the sun. The double " torture " inflicted by these two painters was followed by a third still more serious, when the Bolognese artist, Flaminio Torri, repainted the whole. Mengs informs us that during the transport to Saxony the painting suffered from scraping, but this damage was set to rights at Dresden. The state to which the picture was reduced may be gathered from the fact that when Palmaroli undertook to free it from superimposed layers of paint, he discovered several heads of angels which had been completely covered up. As may be imagined, this long succession of outrages and "tormentings" ended in a complete alteration of tone, weakening the shaded parts and roughening portions of the figures, especially those of St. Sebastian and St. Geminian. In the above-mentioned *Cronaca* (pp. 15-16) SPACCINI mentions that in 1595 Mons. Girolamo Benero of Correggio, Cardinal of the title of S. Maria sopra Minerva, and the Bishop of Orvieto " went to San Sebastiano to see the painting of the divine Antonio Lucente (sic) of Correggio, and thence to San Pietro Martire to see the other." From this episode we may gather how the fame of Allegri had spread during the closing years of the sixteenth century.

The head of a *puttino* in the Pitti Gallery at Florence, formerly held to be by Correggio, is merely a copy of the head of the angel holding up the model of the city of Modena at the feet of St. Geminian.

PLATE CLIV. (1525 ?). – ANTIOPE (p. 87). – Canvas. W. 1.24, H. 1.90. Formerly in the Gonzaga Gallery at Mantua, the picture passed in 1628 to the collection of Charles I in London. After his decapitation, the English Parliament having resolved that Charles's artistic treasures should be sold, this was done in three stages, in 1649, in 1650, and in 1653. The *Antiope* became the property of the banker Jabach of Cologne who lived in Paris. From him it was bought by Cardinal Mazarin, whose heirs sold it to Louis XIV. The picture is now in the Louvre.

Drawing. – In the Royal Library, Windsor Castle (CCLVIII). The figure of Antiope is more extended than in the painting, where it appears with the legs almost tucked up – a daring innovation. Roberto Longhi informs us that there is a drawing of a nude female figure with marked Correggesque quality in the Sala Bonnat (No. 115) at Bayonne.

PLATE CLV. (1525 ?). – PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN (p. 127). – Canvas. W. 0.38, H. 0.54. The history of this portrait is of comparatively recent date. From Count Bruekenthal's collection in Vienna, it passed first to the Adamovics collection, and later to Dr. Richard Bosch, who sold it in 1925 to the antiquary, Giuseppe Grassi, of Rome. It is now in London in the Collection of Lord Lee of Fareham.

Believed at first to be of the " School of Titian " and later by Lorenzo Lotto, the picture was proclaimed to be the work of Correggio by A. VENTURI in *L'Arte*, XXIX, 1926, pp. 136-138, and by R. FRY in *The Burlington Magazine*, January, 1928.

PLATE CLVI. (1525 ?). – THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE (pp. 88 ff.). – Panel. W. 1.02, H. 1.05. Painted by Correggio for the Grillenzoni family of Modena, this picture passed in 1582 into the possession of Caterina Nobili Sforza, Countess of Santafiora, through the agency of Cardinal Luigi d'Este. After being in various hands, it appeared in 1650 in the gallery of Cardinal

Antonio Barberini, who later on gave it to Cardinal Mazarin. From Mazarin's heirs it passed to the museum of Louis XIV, and so to the Louvre. Of many copies we believe the very fine one made by Cigoli (1559-1613), now in the Orphans' Home at Pistoia, to be worthy of special mention.

PLATES CLVII-CLVIII. (1523-1530). – " NIGHT " (pp. 90 ff.). – Panel. W. 1.88, H. 2.565. This painting, ordered from Correggio by the Pratoneri family in 1522, was only finished and placed in position upon their altar in the Church of San Prospero at Reggio Emilia in 1530. The beautiful original frame is still preserved with the picture. Before the close of the sixteenth century, the Princes of Modena began to scheme with a view to obtaining possession of the picture. There is an allusion to their design in a letter written from Reggio by Fulvio Rangoni to the Secretary of Alfonso II, on December 27, 1587. " Some time has passed, " Rangoni informs him, " since the death of Cavalier Pratoneri, followed by that of Messer Giulio who together owned that *Nativity* by the hand of Correggio which is upon an altar of theirs in San Prospero of this place; but now that it remains in the hands of two youths under age I have doubts that leave will be given for its removal, besides that I know not whether the priests would agree to it, seeing that both parties esteem the painting as a jewel. Nevertheless, I will not cease in my efforts to remove the difficulties to the end that His Highness may be gratified if I shall see any means of coming by the picture. " The goal was reached rather more than half a century later, not, however, by the thorny path of negotiation, but by violence and robbery. A note written in the Obit-book of San Prospero informs us that in May, 1640, to the inexpressible grief of all the citizens of Reggio, the picture was sacrilegiously taken down by order of Duke Francesco and carried off to Modena. Together with the other pictures sold by Francesco III to Augustus III of Poland, it passed in 1746 from Modena to Dresden and is now in the Dresden Gallery.

Drawings. – The British Museum drawing (CCLIX) – swiftly executed and washed in with water-colour, as though to arrest a fleeting vision of the emotion felt by the shepherds gathering round the radiant, new-born Saviour – is perhaps to be identified with the drawing seen at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Sebastiano Resta in the possession of Giuseppe Ghezzi at Rome. " The figures," Resta writes, " are shown in slightly different attitudes, but the feeling is exactly that expressed by Correggio in the great picture " (*Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura, ed architettura,* III, Rome, 1759, pp. 327, 334, 338, 343-344). The sketch of a *Nativity at Night,* attributed to Correggio and in the Grand Ducal collection at Weimar, is perhaps the work of a Bolognese artist. The same subject, represented by daylight, occurs in a drawing by Correggio at Wilton House, London (CCLX), of which there is a copy at Milan in the Ambrosian Library. This or a like drawing – whether a corresponding painting ever existed is unknown – came into the hands of Annibale Carracci, who drew inspiration from it for a picture engraved by Nicolaus van Aelst (1525-1612 *circa*), and later by Lodovico Mattioli (1662-1747), while it was copied in pen and ink by Michel Corneille (1641-1708) in a drawing belonging to the Louvre.

PLATES CLIX-CLXII. (1527-1528). – THE MADONNA OF ST. JEROME (pp. 93 ff.). – Panel. W. 1.41, H. 2.05. Ordered by Briseide Colla, the widow of Orazio Bergonzi, in 1523, the picture was only finished several years later, and remained in the church of Sant'Antonio at Parma until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the work of demolishing the old church was begun in preparation for the building of the church designed by Ferdinando Bibiena. The painting was then carried into the priest's house and there carefully stored in a case. In the meantime Cardinal Antonio Vitale, who had borne the expenses of the new building, died, and the fabric was left unfinished. At once it was suggested that the money required for completing the building might easily be found by selling the picture. The Duke Francesco Farnese opposed this idea, but no sooner had he died than rumours of a sale once more became current. It was said that Augustus III, who a few years previously had bought the Modena pictures, was bent as usual upon securing this picture too. Thereupon the Commune of Parma, panic-stricken at the thought of this possibility, had the picture removed from its place of storage and carried for safety into a room belonging to the Cathedral Chapter. This was in 1749. Six years later, in consequence of complaints made by a French painter who had been prevented from making a copy of the painting, Guillaume Dutillot, the minister of Don Filippo of Bourbon, gave orders that it should be removed to Colorno, and from Colorno it was shortly afterwards transferred to the saloon of the Academy of Painting. When the new church of Sant'Antonio was at last finished in 1764, the authorities requested that the picture should be given back; but the Duke having proposed to purchase it, the sale was effected in April, 1765. The picture remained in the Ducal Gallery until 1796, when it was carried off to Paris in consequence of the French depredations. It returned to Italy from France in 1815, and arrived at Parma in the early days of the following year.

Drawings. – A wonderful sketch, executed with the point of the brush over a whirl of red strokes intersecting in every direction, seems to have been Correggio's first idea for this painting. The sketch (CCLXI), which belongs to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, shows St. Jerome on the right leaning towards the smiling Child. In another skech (CCLXII *a*) in the Museum of Weimar, we see the figure of the Magdalene leaning on the right towards the Child, and holding up her mantle with her left hand exactly as in the painting, but the attitude of the Madonna and the Child is different, and St. Joseph takes the place of St. Jerome. It is interesting to note that Correggio made a separate study, now in the Louvre, for the figures of the Madonna and Child (CCLXII *b*). This sketch is large and carefully studied. We may mention farther a vigorous sketch in the gallery of Budapest showing the Child lying across His Mother's knee with two *putti* on the right, one of whom smiles delightfully. This sketch, however, and a sketch in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth (CCLXIII *a*) in which there is a figure of a bishop vested in a cope, have no relation to any known work by Correggio.

PLATES CLXIII-CLXVI. (1528-1530). – THE MADONNA " DELLA SCODELLA " (pp. 96 ff.). – Panel with rounded top. W. 1.37, H. 2.18. Painted by Correggio for the church of the Santo Sepolcro in Parma. According to the inscription on the beautiful architectonic frame, which was refitted to the picture by ourselves in 1893, the picture was inaugurated on June 2, 1530. In 1754 a certain Descalced Carmelite friar wrote from Mantua to the sacrist of the church of the Santo Sepolcro, informing him that he knew of a purchaser. The sacrist replied that his Superior was disposed to sell, but that it would be necessary to obtain the consent of the Infante. Discussing the price, he alluded to various offers that had already been made. These were: 30,000 *filippi*, by General di Braon; 600,000 *lire* of Parma, by Senator Barbieri; and 20,000 *zecchini*, by a certain priest named Bianconi, who was the rector of a church in Bologna. The Carmelite's negotiations continued until 1756, when they were hung up and no more was said. It is hardly necessary to add that in 1796 the French carried off the picture to Paris as part of their loot. it returned to Italy in 1815, and at the beginning of 1816 to Parma, where it was placed in the Gallery–its present home.

The painting has lost much of its transparency in parts of the figures and the background, owing to various attempts at cleaning. One cleaning was carried out by Mengs. It must not, however, be supposed that the picture is ruined. Its condition is, indeed, more than satisfactory.

In the Verona Museum there is a copy of the head of the Child which was formerly held to be by Correggio.

Drawing. – A fleeting suggestion for the head of the Child may be seen in a drawing in the Oppenheimer collection in London, with a number of rapid strokes for angels in the right hand corner (CCLV *b*).

PLATE CLXVII. (1528 ?). – ST. CATHERINE READING (p. 102). – Canvas. W. 0.50, H. 0.62. In the Royal Palace of Hampton Court. There is a good imitation of this picture in the Dresden Gallery, perhaps by Carlo Cignani; only there the figure represents St. Margaret, as appears from the dragon's head at her side.

PLATES CLXVIII-CCXXV. (1526-1530). – THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN – DECORATION OF THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL (pp. 99 ff.). – Slightly elliptical. Diameter on the axis of the church, 10.93; on the axis of the transept, 11.55. Measures for protecting the marvellous fresco were first taken in 1533 when the covering of the outside of the cupola with sheets of copper and lead was begun. The operations continued until 1539. Ever since that time long periods of abandonment and neglect have followed the attempts occasionally made towards the preservation of the fresco, slight repairs to the covering of the cupola, and the removal of dust. When we ourselves in 1913 caused a large and commodious scaffolding to be erected for a general exploration of the fresco, previous to the consolidation of the parts in danger and the cautious removal of dust, grime, and spiders' webs, we found the work in a truly alarming state. Whole zones of the fresco, like the pendentive of St. Thomas, were protected and held together by pieces of iron wire and a metal network fastened to clumsy, big nails. Pieces of gauze, canvas, and paper were gummed over other parts; there were gaps without any intonaco left at all, while other portions were on the point of falling; and there was a general meandering of cracks everywhere. In short, a state of things so disgraceful as to make one cry out for grief and indignation when one considered the excellence of Correggio's work – a work no less precious than the vault of the Sistine Chapel or the *Stanze* of Raphael. We were at pains, therefore, to ensure that operations should not be arrested even during the years of the War, and Prof. Tito Venturini Paperi continued to work in 1914, 1915, and 1916, subsequently writing the following report, which is intereresting for its technical data:

" In carrying out the restoration of Correggio's fresco of the cupola of Parma Cathedral, the principle laid down from the outset was that of an absolute respect for the work of art; in other words, consolidation, not restoration. The chief obstacle in the way of a strict adherence to this programme lay in the technique with which the painting had originally been executed, the technique, that is, known as *mezzo fresco*.

" Although Correggio's method, as is well known, was that generally described by the expression *acque tinte,* and the use of *acque tinte* is clear in many parts of his work, his technique was much more complex than appears at first sight, and during my long contact with the admirable fresco I have fortunately been able to discover very clearly what the process employed by the supreme artist was.

" He first painted in true fresco, obtaining all the results that were possible by this means, given the immense expanse of the work. Afterwards he painted over the flesh-parts with *acque tinte,* modelling and strengthening the tones of the parts in shade, and thus obtaining those marvellous, transparent shadows which cannot be got from direct painting in fresco. *Acque tinte* were largely used also upon the shaded parts of light drapery, rosy stuffs, transparent blues, and zones of golden light. Next, when the intonaco had become quite dry during the time that elapsed from the beginning to the end of his great work, the artist, in order to complete the task of harmonizing the tone, proceeded to cover all those parts which he judged it necessary to relate to other contiguous parts with colours of robust ' body ' in tempera.

" It is, moreover, certain that the glue used by Correggio in grinding his colours in tempera varied from time to time, for in some parts the colour has resisted, whereas in others it has become disintegrated and presents now the appearance of pastel, even when the state of conservation of the intonaco is identical.

" Such, then, was the state of things with which the restorer had to reckon, animated as he was by a firm resolve not to cause any of those forms of damage so frequently met with in restored works, whether as the result of inexperience or from the lack of resources and modern appliances.

" At first sight the most efficacious remedy would have seemed to be that of detaching large portions of the painting and then re-applying them. Indeed, the intonaco to which Correggio entrusted his glorious work was of the most wretched kind. Invaded by the saltpetre which had formed owing to the infiltration of rain-water, it was reduced to such a pitiful state in many places that the slightest contact was enough to cause portions of it to fall. Elsewhere, and for the same reason, the colour had been raised into thin curved scales, which were dispersed by the merest breath of wind, or multitudes of small spiders which had found an unexpected refuge between the film of colour and the intonaco caused them to fall. Marvellous heads were on the point of disappearing; portions of arms, legs, drapery, awaited their last hour at any moment.

" On the other hand, while the removal of frescoes is a work attended by perfect results only in cases where the painting has been carried out in true fresco, a painting executed in *mezzo fresco* must first be fixed by spraying with resin dissolved in alcohol. This process changes the character of the painting and causes it to assume an appearance of having been wrought in ' half-oil.' Moreover, in process of time the resin brings about an alteration of tone and a general yellowish hue – a defect which becomes all the more apparent in proportion to the larger quantity of resin employed in order to make the operation more sure. The application of such a method to the large surface covered by Correggio's fresco had therefore to be rejected. It would have entailed a complete change in the character of the painting; it would have given it an oily tone; and before long it would have brought about a general yellowishness of tint.

" Accordingly, I decided to adopt a method requiring a greater expenditure of time and patience, yet one imposed by conscientious scruples. This was to secure the adherence of the intonaco once more to the rough-cast, and of the latter to the brick-work, and then to fix the detached coloured particles in position one by one, by using injections of gum prepared with vegetable casein and lime hydrate and also by applying it with the brush. In order to strengthen them and prevent their being penetrated by dust and insects, I placed supports of stucco round the tracts of intonaco which had become isolated through the falling away of certain parts, and elsewhere, as necessity dictated, I inserted small copper clamps coloured in such a way as to be invisible.

" Small expanses of the rough-cast left exposed owing to the fall of the painted intonaco, and upon which the schematic design of the fresco can be seen traced out in black, I left entirely uncovered. In the work of cleaning and reviving the many parts that had suffered damage, I proceeded with the utmost caution, obtaining the best results in my power; and in the presence of the Consiglio Superiore delle Antichità e Belle Arti I freed the zone of sky surrounding ' The Divine Messenger ' at the top of the cupola from the superimposed colours and smoke, so that the golden tint painted in true fresco reappeared in all its pristine luminousness. Lastly, I took steps to conceal the parts restored in stucco of lime by a coloured glaze harmonizing in tone with the rough-cast already darkened by lapse of time, and so varied as not to conflict with the tints in contact with it.

" The whole work was carried out in entire agreement with the Commission appointed to supervise the restoration and consisting of Prof. Luigi Cavenaghi and Prof. Maurizio Lucarini."

Drawings. – Pendentives. – For the pendentive with St. John the Baptist there is a fine drawing in the Louvre (CCLXIV), considerably modified by Correggio in the subsequent painting. Besides a number of small changes in the central figure with the lamb, the drawing has *putti* instead of adolescents. It is interesting moreover to observe that his first idea for the angles above the pendentives was to paint half-reclining figures of *putti*, as in San Giovanni, and not the broad Mantegnesque festoons of fruit and leafage. The Grahl collection in Berlin contains a drawing of a saint, represented in the act of writing (CCLXV), which is thought to have been a study for the figure of St. Thomas. The drawing is Correggesque, but it does not appear to us to have been made with any thought of the place it was destined to fill. There is a sketch for the head of St. Hilary in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge, U. S. A. (CLXXXV).

Frieze between the pendentives. – There are in existence several drawings of friezes by Correggio, but none of them corresponds to those of the cupola. Hence it remains uncertain whether they were intended for some other purpose, or whether the artist modified his conception. We reproduce here: two rapid sketches (CCLXVI) in the Uffizi Gallery (1947 r. and v.), a drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (CCLXVII), and three others in the Louvre (CCLXVIII,).

The Balustrade. – Two very beautiful sketches for the balustrade, including the round windows of the cupola, are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. They are important because they show that Correggio intended at first to represent the Apostles seated (CCLXIX).

The Apostles. – Nine sketches or drawings made by Correggio for the figures of the Apostles are known to us and are here reproduced. In the fresco they have undergone changes more or less noticeable. One is in the Albertina at Vienna (CCLXX *a*), the second in the Museum of Lisbon (CCLXX *b*), the third at Princeton University, U. S. A. (CCLXXI), the fourth in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence (CCLXXII *a*), the fifth (CCLXXII *b*) was sold with the collection of the artist E. W. at Amsterdam in 1926, the sixth – a rapid sketch – seventh, and eighth (CCLXXIII *a*, CCLXXVII) are in the Oppenheimer collection, London, and the ninth, showing one of the adolescents upon the balustrade, is in the Galleria Estense at Modena (CCLXXIII *b*), having been recovered from Austria in 1919.

Adolescents. – Besides the above mentioned drawing at Modena, in which the figure holds a bowl in one hand, there is a second drawing in the collection of F. J. Mather at Princeton, U. S. A., showing a recumbent figure, which appears in the fresco in inverse attitude but with very slight change (CCLXXIV *b*) ; a third in the Museum of Lisbon with the upper parts of two figures (CCLXXIV *a*); and a fourth in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, showing three figures of adolescents and an angel in the pendentive of St. John the Baptist (CCLXXV).

Patriarchs and Saints. – A figure standing upright upon clouds and pointing in an upward direction appears on a sheet recovered from Austria in 1919 and now in the Galleria Estense at Modena (CCLXXVI *a*), but Correggio made no use of this drawing for the cupola. On the other hand he followed the pen and ink drawing of *Adam, Abraham, and Isaac* now in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (CCLXXVI *b*), of which there is a tiny sketch in the Oppenheimer collection in London (CCLXXVII *b*). More noteworthy are the drawings for Eve: one, somewhat cold, in the Teyler Museum at Haarlem (CCLXXVIII *b*); a second, much more vivacious, in the Louvre (CCLXXVIII *a*); and a third with great beauty of expression in the British Museum.

The Madonna. – As may easily be supposed, Correggio made frequent sketches and drawings for the figure of the chief personage in his composition. His first idea may be that dashed with lightning speed upon a sheet now in the Dresden Gallery (CCLXXX *a*), in which the figure is less foreshortened and leans more to the left, with the *putto* also on this side. The British Museum drawing (CCLXXXI) is nearer to the fresco, but is without the *putto*. The definitive conception appears fixed in a swift, energetic sketch also in the Dresden Gallery (CCLXXX *b*). Lastly, there is a drawing for the head of the Virgin, of singular breadth of treatment, in the École des Beaux-Arts at Paris (CCLXXXII).

Angels. – A drawing of angels in the Royal Library at Madrid (CCLXXXIII) and another drawing in the Weisbach collection at Berlin (CCLXXXII *b*) may relate to the cupola. Other drawings, such as the *Angel Musician* in the Oppenheimer collection in London (CCLXXXIV *a*), may represent ideas which Correggio abandoned during the execution of the fresco, An interesting drawing in the British Museum (CCLXXXIV *b*), with a figure lying upon its side on clouds and naked from the waist downwards, has undoubtedly served for a figure vertically below Abraham.

The most ancient print we have seen representing part of the cupola is perhaps that by Sisto Badalocchio (1585-1647), with two Apostles and three adolescents. The group of the Madonna was engraved twice towards the end of the seventeenth century by Francesco Faraone Aquila of Palermo; the first time from a *painting in oils* which he considered the Master's " first thought," and the second time, apparently, from the painting. Larger parts were reproduced for prints by Giovanni Battista Vani or Vanni. Pietro Perfetti of Piacenza engraved the four pendentives between 1760 and 1764 – mediocre engravings, useful only for supplying graphically the lost parts of the original painting, and all definitely superseded by the copperplate engravings of Paolo Toschi and his school. The torso of the handsome adolescent in the Uffizi Gallery, who looks at the spectator, turning his head over his left shoulder, was for long attributed to Correggio; it is, however, merely a fine copy, like that of the same figure with a second adolescent in the Northbrook collection in London.

Plates CCXXVI-CCXXVII. (1530-1531). – The Madonna of St. George (pp. 113 ff.). – Panel. W. 1.90, H. 2.85. Originally in the Oratory or " School " of S. Pietro Martire at Modena. The Confraternity was suppressed in 1880, and the Oratory was incorporated in the buildings of the Civic Hospital. That the members guarded the painting with zealous care is shown by their refusal in 1578 to allow a young painter named Domenico Moni to copy it, on the ground of the risks already incurred when it was taken down to oblige Bartolomeo Passarotti and Francesco Madonnina. Their caution had to yield, however, before the violence of Duke Francesco I, who in 1649 withdrew the picture into his own possession, after promising a handsome present and a copy by Guercino. Guercino, in order to give the figures more room, permitted himself to alter the proportions of the picture.

A quarter of a century before it was sold to Augustus III, Elector of Saxony, the ambassador of Modena at the French Court arbitrarily promised the painting to the Minister Dubois, as a recompense for arranging the marriage between Francesco I of Modena and the French Princess Charlotte Aglae of Orleans, and to secure his support in certain political contingencies. But the ambassador reckoned without his host, for in spite of his representations that interests of State were worth more than all the colours and panels and the reputation of Correggio put together, and that perhaps the security of Mirandola depended upon the picture, Francesco refused his consent.

Drawings. – For the Madonna of St. George we have three drawings. The first of these (CCLXXXV), in the Dresden Gallery, is a masterpiece sketching the whole picture with the design for its frame; the second (CCLXXXVI), in the British Museum, is a study of the upper part of the architecture in the background, where the *putti* placed in the opposite angles above the arch and carrying festoons of leaves and fruit in the painting recall the drawing CCXLV *b*; and the third (CCLXXXVII), in the Uffizi Gallery, repeats in two different positions the figure of the *putto* who playfully unsheathes the sword of St. George. The unusual way in which the curves have been drawn by the pen may cause some doubt as to the attribution to Correggio, but this first impression is speedily overcome by the correspondence of the figure to the *putto* in the painting, and by its animation and expressiveness of line.

Plates CCXXVIII-CCXXXI. (1532 ?). – The Virtues (pp. 117 ff.). – Painting in tempera on canvas. W. 0.86, H. 1.50. Unfinished, specially in the upper part. Of the three figures flying, the two on the left are hardly traced out. The picture was already in Mengs's time – that is, in the second half of the eighteenth century – in its present home, the Doria Panfili Gallery in Rome.

Plate CCXXXII. (1532 ?). – The Virtues (pp. 117 ff.). – Painting in tempera on canvas. W. 0.86, H. 1.41. In the Louvre. The history of the painting is given below, plates CCXXXIII and CCXXXIV.

Drawings. – We may mention here two allegorical drawings in the Louvre. The first (CCLXXXVIII) shows a nude female figure stretched out asleep while various *putti* flit about her like light dreams; the second (CCLXXXIX) shows a female figure almost nude, seated between a number of *putti*, one of whom holds a large lighted torch. It is possible that the first is a drawing of *Night*, and the second of *Day*.

Plates CCXXXIII-CCXXXIV. (1532 ?). – Vice (p. 117). – Painting in tempera on canvas. W. 0.86, H. 1.41. In the Louvre. As we have said, this and the preceding painting were among the art objects possessed by Isabella d'Este at Mantua. The place in which they were kept is mentioned, not only in the Inventory published by Carlo D'Arco, but also in a letter dated March 27, 1627: "Two pictures by Correggio in the Grotto: Marsyas and Apollo, and, on the other side of the door, Three Goddesses, *Scudi* 2000." The pictures left Mantua for England in April, 1628. Daniel Nys wrote to Endymion Porter on May 12, from Venice, informing him that he had received from Lanier a letter announcing his departure, in good health and with five horses, from Bergamo (where he wrote the letter on May 2) *via* the Grisons for Bâle. Lanier took with him two pictures in tempera by Correggio and one by Raphael (Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel* 1627-1628, Milan, 1913, pp. 139, 155).

After the death of Charles I, the pictures passed into the possession of the banker Jabach. *The Virtues* entered subsequently into the collection of Cardinal Mazarin and thence into the collection of Louis XIV; the *Vice* was sold directly to Louis XIV by Jabach in 1671.

Drawing. – A black pencil sketch by Correggio in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, representing *Cupid felling a Satyr* (CCXC) must have reference to *Vice Conquered by Love.* There is a drawing of *Vice* in the British Museum, but it is a copy.

Plate CCXXXV. (1531 ?). – Ganymede (p. 119). – Canvas. W. 0.71, H. 1.63. In the Staatsmuseum, at Vienna. In 1585, while he was ambassador to Madrid, Count Khevenhiller noticed in the Perez Collection a *Ganymede* attributed at that time to Parmigianino. Two years later, however, when his sovereign, the Emperor Rudolf II, who was no less fanatical a lover of art than of alchemy and astrology, ordered him to purchase the *Ganymede* and sundry other pictures, including the *Io* and the *Leda* of Correggio, for the Imperial collection, the Count was obliged to content himself with sending copies, as the originals had been returned to the Royal Treasury and declared inalienable. Khevenhiller finally obtained the originals of the *Ganymede* and the *Io* in 1603, and despatched them to Prague. How long they remained there is unknown. They are not mentioned in the inventory of treasures and works of art at Prague compiled in 1621. Nor have we any clue as to where Ottonelli had seen the *Ganymede* or at all events knew of its existence, when he mentioned it in his *Trattato della pittura* published at Florence in 1652. It is, however, certain that in 1660 the *Ganymede* was at Vienna, where it is still, as Marco Boschini records it there in his work entitled *La Carta del navegar pitoresco,* printed at Venice in that year (p. 302).

Drawing. – A vigorous sketch washed in with water-colour in the Grand Ducal collection at Weimar.

Plate CCXXXVI. (1532 ?). – Io (p. 120). – Canvas. W. 0.74, H. 1.63. In the Staatsmuseum, Vienna. This picture is mentioned, albeit with some confusion, by Vasari, who informs us that it was painted together with the *Danaë* and the *Leda* for Federico II Gonzaga, who made a present of them to Charles V. Lomazzo, in his *Trattato dell'arte della pittura,* declares that in his day the *Io* and the *Danaë* were in the possession of the sculptor, Leone Leoni, at Milan, and that Leoni had received them from his son in Spain. Leone Leoni had enjoyed the particular protection of Charles V and Philip II, executing for them a number of praiseworthy works in Spain. His son, Pompeo, encouraged by his father's counsel and example, also settled in Spain, where he gained the favour of Philip II and continued to work until his death which took place in 1610. Meyer thinks it uncertain whether he obtained the paintings of Correggio as a gift from the sovereign or bought them from the Perez collection. The latter view was that of Ulrichs. Although their interest is but slight, these doubts appear to be solved by the dates. Perez, who was Secretary of State and favourite of Philip II, fell into disgrace in 1579. In 1585, having to pay a heavy fine, he resigned himself to the sale of his collection of pictures, a large number of which were sequestrated and placed in the Royal collection. Lomazzo's work, in which the *Io* and the *Danaë* are mentioned as existing in Milan, had already been published a year before this sale took place. Now, if we reckon up the time required at that period for the journey of the pictures from Madrid to Italy and the time required for Lomazzo to write his treatise and for Paolo Gottardo Ponzio to print it, it is clear that Pompeo Leoni must have been in possession of the pictures a long time before Perez sold his collection. Hence the most likely hypothesis is that Philip II gave them to the Italian sculptor either as a present or in payment of some work. Count Khevenhiller, who was anxious to secure the two paintings for the Emperor Rudolf II, began to negotiate the purchase with Leoni in 1600. An agreement was reached after considerable delay in 1603, and the pictures were sent to Prague. Up to this point the fortunes of the *Io* and the fortunes of the *Danaë* were identical, but henceforward they had a different destiny. In 1621 the *Io* was no longer in Prague, and had perhaps already passed to Vienna, where we find it in 1702 and where it still is.

Plates CCXXXVII-CCXXXIX. (1532 ?). – Danaë (pp. 121 ff.). – Canvas. W. 1.93, H. 1.61. In the Borghese Gallery in Rome. As we have said, the history of this picture until 1603 is identical with that of the *Io.* Afterwards, the *Danaë,* which had been left at Prague, was included with the *Leda* in the plunder taken after the capture of the city in 1648, and carried off to Stockholm.

The legend that Sebastian Bourdon, the Court painter of Queen Christina of Sweden, found the *Danaë* and the *Leda* used to block up the windows of a stable against bad weather has already been proved by Meyer to be false. Meyer endeavoured to account for this story by referring to some observations made by Winckelmann and to a number of letters addressed by Count Tessin to the Crown Prince Gustavus of Sweden. It is, on the contrary, certain that in a catalogue of Queen Christina's art collections drawn up in 1652 and revised in 1653 – the catalogue is now in the Stockholm Library – the *Leda* and the *Danaë* are mentioned under numbers 81 and 82. The fantastical Christina brought the *Danaë*, the *Leda*, and a copy of the *Io* together with numerous other pictures to Rome, and left them to Cardinal Decio Azzolini. The Marchese Pompeo, the Cardinal's nephew, parted with them to Don Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Bracciano, and the heirs of the latter sold them to the Duke of Orleans, the Prince Regent of France. Later, the *Danaë* passed with the Orleans collection to London and was sold to the Duke of Bridgewater. In 1816 it was sold for 183 pounds to Henry Hope, and in 1823 or thereabouts found a new purchaser in Paris who disposed of it to Prince Borghese. The latter brought the picture to Rome and placed it in his gallery, which became the property of the Italian State in 1901.

Drawing. – A fine drawing by Correggio in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, appears to have been made for the *Danaë*, or rather for a *Danaë* (CCXCII). A nude female figure sits upon the edge of a bed with her feet resting upon a stool, while a number of Cupids play around her, and above her hangs a cloud from which the eagle of Jupiter appears. But the drawing has very slight relation to the painting.

PLATE CCXL. (1533 ?). – LEDA (pp. 123 ff.). – Canvas. W. 1.91, H. 1.52. In the Berlin Gallery. This picture, like the *Danaë*, was presented by Federico II Gonzaga to Charles V, and, like the *Ganymede*, in 1603 it passed to Prague. In 1648 it was included in the Swedish plunder and carried to Stockholm. Brought to Rome with the *Danaë* by Christina of Sweden, it passed at her death to Cardinal Decio Azzolini; next, to Don Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Bracciano ; and after his death it was sold to the Duke of Orleans. Louis, the Regent's son, seized by scruples of modesty, tore out the head and was on the point of consigning the entire picture to the flames, when Charles Coypel, first painter to the King of France, intervened in time to save it. Some relate that Coypel, after putting the picture in some sort of order, invited first Vanloo and then Boucher to repaint the head, and that upon their refusal he addressed himself to J. F. Deslyens. Others, on the contrary, affirm that the head was repainted by Coypel himself. However this may be, the head then painted is no longer in existence. Schlesinger subsequently painted another, and his head is the one now seen.

At the sale by auction of Coypel's pictures after his death, the *Leda* was acquired in 1752 by Pasquier, the art-collector. Pasquier died shortly afterwards, and through the agency of Comte d'Epinaille the picture passed into the possession of Frederick the Great. In 1806 it was carried back to Paris as part of the spoils of war, restored to Prussia eight years later, and in 1830 placed in the Berlin Gallery, where it still remains. The ancient copy of the *Io* mentioned above met with the same destiny.

There is an old and graceful copy of the three figures to the right of the picture, probably to be ascribed to Pietro of Cortona, in the Rospigliosi Gallery in Rome. A second copy of the entire painting in the Prado Gallery at Madrid is interesting as having been painted when the head of Leda in the original picture had not yet been cut out and replaced.

PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS ATTRIBUTED TO CORREGGIO *

PAINTINGS

The Madonna and Child with St. John the Baptist, in the Corsini Gallery in Rome. Proclaimed by Laudedeo Testi to be an important work by Correggio in the article " Un capolavoro ignorato " in *Bollettino d'Arte*, II, Rome, 1908, pp. 37-38. Reminiscent of the *Madonna* in the Louvre painted by Francesco di Simone of Santacroce, which was once likewise attributed to Correggio. Cf. G. Fiocco, " I pittori da Santacroce " in *L'Arte*, Rome, 1916, p. 183.

" Mater Amabilis," formerly at Milan in the Crespi collection, assigned to Correggio by G. Gronau, *Correggio*, Stuttgart, 1907, No. 26. Perhaps the work of Pomponio Allegri.

The Madonna and Child, in the Borromeo Palace, Isola Bella (Lake Maggiore). Ascribed to Correggio (Venturi, *Correggio*, cit., 1927, plate 87). A work, or perhaps a copy, by Agostino Carracci, painted in 1595. There is an engraving by Francesco Brizio in the Cabinet of Prints at Rome, No. 31514. Cf.Bartsch, *Peintre-graveur*, XVIII, 255; and Irene Kunze, " Venturi's neuenteckte ' Correggio ' Madonna in der Sammlung Borromeo auf der Isola Bella " in *Der Kunstwanderer*, April, 1925, pp. 269-270.

Small Ancona with The Madonna, Angels, and St. Geminian. Attributed to Correggio by Venturi in *L'Arte*, XXII, 1919, p. 231. Not included, however, in his great work on *Correggio* (1927).

The engraving of the so-called Bianconi Madonna by Domenico Aspar might lead one to suppose that the original picture was by Correggio; but as this is either lost or destroyed, it is impossible to reach a conclusion.

The Nativity of Christ. In the possession of F. Bonati at Parma and mentioned as by Correggio by G. Copertini, *Note sul Correggio*, Parma, 1925, p. 41. A fine work by Michelangelo Anselmi.

The Flight into Egypt. The Madonna seated upon the ass led by St. Joseph is feeding her Child. In the background to the right are the ruins of a temple and a broken idol falling from a column. In the landscape a number of slender palm-trees. The painting presents Correggesque characteristics, but the want of grace, especially in the figure of St. Joseph, induces us to ascribe the picture to a pupil. Where it is now we are unable to say.

A Head of the Crucified Christ, in the Museum of Palermo, attributed to Correggio, is the work of a Tuscan painter akin to Dolci.

In the Palatine Library at Parma are two prints representing St. Joseph and St. Jerome extended at full length and accompanied by angels. On one of these prints is written, " First works of Antonio Allegri of Correggio." The figures are really by the Carracci.

St. Agnes or Meekness in the Vienna Museum. Attributed to Correggio by Venturi (*Correggio*, 1927, plate 55). The signature " G. B. F. A. 1641 " at the back of the canvas led Hermann Voss to assign this painting to Giovanni Biliverti (" Ein unbekanntes Frühwerk Correggios " in *Der Kunstwanderer*, 1926, pp. 92-93).

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* The number of pictures and drawings everywhere ascribed to Correggio is infinite. The present list only includes those (1) not mentioned in the text, (2) exhibited in important collections, and (3) published in books and reviews by authors of repute. In every case the paintings and drawings here mentioned are, *in our view*, to be excluded from the number of works whose attribution to the Master is *certain*.

EVA, formerly the property of L. C. Nicolson, London, and now in the possession of S. E. Cambo at Barcelona. Attributed to Correggio by VENTURI (*Correggio*, 1927, plate 194) and by HERMANN VOSS to Francesco Furini (" Ein unbekanntes Frühwerk, etc., " *cit. supra*, p. 93).

SIBYL, the property of Barone Michele Lazzaroni (VENTURI, *Correggio*, 1927, plate 31). In our opinion of somewhat later date and not of the Emilian school.

PORTRAIT OF A MAGISTRATE, formerly in the Lukas Sale-rooms in Vienna, published as " the most ancient portrait of Correggio " by VENTURI in *L'Arte*, XXXII, 1929, p. 245.

PORTRAIT OF A MAN, included in the Kann Sale at New York (January 7, 1927) and assigned to Correggio by VENTURI in *L'Arte*, 1928, p. 248.

PORTRAIT OF A MAN, formerly in the Hermitage, Petrograd, and assigned to Correggio by VENTURI in *Studi dal Vero*, p. 215.

PORTRAIT known as " THE PHYSICIAN OF CORREGGIO " in the Dresden Gallery. Now excluded from the works of the Master and assigned to the Ferrarese school.

PORTRAIT, presumed to be that of Correggio, in the Art Gallery, Parma. An unfinished school work.

PUTTO ASLEEP in the Duke of Westminster's collection, London. Attributed to Correggio. The colour is reddish and lacks luminousness.

VENUS AND CUPID in the Liechtenstein collection, Vienna. Cupid sleeps resting against the right leg of Venus, who makes a gesture of silence while she prepares to strike him with a dart. A second *Amorino* meanwhile takes an arrow from Cupid's quiver. A similar painting, ascribed to Belisario Corenzio, exists in a private collection at Naples.

THE RAPE OF GANYMEDE BY THE EAGLE OF JUPITER, fresco upon an octagon removed from the citadel of Novellara to the Este collection at Modena, where it now is. Perhaps a work by Lelio Orsi of Novellara. An identical attribution and origin are also given to a *Putto* exhibited in the same gallery.

VENUS DISARMING LOVE. This painting has given rise to many repetitions and copies. The original is by Luca Cambiaso and has been described by HERMANN VOSS (" Venus entwaffnet den Cupido. Ein unbekanntes Hauptbild des Luca Cambiaso " in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, V, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 321-2).

Detached fragments of the FRIEZE decorating the outside of Casa Strozzi-Fontanelli at Reggio Emilia, where they are still in their original position. Formerly attributed to Correggio (VENTURI, " Affreschi del Correggio a Reggio dell'Emilia " in *Resto del Carlino*, (newspaper of Bologna), October 24, 1902). The fragments are perhaps the work of Ròndani.

DRAWINGS

TWO PUTTI. The modelling is somewhat hard and lacking in grace. The drawing was formerly in the Piancastelli collection at Rome and was published as the work of Correggio by G. FRIZZONI in *L'Arte*, V, 1902, p. 29.

Four Drawings (THREE SIBYLS AND A PROPHET) for the frieze of the nave of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma, squared out for painting. At Wilton House, London. They are indubitably by Francesco Mario Ròndani, and were published by ARTHUR STRONG, *Reproduction in facsimile of drawings by the Masters in the Collection of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery at Wilton House*, London, 1900-1901, Nos. 35-38.

Another drawing of a SIBYL for the frieze of the nave of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma, in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence (1950 F). This also is by Ròndani.

A drawing corresponding to the pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma, with ST. LUKE AND ST. AMBROSE. In the Rasini collection. This must be a copy of an earlier drawing.

A drawing in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, of the pendentive with ST. MATTHEW AND ST. JEROME in S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma, A very feeble copy, perhaps intended to imitate an original (1953 F.).

A figure of THE REDEEMER for the Coronation of the Madonna, in the possession of G. I. Clough at Barnet (Herts). The drawing has an extreme finish utterly unlike the dash of Correggio, and is to be assigned to the second half of the seventeenth century. Possibly the work of the Genoese artist, Gregorio de Ferrari.

A figure of ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST WITH THE LAMB, from one of the pendentives of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. The drawing, which is in the British Museum, is skilfully done, but lacks spirit and shows not the slightest difference from the painting. Hence it is to be regarded as a copy, perhaps by the Carracci school.

Sketch of a PENDENTIVE of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. In the Malcoms collection of the British Museum. Published by LOESER in *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, X, 1897, p. 357. A stiff, laboured, faulty production, perhaps a falsification.

Two ADOLESCENTS of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Drawing in the Museum of Lisbon (VENTURI, *Studi dal vero*, p. 210). The weak drawing of the left hand and leg of the seated figure, and also that of the hands, head, and drapery of the standing figure indicate that it is a copy, if not a falsification.

Figure of an ADOLESCENT WITH A CANDELABRUM. A long, feeble figure without any of the spirit of Correggio, to whom it is attributed by Jacobsen. Cf. *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XXV, 1901, p. 319.

A tame and incorrect copy of an ANGEL'S HEAD from the cupola of Parma Cathedral in the Albasini Sorosati collection, Milan. Published by G. FRIZZONI as a drawing by Correggio in *L'Arte*, V, 1902, p. 22.

A PUTTO (third part of the figure) among the drawings in Palazzo Bianco, Genoa. The drawing is laboured, and copied from an angel of the cupola of Parma Cathedral.

THE MADONNA OF THE ASSUMPTION. From the cupola of Parma Cathedral. The drawing, which is in the British Museum, lacks inspiration but is a carefully reproduced imitation by a copyist.

Drawing for an ASSUMPTION OF THE MADONNA in the Gravagli collection. A faulty, disordered work by a follower of the Carracci. Published in *L'Arte*, XXXI, 1928, p. 145.

Two figures of SAINTS OR APOSTLES, perhaps for an ASSUMPTION OF THE MADONNA, in the Teyler Museum at Haarlem. The figures do not correspond to any pair of Apostles painted on the cupola of Parma Cathedral, and the execution, though finished, is artificial and nerveless. The only hand shown is unlike the hands of Correggio. Published by VENTURI in his *Correggio* (1927). plate 127.

Drawing of Two PUTTI, formerly at Rome in the Stroganoff collection. We assigned it in the past to Correggio (*Rassegna d'arte*, I, 1901, p. 9), but a mature examination has revealed the conventional characteristics of a school work and a certain heaviness in the forms.

Two drawings, each with Two Putti, in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth. Also assigned by us to Correggio, but a closer study betrays a different understanding and rendering of the nude. Perhaps the work of a Genoese master.

Four Putti with episcopal insignia. In the Vanderbilt collection of the Metropolitan Museum of New York. In *Rassegna d'arte*, I, 1901, p. 9, we published the drawing as by Correggio, but a more recent and careful study has induced us to abandon this attribution. The drawing has swift lines, but they are not Correggesque in quality, and they are in somewhat later style. Moreover the lettering in the author's own hand is different from that of Correggio.

Putti holding a medallion with a female figure sketched inside it. Two drawings in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth, reminiscent of the manner of Cignani (Venturi, *Correggio*, 1927, plates 160 and 161).

Drawing of The Annunciation in the Parma Art Gallery, in the possession of Prof. Cattani at Parma. An interesting copy, as having been made when the painting was still in very fair condition.

The Madonna "della Scala." A full-length figure and below it a shield for a coat-of-arms surmounted by a mitre. This drawing, somewhat rough and incorrect in parts, is in the Grand Ducal Palace at Weimar. It should be noticed that the *Madonna "della Scala"* was painted as we see it to-day, showing two thirds of the figure; and so it appears in authentic drawings by Correggio in the Dubini collection at Milan and in the British Museum, as well as in old engravings made previously to the removal of the fresco, such as those by Bartolomeo Bonvicini (1700), Antonio Frix, and others. Perhaps the Weimar drawing was a preparatory study for a fresco reproducing and completing the *Madonna "della Scala"* like that executed by G. B. Trotti known as "il Malosso" in the church of S. Fiorenzo at Fiorenzola d'Arda.

A Drawing in Palazzo Bianco at Genoa, taken from The Marriage of St. Catherine in the Naples Museum. This is a copy, possibly by a Genoese artist.

Group of St. Placidus with the executioner. A somewhat laboured drawing in the Louvre.

Drawing of The Madonna "della Scodella." In the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, and published by Jacobsen in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XXXIII, 1905, p. 24. Merely an indifferent copy of the painting.

Putto with his hand raised. In the Oppenheimer collection, London. A delightful drawing by Carlo Cignani.

A Drawing of The Nativity at Wilton House, London, published by Strong A meticulous product of the Emilian School, stiff and cold.

The Adoration of the Magi. A drawing attributed to Correggio by Strong, at Wilton House. Blunt, heavy lines; perhaps the work of Giacinto Bertoia.

The Nativity by Night. A black pencil drawing heightened by white in the Library of the Royal Palace at Turin. Evidently imitated from Correggio, but the figures are too tall and unlike – note especially the figure of the Virgin. The background also is not Correggesque.

The Divine Child of the Madonna "del Latte" in the *Libro di Disegni* by Salimbeni, Folli, and others, belonging to the Communal Library, Siena. A copy by the Carracci school.

The MADONNA with the Child naked upon her knees. The drawing, which is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, has been cut down so that the head and feet of the Madonna are now missing. The execution is cold and minute.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD. A drawing in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Delicate on the whole, yet wanting Correggio's vigour and firmness. Some attribute it to Parmigianino.

A Drawing in the Louvre representing CHARITY. Supposed to be by Correggio, it should, however, be attributed to Schedoni.

A Drawing of THE HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND A FEMALE SAINT, in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle. To be attributed to Schedoni.

A Drawing in the Teyler Museum, Haarlem, of the picture of the FOUR SAINTS belonging to the Metropolitan Museum of New York. A copy in red pencil, strangely attributed to Bassano.

A Drawing of ST. FRANCIS PRAYING, in the Museum of Lisbon (Cf. VENTURI, *Studi dal vero*, p. 213). To us is appears a production of later date, in the manner of Bårocci.

Study for a SAINT WRITING, perhaps St. John the Evangelist. Formerly in the Geiger collection in London (Cf. *L'Arte*, XXX, 1927, p. 240). Perhaps to be assigned to Guido Reni.

Part of the figure of a SAINT and Two ANGELS, belonging to the Vaughan Bequest in the British Museum. The drawing, attributed to Correggio, is by Guido Reni.

Two Drawings of ANGELS in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, assigned to Correggio by Jacobsen. They are however, later and to be attributed to Sabbatini (Cf. *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XXXIII, 1905, pp. 26-27).

A CANDELABRUM in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The drawing in the ornamental part is laboured and mediocre, and the figures, contrary to Correggio's usage, are long and thin.

PUTTO WITH A VASE. In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and by the same artist as the preceding drawing.

A Drawing of an ARABESQUE in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Wanting in spirit, and confused.

A Drawing of a TROPHY at Wilton House, London. The conception is confused, and the execution marked by serious faults.

Sketches for a RAPE OF EUROPA, in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle. The drawing is meticulous, with long figures, and shows none of the characters oi Correggio (VENTURI, *Correggio*, 1927, plate 184).

NYMPH WITH A CUPID. A drawing in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, published by VENTURI (*Correggio*, 1927, plate 183). To us it appears of later date.

A Drawing for an ANTIOPE in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Published as a work by Correggio by JACOBSEN, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XXXIII, 1905, p. 22, but to be attributed (as previously) to Giovanni of San Giovanni.

The ARMS OF PAUL III. In the Albertina, Vienna. Attributed by some writers to Correggio. The escutcheon, probably drawn by Giorgio Gandino del Grano, is papal, and therefore subsequent to October 14, 1534 – more than seven months after the death of Correggio.

LIST OF REPRODUCTIONS

I. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD. London, Barrymore Collection. (*Photo. Gray*).

II. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH ST. JOSEPH, ST. ELIZABETH, AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Milan, Collection of Marchese Guiscardo Barbò. (*Photo. Bassani*).

III. – THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE. Milan, formerly the property of Gustavo Frizzoni and now in the possession of Ing. Bonomi. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

IV. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. FRANCIS AND ST. QUIRINUS. Fresco. Modena, Este Gallery. Formerly at Correggio. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

V. – ST. MARK THE EVANGELIST. Pendentive of the cupola in the Mortuary Chapel of Mantegna. Mantua, Church of Sant'Andrea. (*Photo. Anderson*).

VI. – ST. MATTHEW THE APOSTLE. Pendentive of the cupola in the Mortuary Chapel of Mantegna. Mantua, Church of Sant'Andrea. (*Photo. Anderson*).

VII. – ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST. Pendentive of the cupola in the Mortuary Capel of Mantegna. Mantua, Church of Sant'Andrea. (*Photo. Anderson*).

VIII. – ST. LUKE THE EVANGELIST. Pendentive of the cupola in the Mortuary Chapel of Mantegna. Mantua, Church of Sant'Andrea. (*Photo. Anderson*).

IX. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH ST. JOSEPH, ST. ELIZABETH, AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Fresco. Mantua, pronaos of the Church of Sant'Andrea. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

X. – CHRIST LAID IN THE SEPULCHRE. Fresco. Mantua, pronaos of the Church of Sant'Andrea. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

XI. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD. Vienna, Art Gallery. Formerly in the Castle of Hellbrunn (Salzburg).

XII. – JUDITH. Strasburg, Art Gallery.

XIII. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD BETWEEN TWO ANGELS PLAYING INSTRUMENTS AND A GLORY OF SERAPHIM. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

XIV. – THE HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. ELIZABETH AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, KNOWN AS THE MALASPINA MADONNA. Pavia, Museum. (*Photo. Anderson*).

XV. – THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE. Detroit, Museum.

XVI. – JESUS TAKING LEAVE OF HIS MOTHER. London, National Gallery. (*Photo. Dixon*).

XVII. – "THE FOUR SAINTS" SS. PETER, LEONARD, MARTHA, AND MARY MAGDALENE. New York, Metropolitan Museum.

XVIII. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. ELIZABETH AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Philadelphia, Collection of J. G. Johnson.

XIX. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Rome, Borghese Gallery. (*Photo. Royal Conservatory, Florence*).

XX. – THE MADONNA OF ST. FRANCIS. Dresden, Art Gallery.

XXI. – MOSES BETWEEN TWO PUTTI. Medallion. Detail of the Madonna of St. Francis. Dresden, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Alinari*).

XXII. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD. Detail of the Madonna of St. Francis. Dresden, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Alinari*).

XXIII. – HEAD OF ST. FRANCIS. Detail of the Madonna of St. Francis. Dresden, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Alinari*).

XXIV. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD. (Correggio ?). Switzerland, Private Collection.

XXV. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, KNOWN AS THE BOLOGNINI. Milan, Museum of the Castello Sforzesco. (*Photo. Anderson*).

XXVI. – THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI. Milan, Brera Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

XXVII. – THE CRIB AT NIGHT. Milan, Brera Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

XXVIII. – THE HOLY FAMILY AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. London, Collection of Charles Fairfax Murray.

XXIX. – SHEPHERD-BOY PLAYING THE PIPES. (Correggio ?). Munich, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Hanfstaengl*).

XXX. – VENUS PRICKED BY THE THORN. (Correggio ?). Boston, U. S. A., Gardner Collection. (*Photo. Mura*).

XXXI. – ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST IN THE WILDERNESS. (Correggio?). Oldenburg, formerly in the Grand Ducal Gallery.

XXXII. – PIETÀ. London, Collection of Lord Lee of Fareham.

XXXIII. – ST. ANTHONY THE ABBOT. Naples, National Museum. (*Photo. Anderson*).

XXXIV. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD, KNOWN AS THE CÀMPORI MADONNA. Modena, Este Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

XXXV. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, KNOWN AS THE MADONNA OF CASALMAGGIORE. Frankfort-on-Main, the Städel Institute. (*Photo. Bruckmann*).

XXXVI. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD, KNOWN AS THE ZINGARELLA. Naples, National Museum. (*Photo. Anderson*).

XXXVII. – THE SOJOURN IN EGYPT. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. (*Photo Anderson*).

XXXVIII. – THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Madrid, Prado Gallery. (*Photo Anderson*).

XXXIX. – THE MADONNA OF ALBINEA. Copy after Correggio. Rome, The Capitol Museum. (*Photo. Anderson*).

XL. – ST. MARY MAGDALENE. London, National Gallery.

XLI. – THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE. Naples, National Museum. (*Photo. Anderson*).

XLII. – VAULT OF THE CAMERA DI SAN PAOLO. Parma. (*Photo Alinari*).

XLIII. – DIANA. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
XLIV. – CAMERA DI SAN PAOLO. Parma, Frescoes of the North Side. (*Photo. Anderson*).
XLV. – CAMERA DI SAN PAOLO. Parma, Frescoes of the East Side. (*Photo. Anderson*).
XLVI. – CAMERA DI SAN PAOLO. Parma, Frescoes of the South Side. (*Photo. Anderson*).
XLVII. – CAMERA DI SAN PAOLO. Parma, Frescoes of the West Side. (*Photo. Anderson*).
XLVIII. – PUTTI. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
XLIX. – PUTTI. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
L. – PUTTI. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LI. – PUTTI. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LII. – PUTTI. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LIII. – PUTTI. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
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LV. – PUTTI. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
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LXI. – PUTTI. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXII. – PUTTI. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXIII. – PUTTI. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXIV. – THE THREE GRACES. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXV. – ADONIS. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXVI. – GENIUS POPULI ROMANI. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXVII. – AFRICA. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXVIII. – JUNO PUNISHED. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXIX. – VESTA. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXX. – A PHILOSOPHER. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXXI. – THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXXII. – THE THREE FATES. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXXIII. – INO LEUCOTHEA WITH THE INFANT BACCHUS. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXXIV. – CERES OR PROVIDENCE. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXXV. – SATYR or PAN. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXXVI. – CHASTITY. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXXVII. – VIRGINITY. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXXVIII. – FORTUNE. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXXIX. – MINERVA. Parma, Camera di San Paolo. (*Photo. Anderson*).
LXXX. – ST. JEROME. Madrid, Academy of S. Fernando.
LXXXI. – THE HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. JAMES. Hampton Court Palace. (*Photo. Ellis*).
LXXXII. – THE HOLY FAMILY AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Orleans, Art Gallery.

LXXXIII. – THE YOUNG MAN FLEEING FROM THE SEIZURE OF CHRIST. Copy after Correggio. Parma, Art Gallery.

LXXXIV. – THE SCHOOL OF LOVE. London, National Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

LXXXV. – ST. MARY MAGDALENE. (Copy ?) Dresden, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Alinari*).

LXXXVI. – THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST. Copy after Correggio. Central panel of the triptych, formerly in the Oratory of S. Maria della Misericordia in Correggio. Rome, Vatican Gallery. (*Photo Anderson*).

LXXXVII. – ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Left panel of the triptych, formerly in the Oratory of S. Maria della Misericordia in Correggio. London, Robinson Collection.

LXXXVIII. – INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA AT PARMA. (*Photo. Alinari*).

LXXXIX. – PUTTI by Francesco Maria Ròndani. Parma, Pillars supporting the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

XC. – GENERAL VIEW, WITH THE PENDENTIVES AND SOFFITS OF THE ARCHES of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma.

XCI. – DANIEL. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

XCII. – ELIJAH. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

XCIII. – AARON. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

XCIV. – MOSES. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

XCV. – JONAH. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

XCVI. – SAMSON. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

XCVII. – ABRAHAM OFFERING UP ISAAC. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

XCVIII. – CAIN KILLING ABEL. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

XCIX. – ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST AND ST. AUGUSTINE. Copy in water-colours by Paolo Toschi of the N. E. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

C. – ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST AND ST. AUGUSTINE. Parma, N. E. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CI. – ST. MATTHEW AND ST. JEROME. Copy in water-colours by Paolo Toschi of the S. E. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CII. – ST. MATTHEW AND ST. JEROME. Parma, S. E. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

CIII. – ST. MARK AND ST. GREGORY. Copy in water-colours by Paolo Toschi and G. B. Callegari of the S. E. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CIV. – ST. MARK AND ST. GREGORY. Parma, S. W. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

CV. – ST. LUKE AND ST. AMBROSE. Cpopy in water-colours by Paolo Toschi and Carlo Raimondi of the N. W. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CVI. – ST. LUKE AND ST. AMBROSE. Parma, N. W. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

CVII. – THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST SURROUNDED BY THE APOSTLES. Parma, Centre of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CVIII. – THE APOSTLES SS. JAMES THE LESS AND THOMAS. Copy in water-colours by Carlo Raimondi and Paolo Toschi from the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CIX. – THE APOSTLES SS. ANDREW AND JAMES THE CREAT. Copy in water-colours by Carlo Raimondi and Paolo Toschi from the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CX. – ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST ON PATMOS AND THE APOSTLES SS. SIMON, BARTHOLOMEW, AND MATTHEW. Copy by Carlo Raimondi and Paolo Toschi from the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXI. – THE APOSTLES SS. PETER AND PAUL. Copy in water-colours by Ludovico Bigola, Carlo Raimondi, and Paolo Toschi from the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXII. – THE APOSTLES SS. PHILIP AND THADDÆUS. Copy in water-colours by Paolo Toschi from the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXIII. – THE SAVIOUR IN GLORY. Copy in water-colours by Paolo Toschi and Carlo Raimondi of the centre of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXIV. – THE APOSTLES SS. THADDÆUS AND JAMES THE LESS. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CXV. – THE APOSTLES SS. JAMES THE LESS, THOMAS, AND ANDREW. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. M. P. I.*)

CXVI. – THE APOSTLES SS. ANDREW AND JAMES THE CREAT. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CXVII. – THE APOSTLES SS. JAMES THE CREAT AND SIMON. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CXVIII. – THE APOSTLES SS. BARTHOLOMEW AND MATTHEW. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXIX. – THE APOSTLES SS. PETER AND PAUL. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXX. – THE APOSTLES SS. PHILIP AND THADDÆUS. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXXI. – ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST. Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CXXII. – THE APOSTLE ST. JAMES THE LESS. Parma, Detail of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXXIII. – PUTTI. Parma, Detail of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXXIV. – PUTTI. Parma, Detail of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXXV. – THE APOSTLES ST. SIMON AND ST. PETER. Parma, Detail of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXXVI. – THE CORONATION OF THE MADONNA. Copy after Correggio of the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. (*Photo. Royal Conservatory, Florence*).

CXXVII. – THE CORONATION OF THE MADONNA. Copy after Correggio by Cesare Aretusi of the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

CXXVIII. – THE CORONATION OF THE MADONNA. Formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Detail. Copy by Agostino and Annibale Carracci. Naples, National Museum. (*Photo. Royal Superintendent of Excavations, Naples*).

CXXIX. – THE REDEEMER. Formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Detail of the Coronation of the Madonna. Copy by Agostino and Annibale Carracci. Naples, National Museum. (*Photo. Royal Superintendent of Excavations, Naples*).

CXXX. – ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST AND ANGELS. Formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Detail of the Coronation of the Madonna. Copy by Agostino and Annibale Carracci. Naples, National Museum. (*Photo. Royal Superintendent of Excavations, Naples*).

CXXXI. – ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND ANGELS. Formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Detail of the Coronation of the Madonna. Copy by Agostino and Annibale Carracci. Naples, National Museum. (*Photo. Royal Superintendent of Excavations, Naples*).

CXXXII. – ANGELS. Formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Detail of the Coronation of the Madonna. Copy by Annibale Carracci. Naples, National Museum. (*Photo. Royal Superintendent of Excavations, Naples*).

CXXXIII. – ANGELS. Formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Detail of the Coronation of the Madonna. Copy by Annibale Carracci. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CXXXIV. – ST. BENEDICT AND ST. MAURUS. Formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Copies by Annibale Carracci. Detail. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CXXXV. – HEADS OF ANGELS. Fragments of the fresco formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. London, National Gallery. (*Photo. Dixon*).

CXXXVI. – HEADS OF ANGELS. Fragment of the fresco formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. London, National Gallery. (*Photo. Dixon*).

CXXXVII. – THE CORONATION OF THE MADONNA. Central part of the fresco formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Palatine Library. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXXXVIII. – ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST. Parma, Lunette in S. Giovanni Evangelista. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXXXIX. – THE MARTYRDOM OF SS. PLACIDUS, FLAVIA, EUTICHIUS, AND VICTORINUS. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXL. – ST. PLACIDUS. Detail of the Martyrdom of SS. Placidus, Flavia, Eutichius, and Victorinus. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXLI. – THE DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXLII. – THE VIRGIN SWOONING. Detail of the Deposition from the Cross. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXLIII. – THE ANNUNCIATION. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

CXLIV. – THE ANNUNCIATION. From the engraving by Antonio Costa and Paolo Toschi. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

CXLV. – THE MADONNA OF THE LADDER ("La Madonna della Scala.") Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXLVI. – THE MADONNA OF THE BASKET ("La Madonna della Cesta.") London, National Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXLVII. – THE MADONNA FEEDING HER CHILD ("La Madonna del Latte.") Budapest, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Hanfstaengl*).

CXLVIII. – THE VIRGIN ADORING HER SON. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXLIX. – NOLI ME TANGERE. Madrid, Prado Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CL. – CHRIST IN THE GARDEN OF OLIVES. London, Apsley House. (*Photo. Hanfstaengl*).

CLI. – ECCE HOMO. London, National Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLII. – THE MADONNA OF ST. SEBASTIAN. Dresden, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Bruckmann*).

CLIII. – THE MADONNA OF ST. SEBASTIAN. Detail. Dresden, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Alinari*).

CLIV. – ANTIOPE. Paris, Louvre. (*Photo. Alinari*).

CLV. – PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN. London, Collection of Lord Lee of Fareham. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLVI. – THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE. Paris, Louvre. (*Photo. Alinari*).

CLVII. – "NIGHT." Dresden, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Alinari*).

CLVIII. – "NIGHT." Detail. Dresden, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLIX. – THE MADONNA OF ST. JEROME. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLX. – THE MADONNA OF ST. JEROME. Detail. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXI. – ANGEL. Detail of the Madonna of St. Jerome. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXII. – ST. MARY MAGDALENE. Detail of the Madonna of St. Jerome Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXIII. – THE MADONNA OF THE BOWL ("La Madonna della Scodella.") WITH ITS FRAME. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXIV. – THE MADONNA OF THE BOWL ("La Madonna della Scodella.") Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXV. – THE MADONNA OF THE BOWL "La Madonna della Scodella.") Detail. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXVI. – THE MADONNA OF THE BOWL ("La Madonna della Scodella.") Detail. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXVII. – ST. CATHERINE READING. Hampton Court Palace.

CLXVIII. – GENERAL VIEW OF THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXIX. – FIGURE IN CHIAROSCURO, on soffit of one of the arches supporting the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXX. – FIGURE IN CHIAROSCURO, on soffit of one of the arches supporting the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXXI. – FIGURE IN CHIAROSCURO, on soffit of one of the arches supporting the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXXII. – FIGURE IN CHIAROSCURO, on soffit of one of the arches supporting the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXXIII. – FIGURE IN CHIAROSCURO, on soffit of one of the arches supporting the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXXIV. – FIGURE IN CHIAROSCURO, on soffit of one of the arches supporting the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXXV. – ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND ANGELS. Copy by Antonio Costa, Ludovico Bigola, and Paolo Toschi of the N. E. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXXVI. – ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND ANGELS. N. E. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Arti Grafiche, Bergamo*)

CLXXVII. – ST. HILARY AND ANGELS. Copy by Carlo Raimondi and Paolo Toschi of the S. E. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXXVIII. – ST. HILARY AND ANGELS. S. E. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. M. P. I.*)

CLXXIX. – ST. THOMAS AND ANGELS. Copy by Carlo Raimondi and Paolo Toschi of the S. W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXXX. – ST. THOMAS AND ANGELS. S. W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CLXXXI. – ST. BERNARD AND ANGELS. Copy by Carlo Raimondi and Paolo Toschi of the N. W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CLXXXII. – ST. BERNARD AND ANGELS. N. W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CLXXXIII. – ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST WITH THE LAMB. Detail of the N. E. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CLXXXIV. – ANGELS. Detail of the S. E. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Arti Grafiche, Bergamo*).

CLXXXV. – STUDY FOR THE HEAD OF ST. HILARY. Fogg Museum, Cambridge, U. S. A.

CLXXXVI. – ST. HILARY. Detail of the S. E. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CLXXXVII. – HEAD OF ST. BERNARD. Detail of the N. W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CLXXXVIII. – ANGEL. Detail of the N. W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CLXXXIX. – HEAD OF ANGEL. Detail of the N. W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CXC. – MAIDEN ANGEL. Detail of the N. W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CXCI. – CHIAROSCURO ORNAMENTS OF THE FRIEZE between the pendentives of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CXCII. – CHIAROSCURO ORNAMENTS OF THE FRIEZE between the pendentives of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CXCIII. – APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXCIV. – APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS. Copy by Carlo Raimondi and Paolo Toschi from the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXCV. – APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXCVI. – APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS. Copy by G. B. Callegari, Carlo Raimondi, and Paolo Toschi from the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXCVII. – APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXCVIII. – APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS. Copy by G. B. Callegari, Carlo Raimondi, and Paolo Toschi from the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CXCIX. – APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CC. – APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS. Copy by Carlo Raimondi, Romualdo Bettoli, and Paolo Toschi. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Alinari*).

CCI. – AN APOSTLE AND AN ADOLESCENT. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCII. – HEAD OF APOSTLE. Detail. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCIII. – AN APOSTLE AND ADOLESCENTS. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCIV. – AN ADOLESCENT. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CCV. – ADOLESCENTS AND AN APOSTLE. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCVI. – AN ADOLESCENT. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCVII. – ADOLESCENTS. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCVIII. – AN APOSTLE AND ADOLESCENTS. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCIX. – AN ADOLESCENT. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCX. – THE VIRGIN TAKEN UP INTO GLORY. Centre of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Copy by Carlo Raimondi and Paolo Toschi. Parma, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

CCXI. – THE VIRGIN TAKEN UP INTO GLORY. Centre of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Vaghi*).

CCXII. – THE VIRGIN TAKEN UP INTO GLORY, APOSTLES, AND ADOLESCENTS. Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCXIII. – THE VIRGIN TAKEN UP INTO GLORY, APOSTLES, AND ADOLESCENTS. Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCXIV. – THE VIRGIN TAKEN UP INTO GLORY. Detail. The Virgin. Cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCXV. – ANGELS. Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCXVI. – ADAM, ABRAHAM, AND ISAAC. Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCXVII. – JUDITH WITH THE HEAD OF HOLOFERNES. Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Arti Grafiche, Bergamo*).

CCXVIII. – EVE, HOLY WOMEN, AND ANGELS. Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Arti Grafiche, Bergamo*).

CCXIX. – HOLY WOMEN AND ANGELS. Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Arti Grafiche, Bergamo*).

CCXX. – AN ANGEL. Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCXXI. – HEAD OF ANGEL. Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCXXII. – ANGELS. Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*)

CCXXIII. – ANGELS. Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCXXIV. – AN ANGEL. Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCXXV. – AN ANGEL. Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCXXVI. – THE MADONNA OF ST. GEORGE. Dresden, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Bruckmann*).

CCXXVII. – THE MADONNA OF ST. GEORGE. Detail. Dresden, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Alinari*).

CCXXVIII. – THE VIRTUES. Rome, Doria Gallery. (*Photo. Alinari*).

CCXXIX. – THE VIRTUES. Detail. Rome, Doria Gallery. (*Photo. Calderisi*).

CCXXX. – THE VIRTUES. Detail. Rome, Doria Gallery. (*Photo. Calderisi*).

CCXXXI. – THE VIRTUES. Detail. Rome, Doria Gallery. (*Photo. Calderisi*).

CCXXXII. – THE VIRTUES. Paris, Louvre. (*Arch. Phot. of the Louvre*).

CCXXXIII. – VICE. Paris, Louvre. (*Arch. Phot. of the Louvre*).

CCXXXIV. – VICE. Detail. Paris, Louvre. (*Arch. Phot. of the Louvre*).

CCXXXV. – GANYMEDE. Vienna, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Bruckmann*).

CCXXXVI. – IO. Vienna, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Bruckmann*).

CCXXXVII. – DANAË. Rome, Borghese Gallery. (*Photo. Alinari*).

CCXXXVIII. – DANAË. Detail. Rome, Borghese Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCXXXIX. – DANAË. Detail. Rome, Borghese Gallery. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCXL. – LEDA. Berlin, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Bruckmann*).

CCXLI. – Drawing for a MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE. Turin, Royal Library. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCXLII. – Drawing for a picture of FOUR SAINTS. SS. JOHN THE BAPTIST, ANTHONY THE ABBOT, AGATHA, AND ROCH. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. (*Photo. Royal Conservatory, Florence*).

CCXLIII. – *a*. PUTTI. Drawing for the Camera di S. Paolo. London, Wilton House.

b. PUTTI. Drawing for the Camera di S. Paolo. Hamburg, Art Gallery. (*Photo. Rompel*).

CCXLIV. – *a*. PUTTI. Drawing. London, Wilton House.

b. THE REDEEMER IN GLORY. Drawing. Chatsworth, Collection of the Duke of Devonshire.

CCXLV. – *a*. PUTTO WITH THE SYMBOL OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST. London, Collection of Robert Witt.

b. PUTTO WITH FRUIT. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

CCXLVI. – *a.* CUPID. DRAWING FOR THE SCHOOL OF LOVE. London, British Museum. (*British Museum Photograph*).

b. HEAD OF MERCURY. DRAWING FOR THE SCHOOL OF LOVE. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. (*Photo. Royal Conservatory, Florence*).

CCXLVII. – TWO PUTTI with the symbols of the Evangelists St. John and St. Mark. Paris, Louvre. (*Photo. Alinari*).

CCXLVIII. – *a.* ST. MATTHEW AND ST. JEROME. Drawing for one of the pendentives of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Munich, Graphische Sammlung.

b. ST. MATTHEW AND ST. JEROME. Drawing for one of the pendentives of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

CCXLIX. – *a.* Drawing for the figure of ST. PAUL for the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Vienna, Albertina Library.

b. Drawing for the figure of ST. JAMES for the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Paris, Louvre.

CCL. – *a.* Drawing for an APOSTLE for the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. London, British Museum.

b. Group of SAINTS. (CORREGGIO ?). Drawing, presumably, for the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Vienna, Art Gallery.

CCLI. – Drawing for THE CORONATION OF THE MADONNA. Weimar, Museum.

CCLII. – *a.* Drawing for THE CORONATION OF THE MADONNA. Paris, Louvre. (*Photo. Alinari*).

b. Drawing for THE ANNUNCIATION. London, Wilton House.

CCLIII. – Drawing for THE MARTYRDOM OF SS. PLACIDUS, FLAVIA, EUTICHIUS, AND VICTORINUS. Paris, Louvre. (*Photo, Alinari*).

CCLIV. – *a.* THE MADONNA OF THE ANNUNCIATION. (CORREGGIO ?). Paris, Louvre. (*Photo. Alinari*).

b. THE ANGEL. London, British Museum.

CCLV. – *a.* THE MADONNA AND CHILD. Milan, Dubini Collection.

b. Sketch for THE MADONNA OF THE BOWL ("La Madonna della Scodella"). London, Oppenheimer Collection.

c. THE MADONNA OF THE LADDER (" La Madonna della Scala"). London, British Museum. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCLVI. – *a.* Sketch. Perhaps for THE MADONNA FEEDING HER CHILD ("La Madonna del Latte"). New Haven, U.S.A., School of Fine Art.

b. Sketch for THE MADONNA OF THE BASKET (" La Madonna della Cesta"). Vienna, Albertina Library.

CCLVII. – Drawing for CHRIST IN THE GARDEN OF OLIVES. London, British Museum.

CCLVIII. – Drawing for ANTIOPE. Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

CCLIX. – Drawing for " NIGHT." London, British Museum. (*Photo. Anderson*).

CCLX. – Drawing for THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS. London, Wilton House.

CCLXI. – Sketch for THE MADONNA OF ST. JEROME. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

CCLXII. – *a.* Study for a SACRED PICTURE. Weimar, Museum.

b. THE MADONNA AND CHILD. Paris, Louvre. (*Photo. Alinari*).

CCLXIII. – *a.* Drawing of a KNEELING BISHOP. Chatsworth, Collection of the Duke of Devonshire.
  b. THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS. Budapest, Art Gallery.

CCLXIV. – Sketch for ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST for one of the pendentives of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Paris, Louvre. (*Photo. Alinari*).

CCLXV. – Study for a SAINT. Berlin, Grahl Collection.

CCLXVI. – Sketch for a FRIEZE. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. (*Photo. Royal Conservatory, Florence*).

CCLXVII. – Sketch for a FRIEZE. Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

CCLXVIII. – Sketches for a FRIEZE. Paris, Louvre.

CCLXIX. – Studies for the DRUM of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

CCLXX. – *a.* Sketch of an APOSTLE for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Vienna, Albertina Library.
  b. Sketch of an APOSTLE for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Lisbon, Museum.

CCLXXI. – Sketch of an APOSTLE for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Princeton University, New Jersey, U. S. A.

CCLXXII. – *a.* Sketch of an APOSTLE for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. (*Photo. Royal Conservatory, Florence*).
  b. Sketch of an APOSTLE for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Formerly in the E. W. Collection, sold by auction at Amsterdam in 1926.

CCLXXIII. – *a.* Drawing of an APOSTLE for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. London, Oppenheimer Collection.
  b. AN APOSTLE AND AN ADOLESCENT. Drawing for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Modena, Este Gallery. (*Photo. M. P. I.*).

CCLXXIV. – *a.* Drawing for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Lisbon, Museum.
  b. Drawing for a figure of an ADOLESCENT, for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A., Collection of F. I. Mather.

CCLXXV. – ADOLESCENTS AND AN ANGEL. Drawing for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

CCLXXVI. – *a.* Study of a NUDE, perhaps for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Modena, Este Gallery.
  b. ADAM, ABRAHAM, AND ISAAC. Drawing for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

CCLXXVII. – Sketches of an APOSTLE for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. London, Oppenheimer Collection.

CCLXXVIII. – *a.* EVE. Drawing for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Paris, Louvre. (*Photo. Alinari*).
  b. EVE. Drawing for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Haarlem, Teyler Museum.

CCLXXIX. – EVE. Drawing for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. London, British Museum.

CCLXXX. – Sketches for THE VIRGIN for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Dresden, Art Gallery.

CCLXXXI. – Drawing for THE VIRGIN for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. London, British Museum.

CCLXXXII. – *a.* HEAD OF THE VIRGIN. Drawing for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Paris, School of Fine Arts.
b. PUTTI. Drawing for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Berlin, Weisbach Collection.
CCLXXXIII. – ANGELS. Drawing for the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Madrid, Royal Library.
CCLXXXIV. – *a.* ANGEL PLAYING AN INSTRUMENT. London, Oppenheimer Collection.
b. Study of a nude for an ANGEL of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. London, British Museum. (*Photo. Anderson*).
CCLXXXV. – Drawing for the MADONNA OF ST. GEORGE. Dresden, Art Gallery.
CCLXXXVI. – Drawing for THE MADONNA OF ST. GEORGE. London, British Museum.
CCLXXXVII. – Study of Putti for the MADONNA OF ST. GEORGE. Florence, Uffizi Gallery. (*Photo. Royal Conservatory, Florence*).
CCLXXXVIII – Drawing of NIGHT. Paris, Louvre. (*Photo. Alinari*).
CCLXXXIX. – Drawing of DAY. Paris, Louvre. (*Photo. Anderson*).
CCXC. – CUPID FELLING A SATYR. Drawing. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.
CCXCI. – Sketch for GANYMEDE. Weimar, Grand Ducal Collection.
CCXCII. – Drawing for DANAË. Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

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PLATE 2. – 1. MEDAL OF GIOVANNA ALBIZI TORNABUONI, by Nicolò Fiorentino. – 2. GENIUS POPULI ROMANI, coin of Diocletian. – 3. AFRICA, coin of Hadrian. – 4. VESTA, coin of the Elder Faustina. – 5. TEMPLE OF JUPITER, coin of Domitian (enlarged). – 6. CERES, coin of the Elder Faustina. – 7. HOPE, coin of Claudius I. – 8. FORTUNE, coin of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (enlarged). – 9. MINERVA, coin of Vibius Varus (enlarged).

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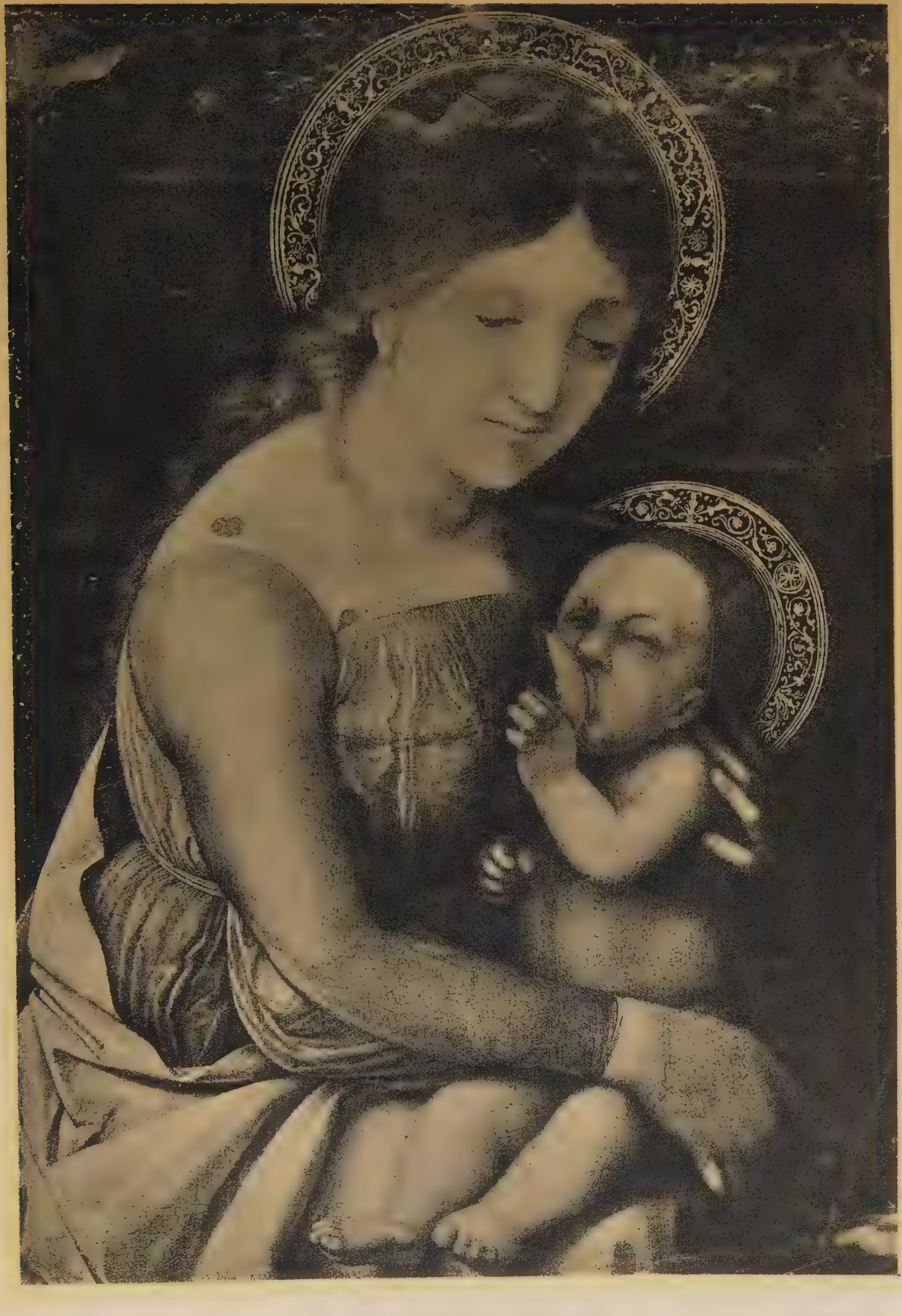
PLATE 4. – Autograph contract drawn up by Correggio for the paintings in Parma Cathedral. (Archives, Parma).

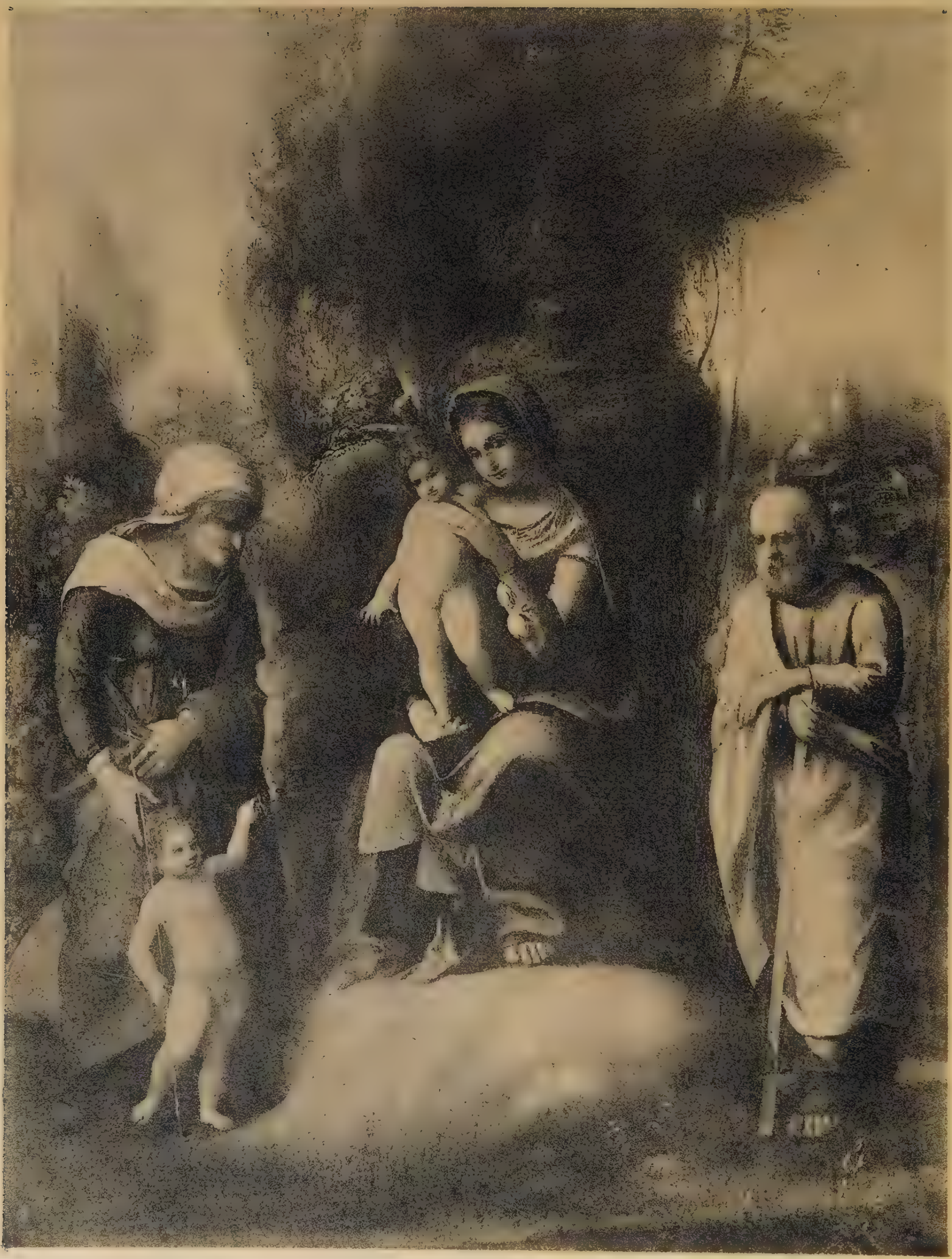


I

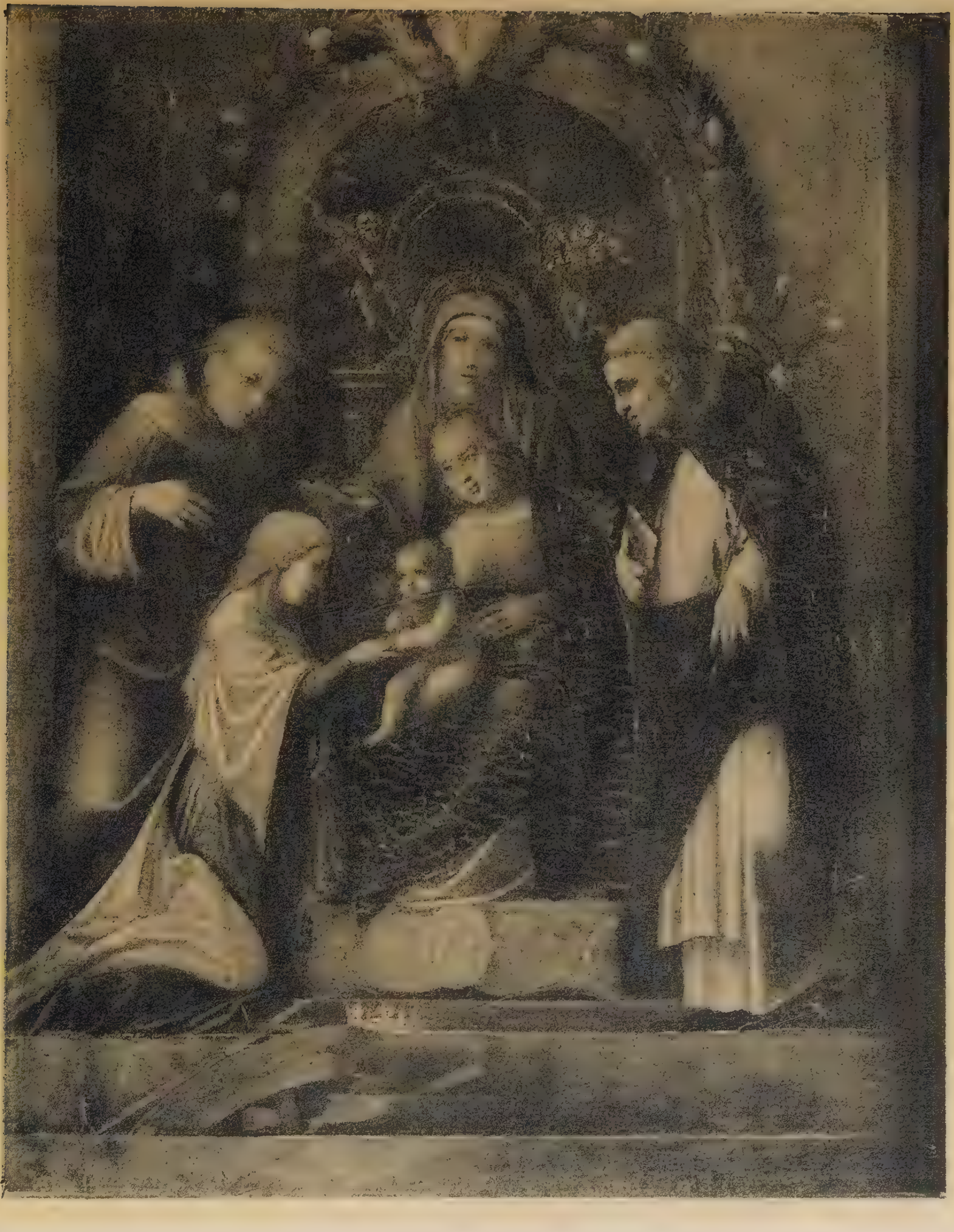
THE MADONNA AND CHILD

London, Barrymore Collection

(Photo. Gray)

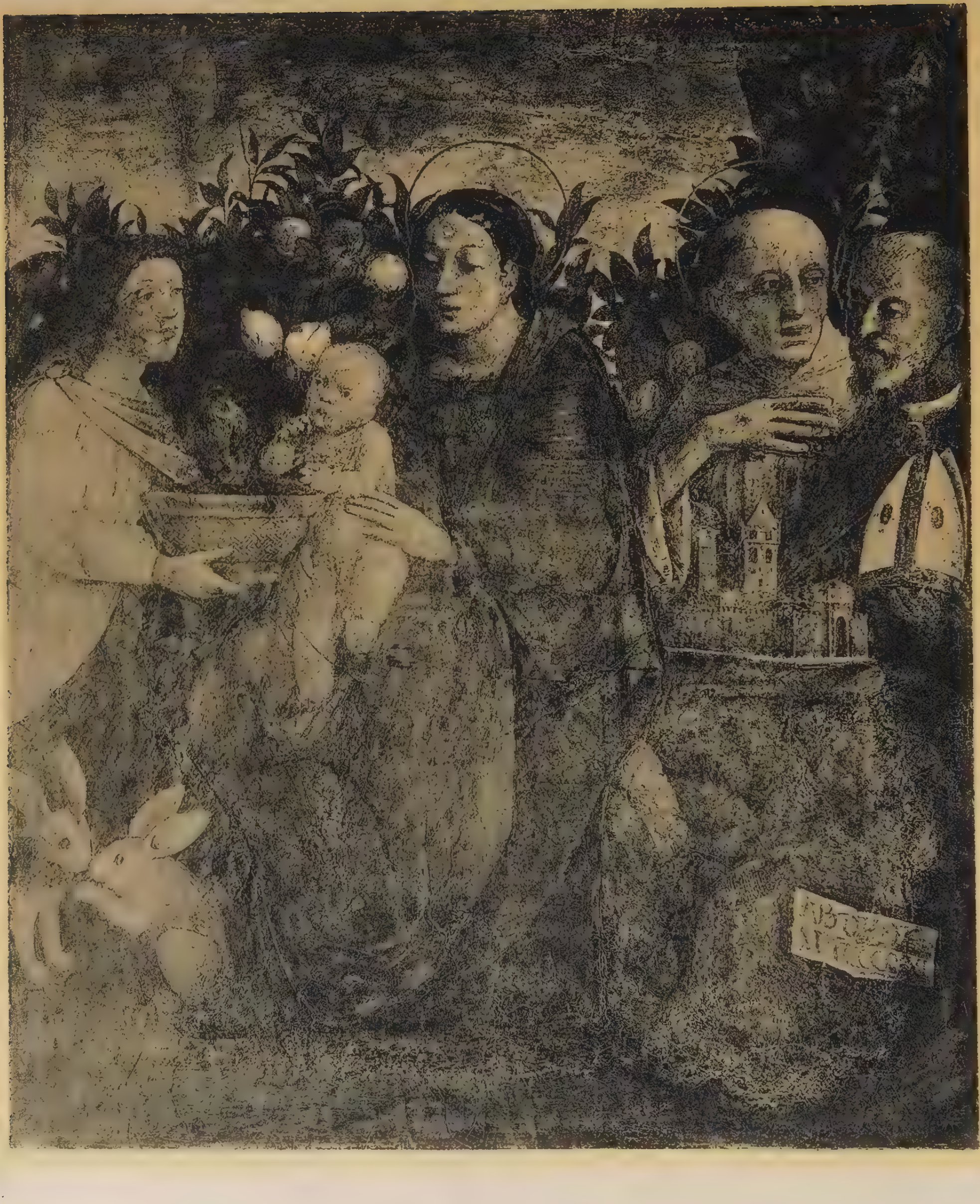


II THE MADONNA AND CHILD (*Photo. Bassani*)
WITH ST. JOSEPH, ST. ELIZABETH, AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST
Milan, Collection of Marchese Guiscardo Barbò



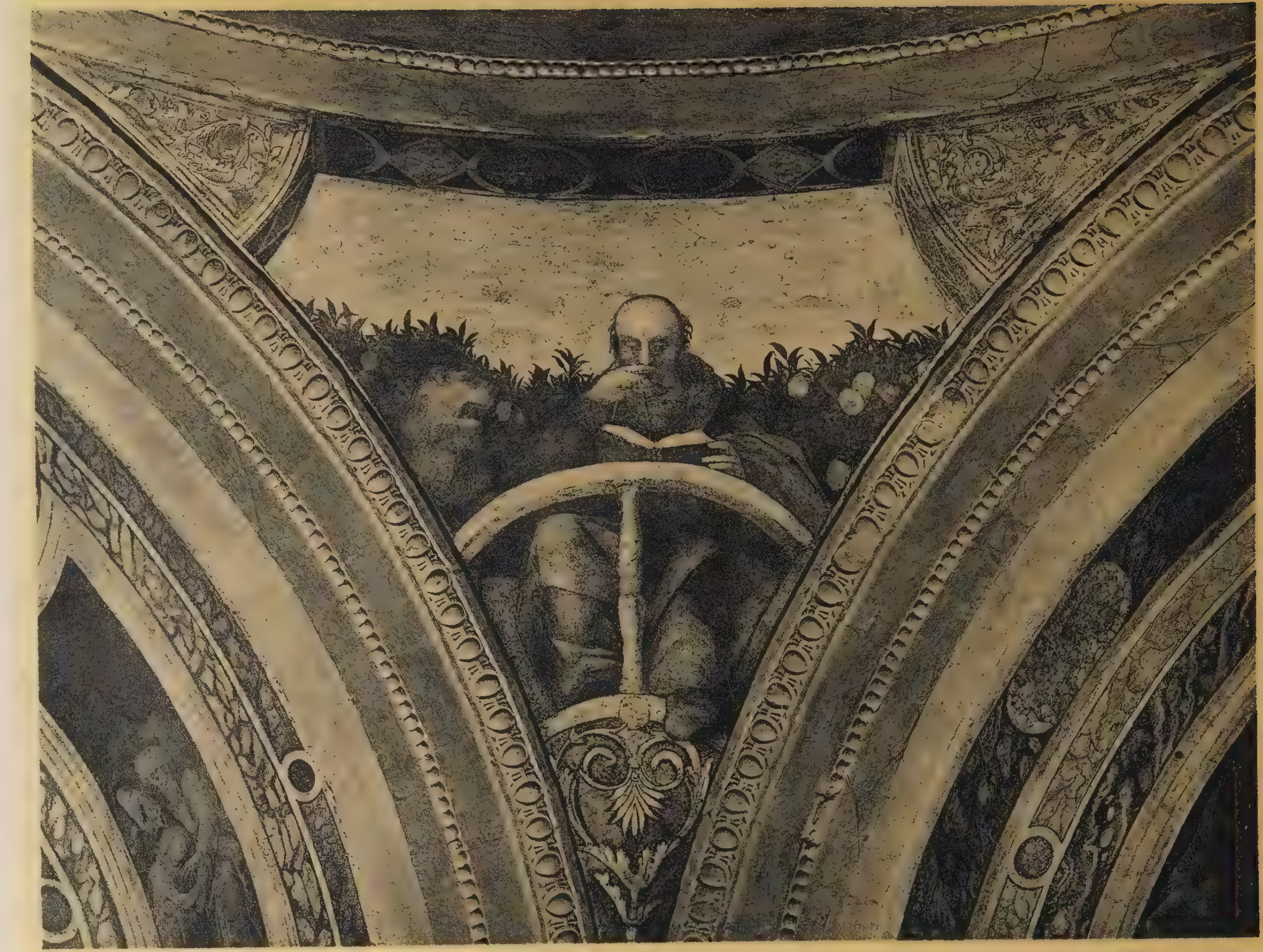
III THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE (*Photo. M. P. I.*)

Milan, formerly the property of Gustavo Frizzoni and now in the possession of Ing. Bonomi



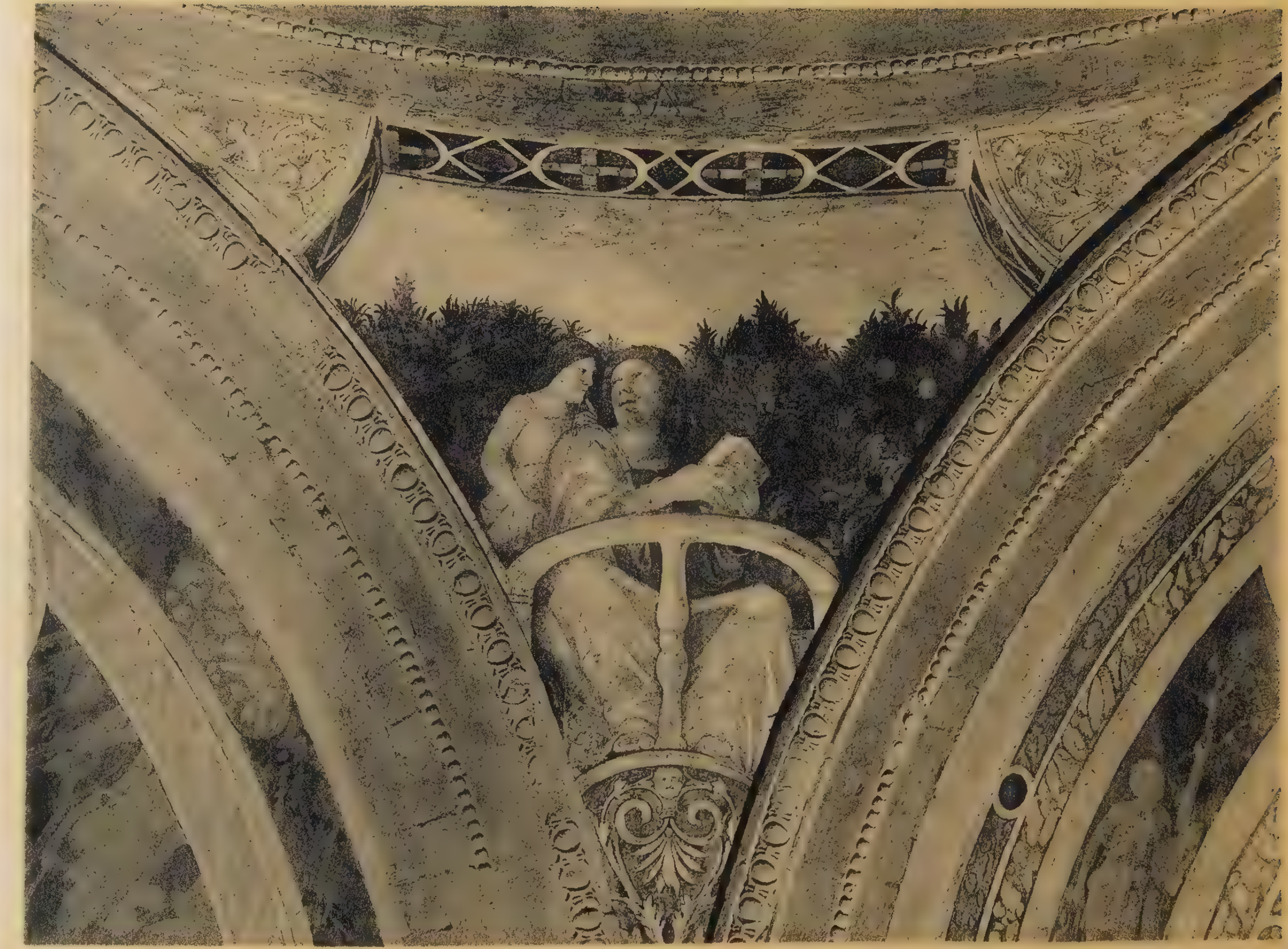
IV THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. FRANCIS AND ST. QUIRINUS *(Photo. M. P. I.)*

Fresco. Modena, Este Gallery. Formerly at Correggio



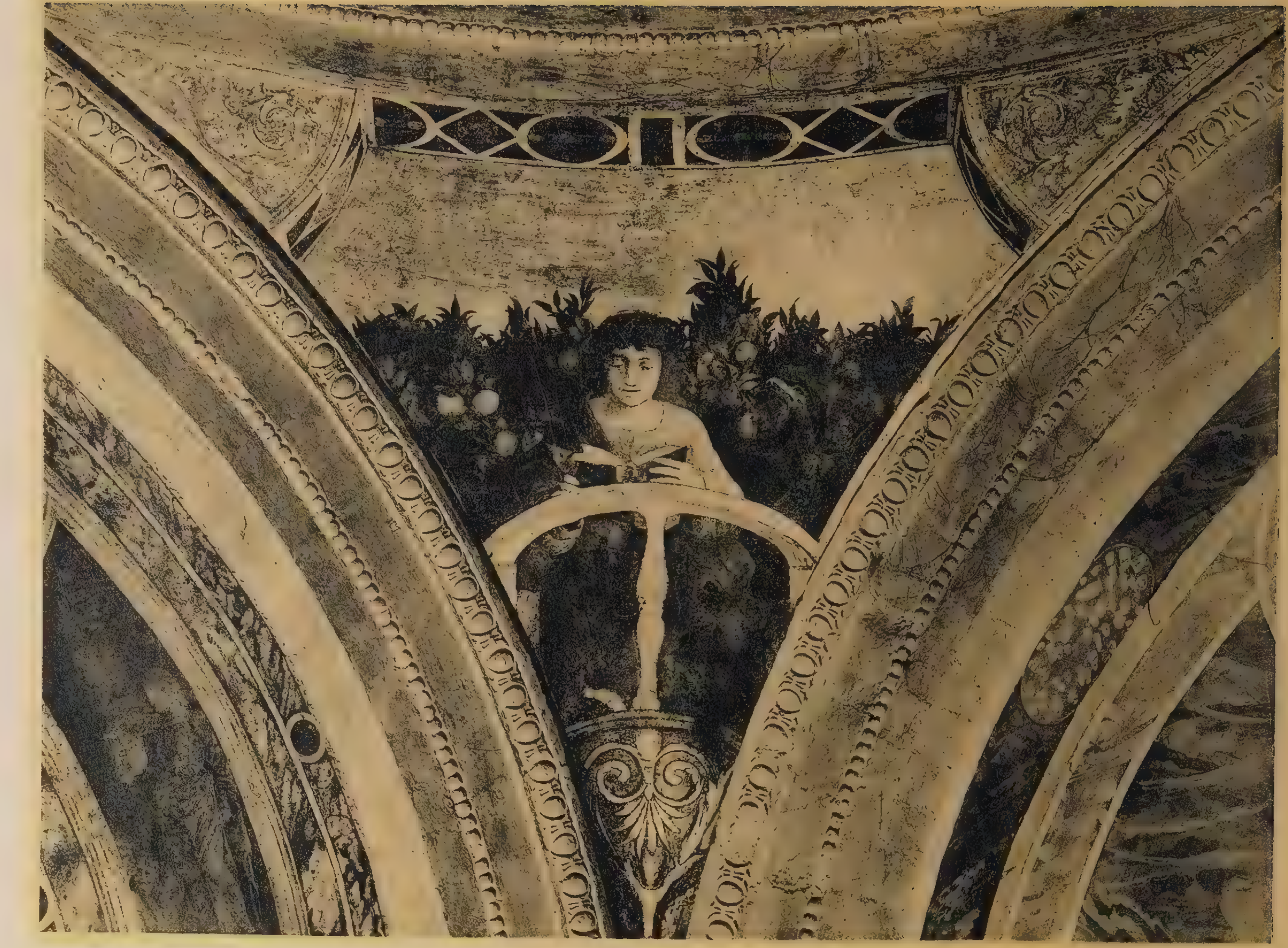
V

ST. MARK THE EVANGELIST. Pendentive of the cupola in the mortuary Chapel of Mantegna (*Photo. Anderson*)
Mantua, Church of Sunt' Andrea

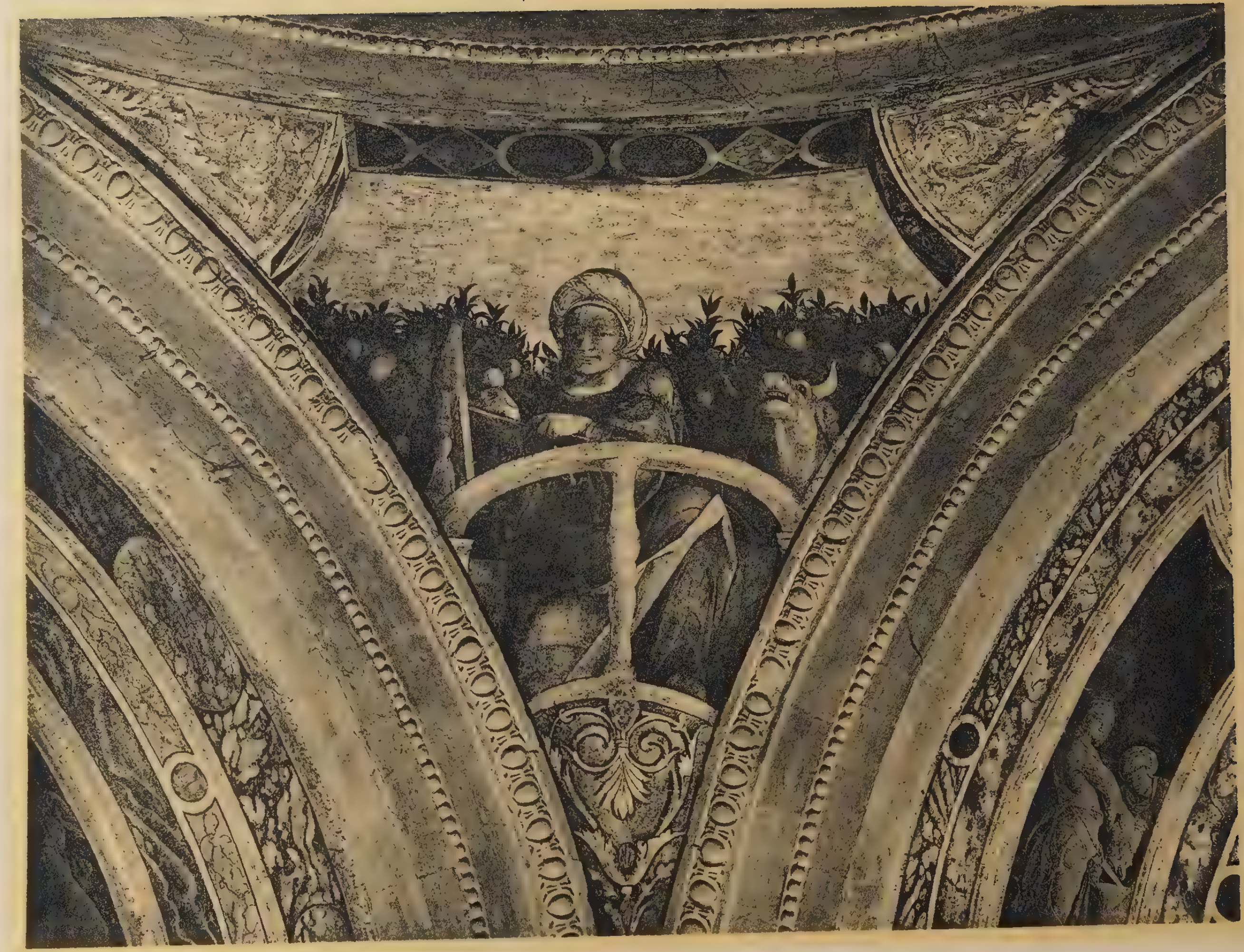


VI

ST. MATTHEW THE APOSTLE. PENDENTIVE OF THE CUPOLA IN THE MORTUARY CHAPEL OF MANTEGNA (*Photo. Anderson*)
Mantua, Church of Sant' Andrea



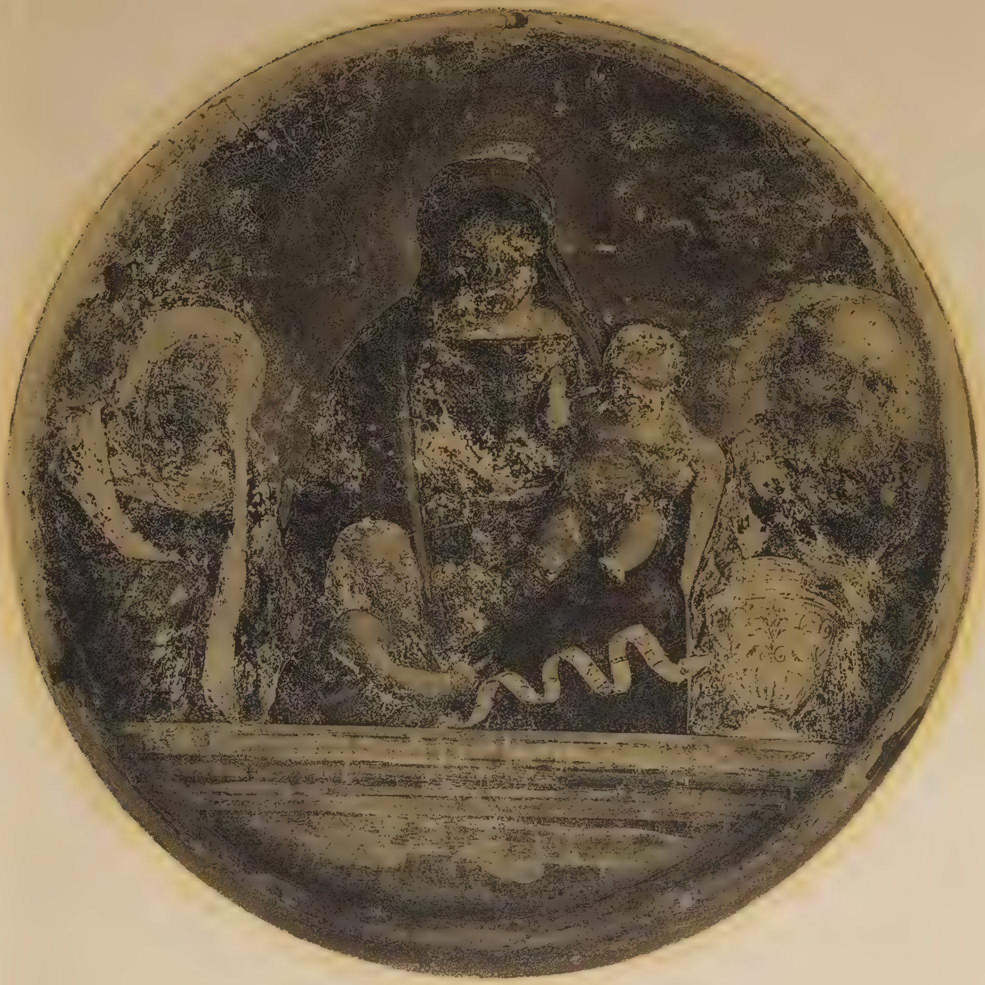
VII ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST. PENDENTIVE OF THE CUPOLA IN THE MORTUARY CHAPEL OF MANTEGNA (*Photo. Anderson*)
Mantua, Church of Sant' Andrea



VIII

ST. LUKE THE EVANGELIST. PENDENTIVE OF THE CUPOLA IN THE MORTUARY CHAPEL OF MANTEGNA (*Photo. Anderson*)

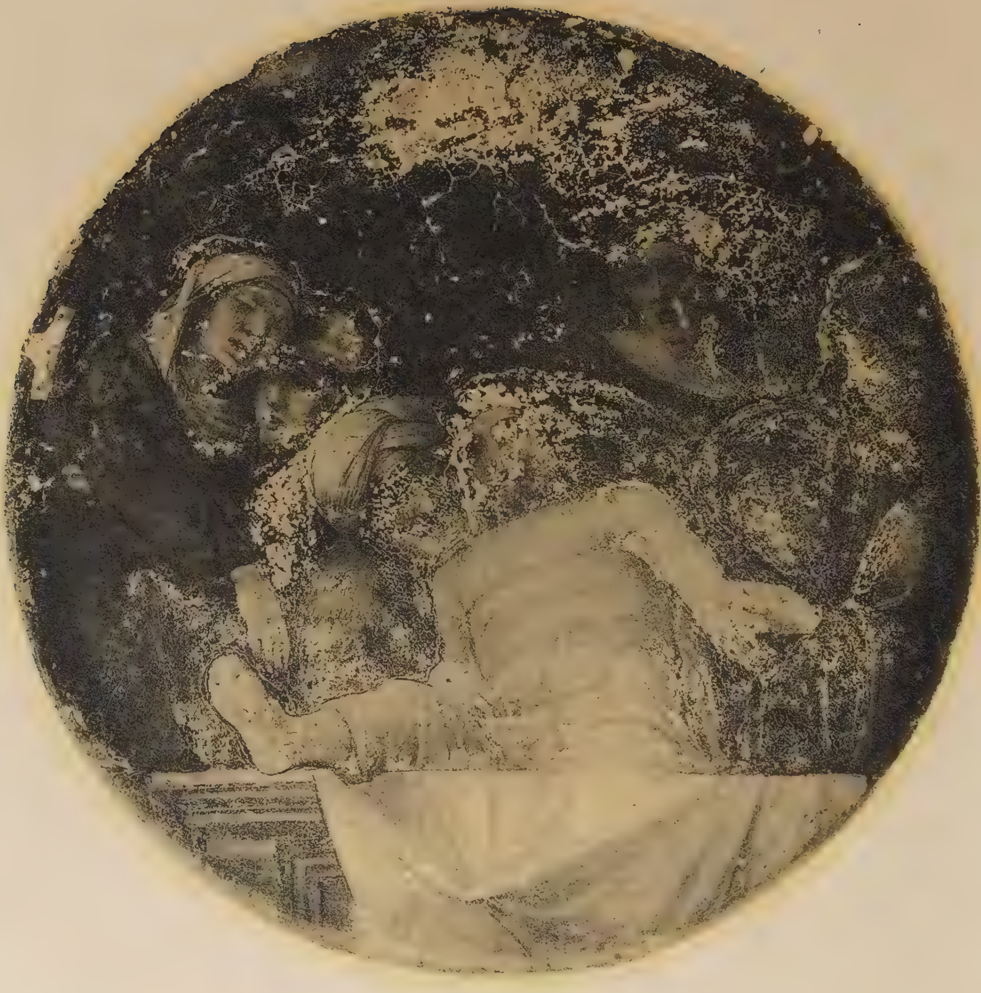
Mantua, Church of Sant'Andrea



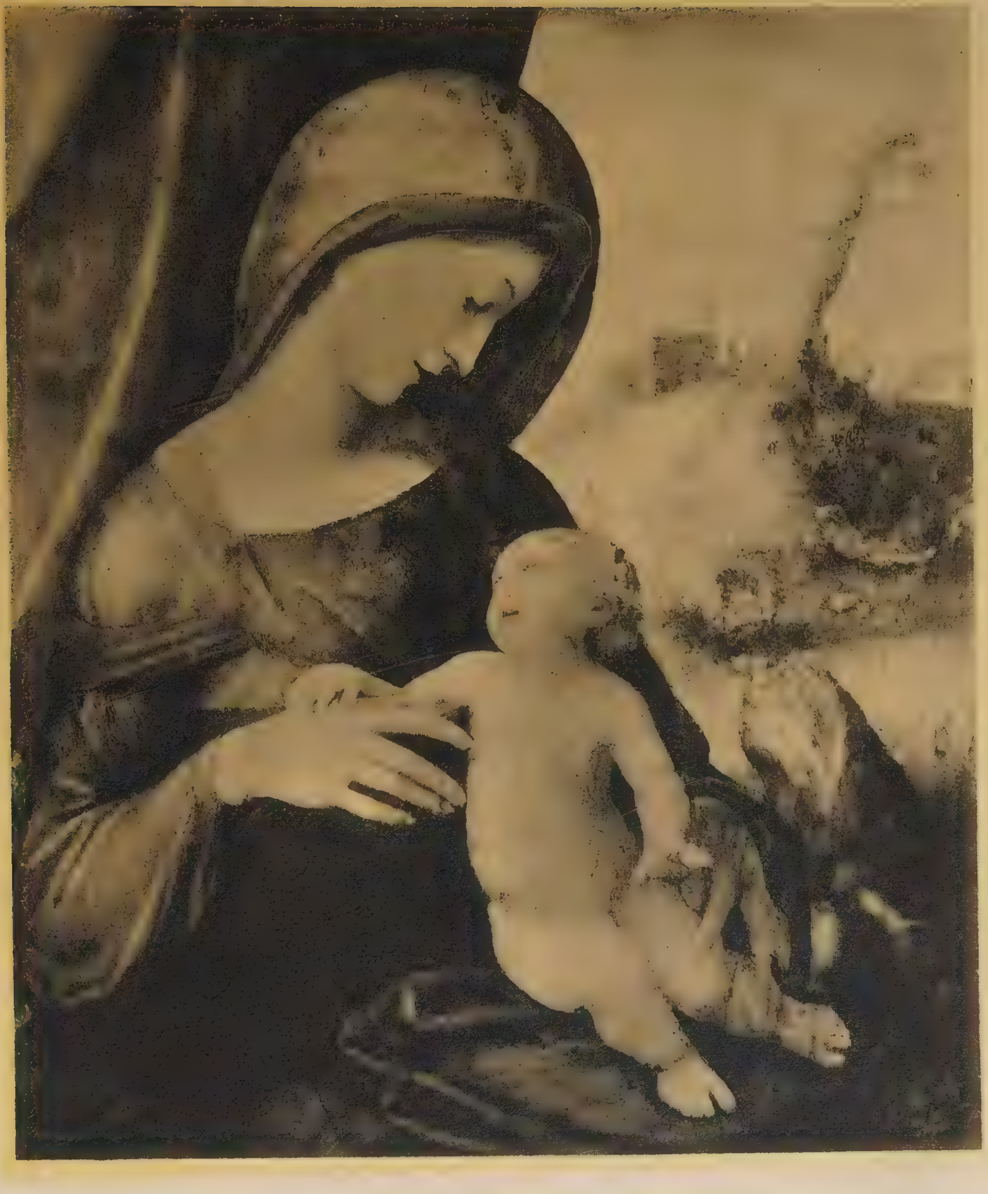
IX THE MADONNA AND CHILD (Photo. M. P. I.)

WITH ST. JOSEPH, ST. ELIZABETH, AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

Fresco. Mantua, pronaos of the Church of Sant'Andrea

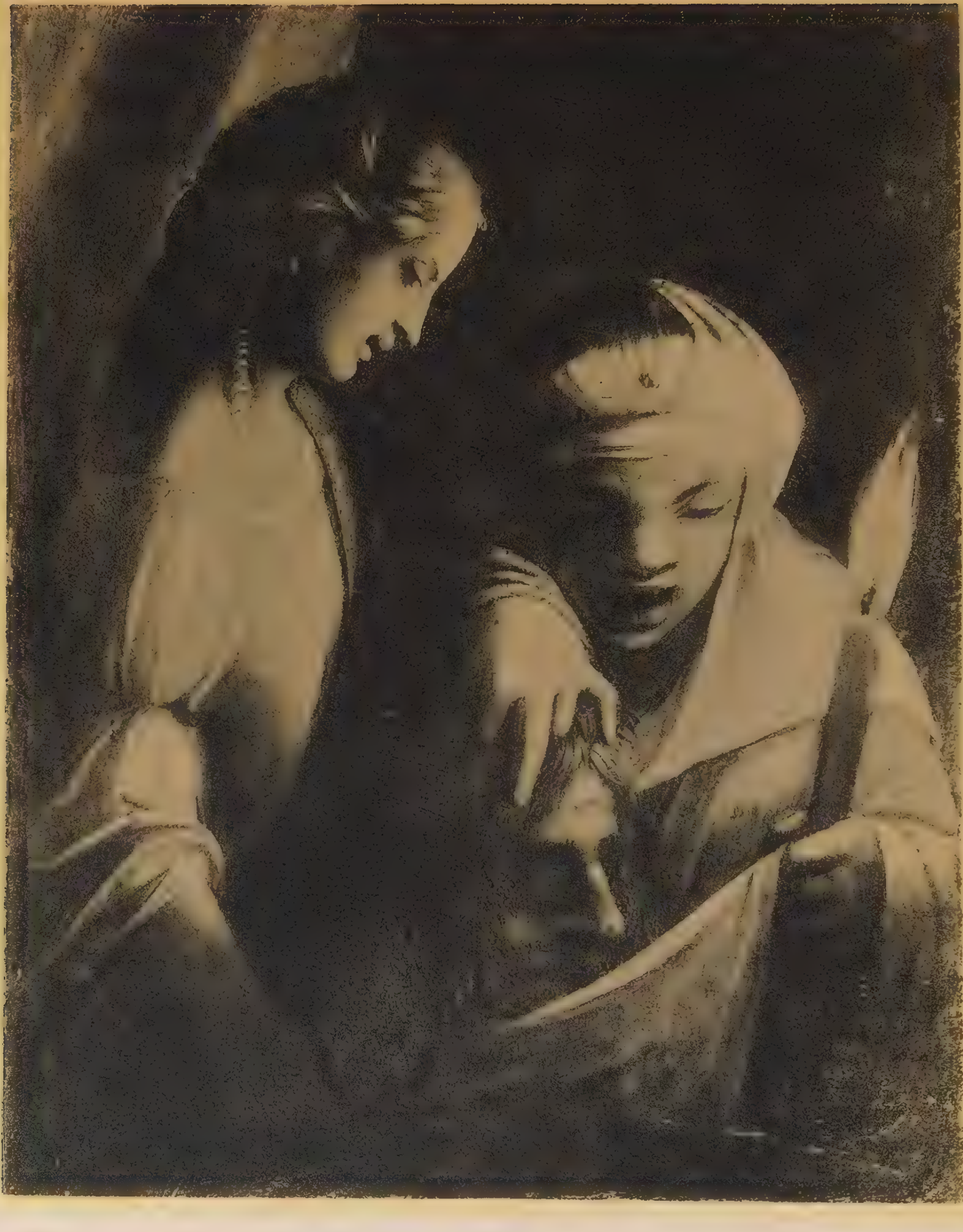


X CHRIST LAID IN THE SEPULCHRE (Photo. M. P. I.)
Fresco. Mantua, pronaos of the Church of Sant' Andrea



XI THE MADONNA AND CHILD

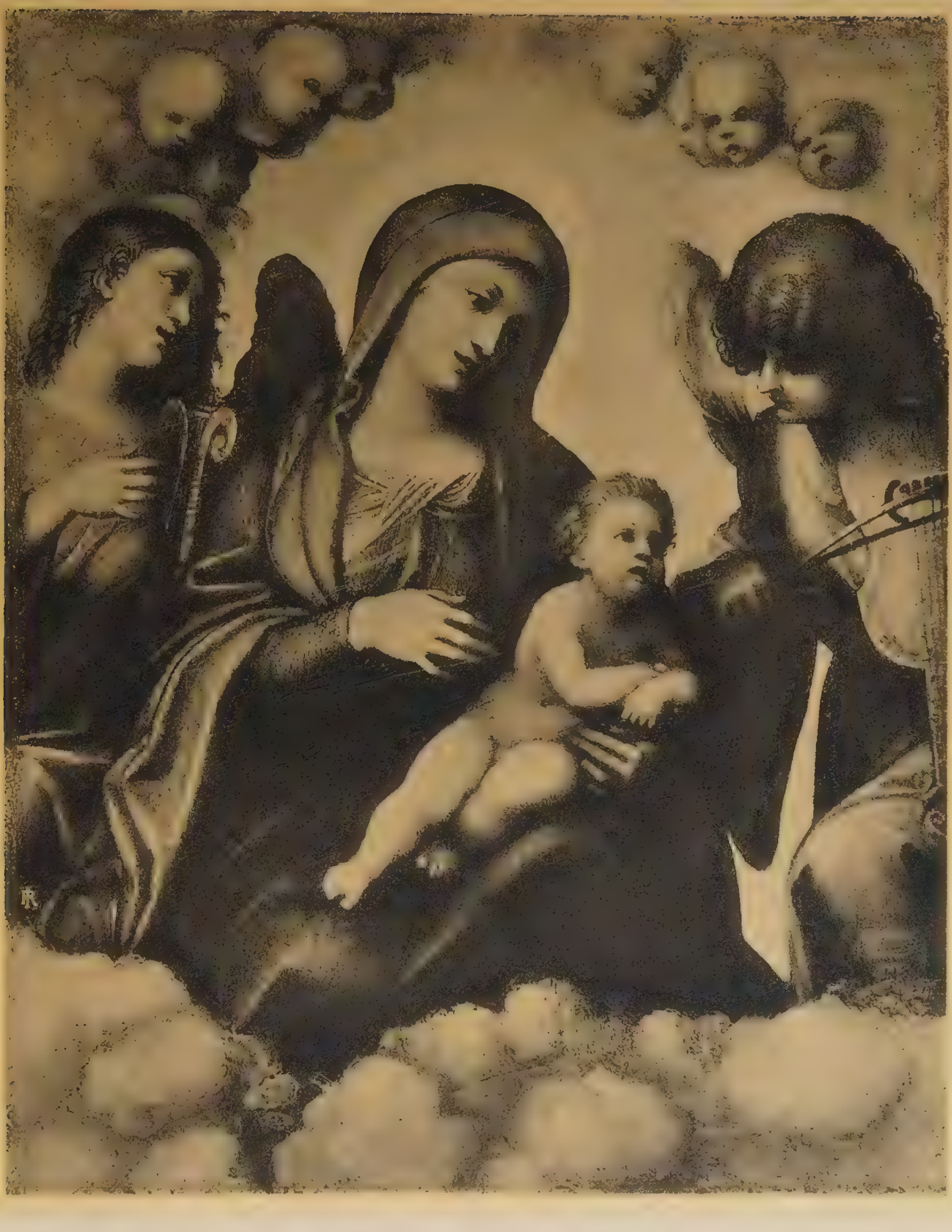
Vienna, Art Gallery. Formerly in the Castle of Hellbrunn (Salzburg)



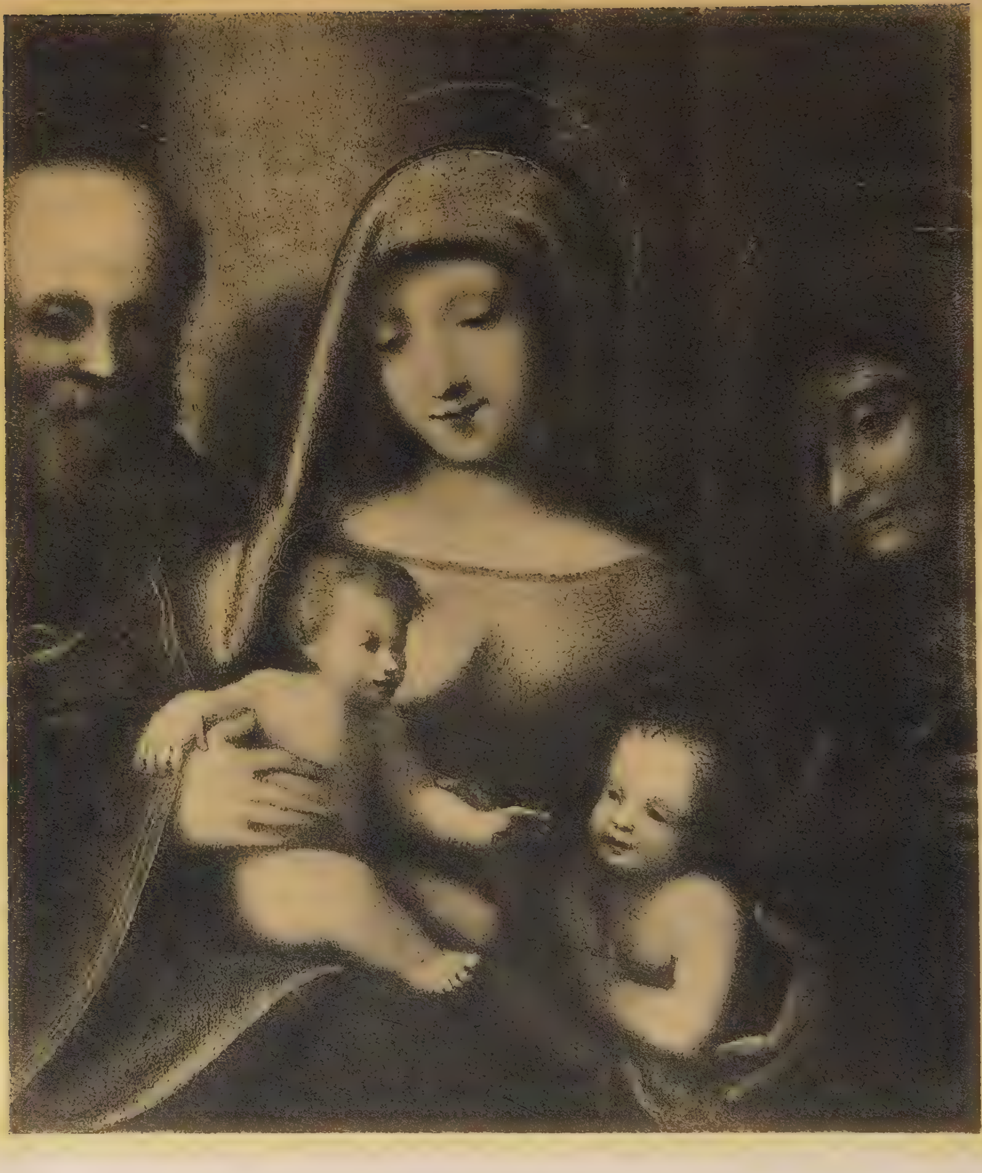
XII

JUDITH

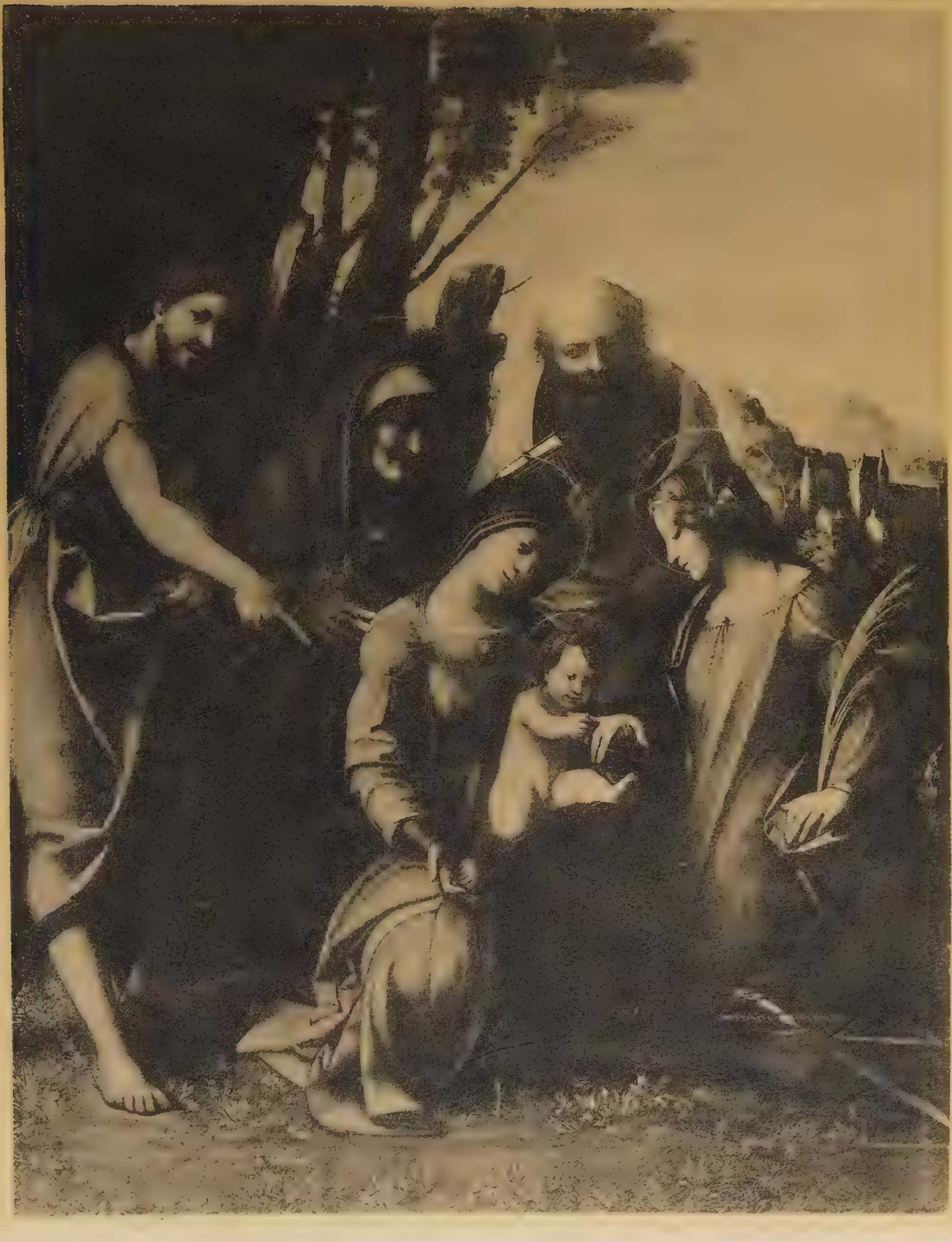
Strasburg, Art Gallery



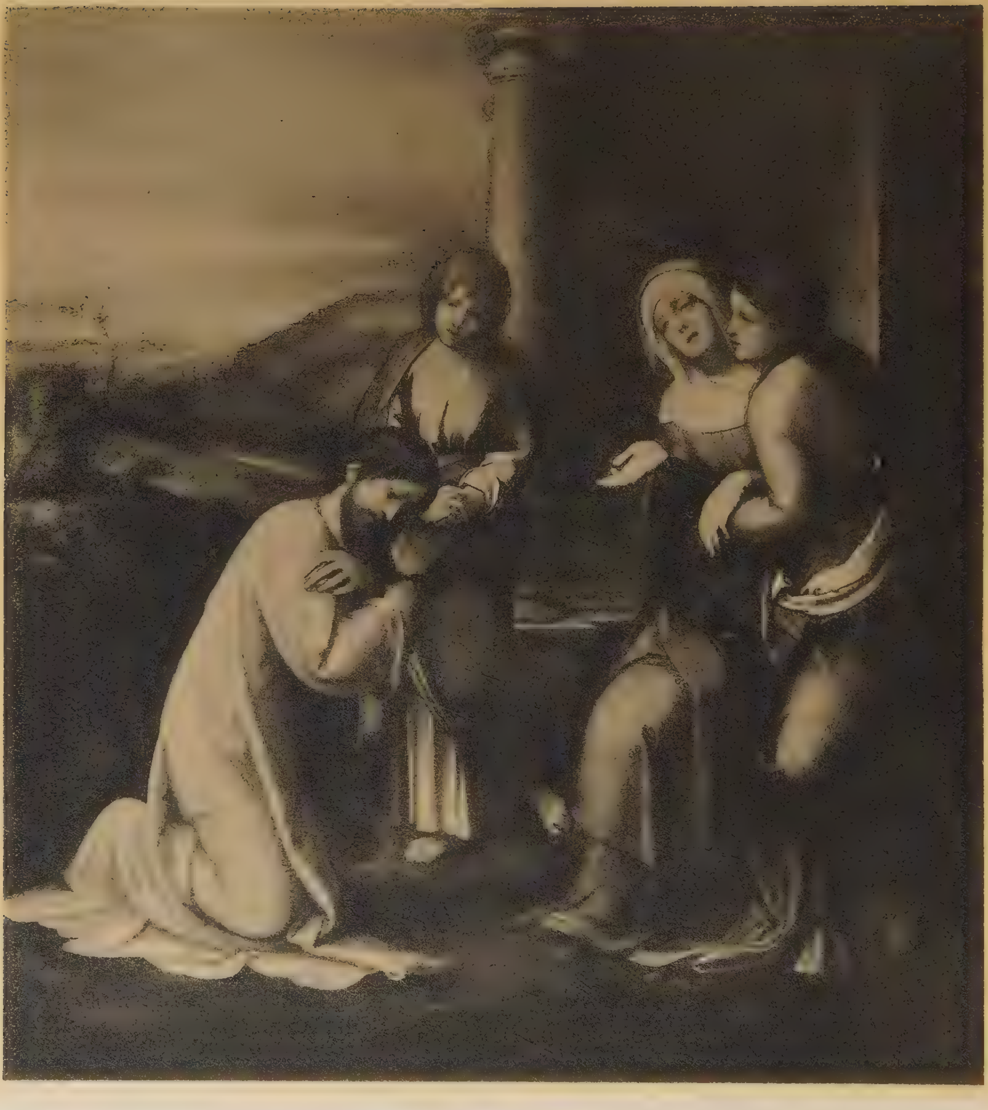
XIII THE MADONNA AND CHILD (Photo. Anderson)
BETWEEN TWO ANGELS PLAYING INSTRUMENTS AND A GLORY OF SERAPHIM
Florence, Uffizi Gallery



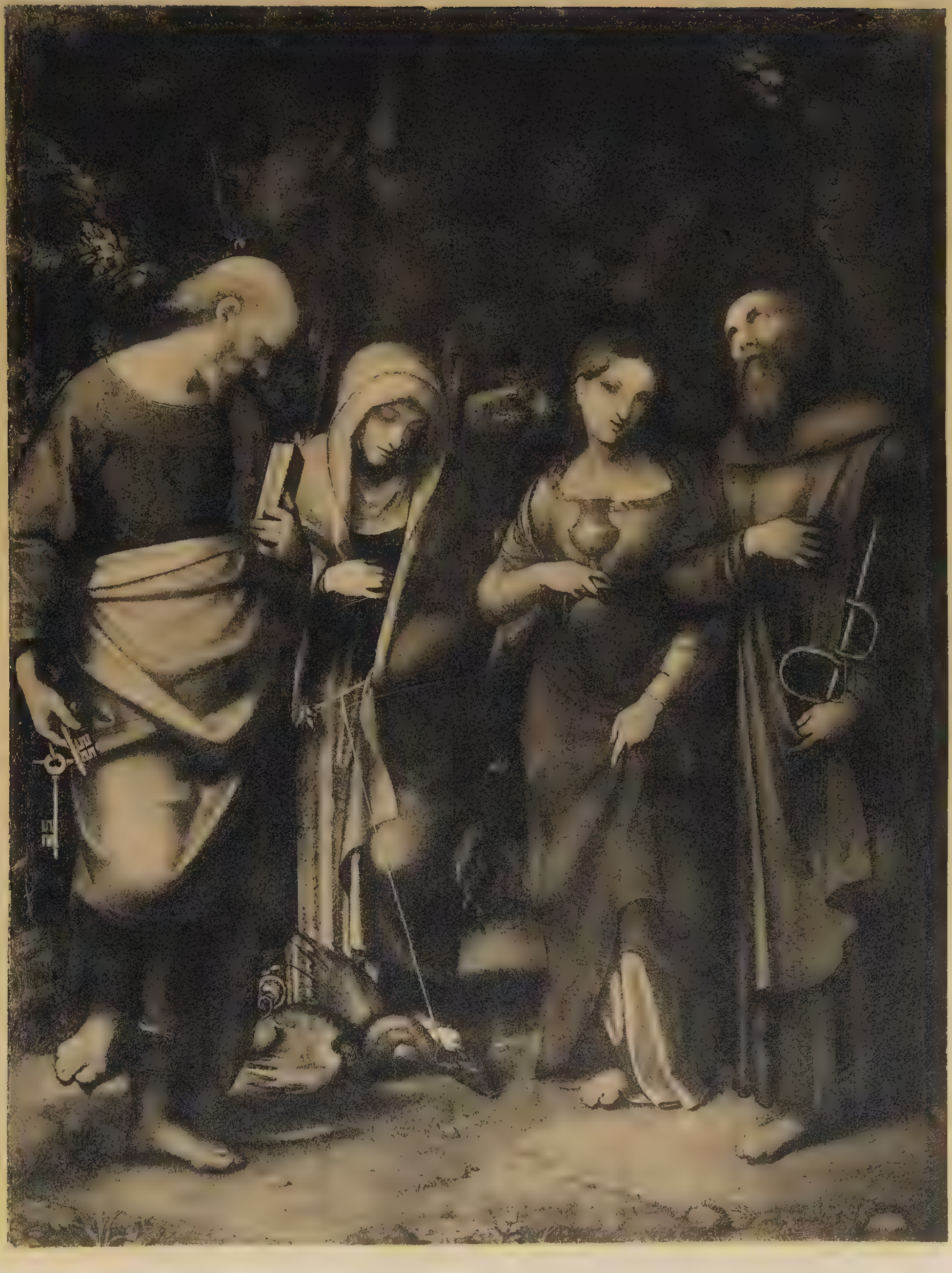
XIV THE HOLY FAMILY *(Photo. Anderson)*
WITH ST. ELIZABETH AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, known as the MALASPINA MADONNA
Pavia, Museum



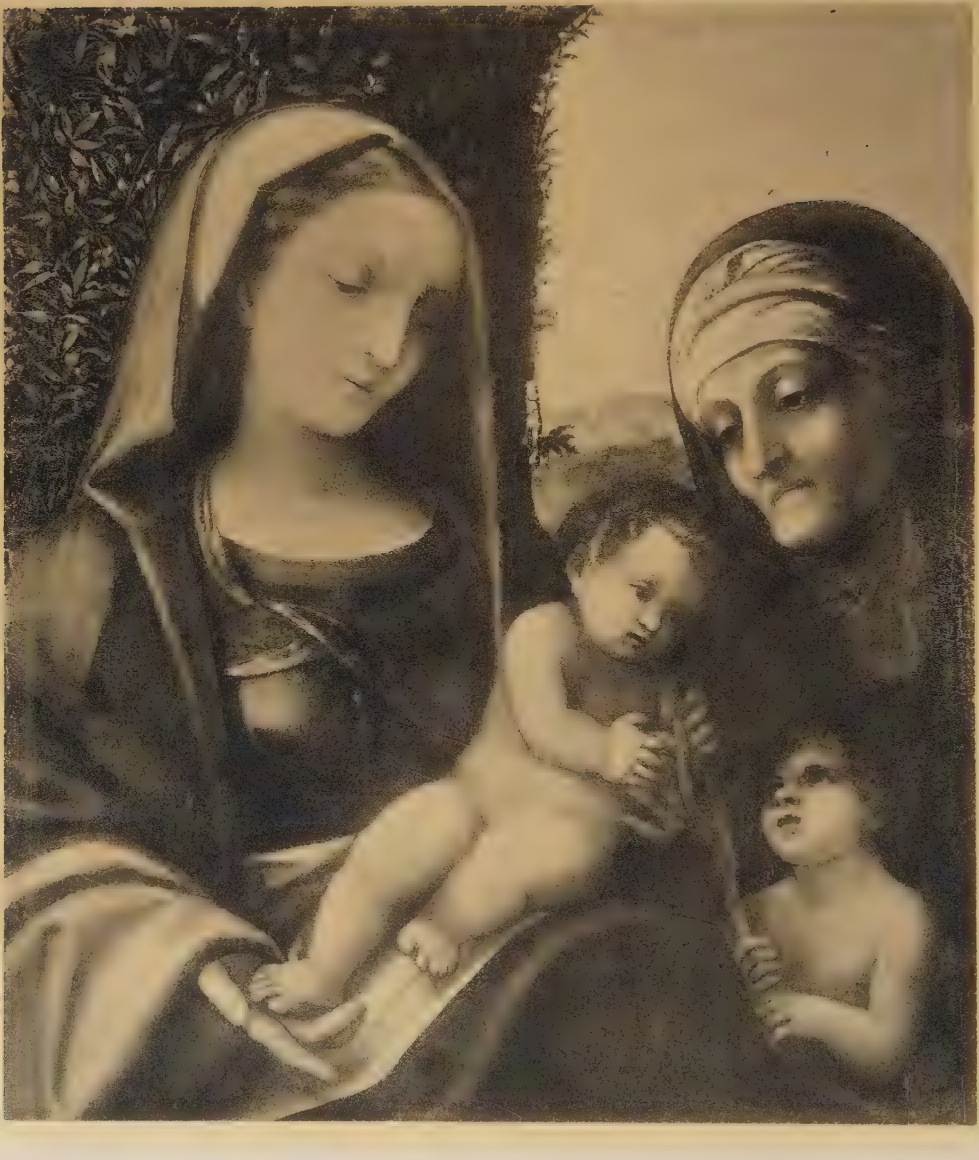
XV THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE
Detroit, Museum



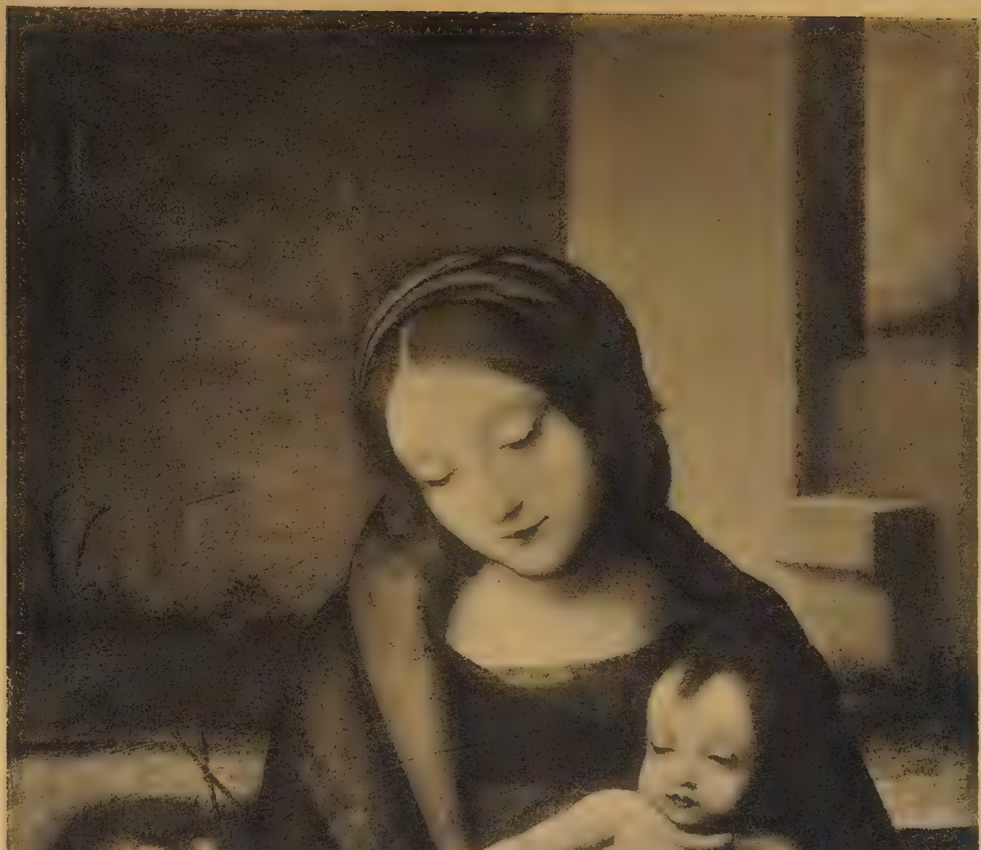
XVI JESUS TAKING LEAVE OF HIS MOTHER (Photo. Dixon)
London, National Gallery



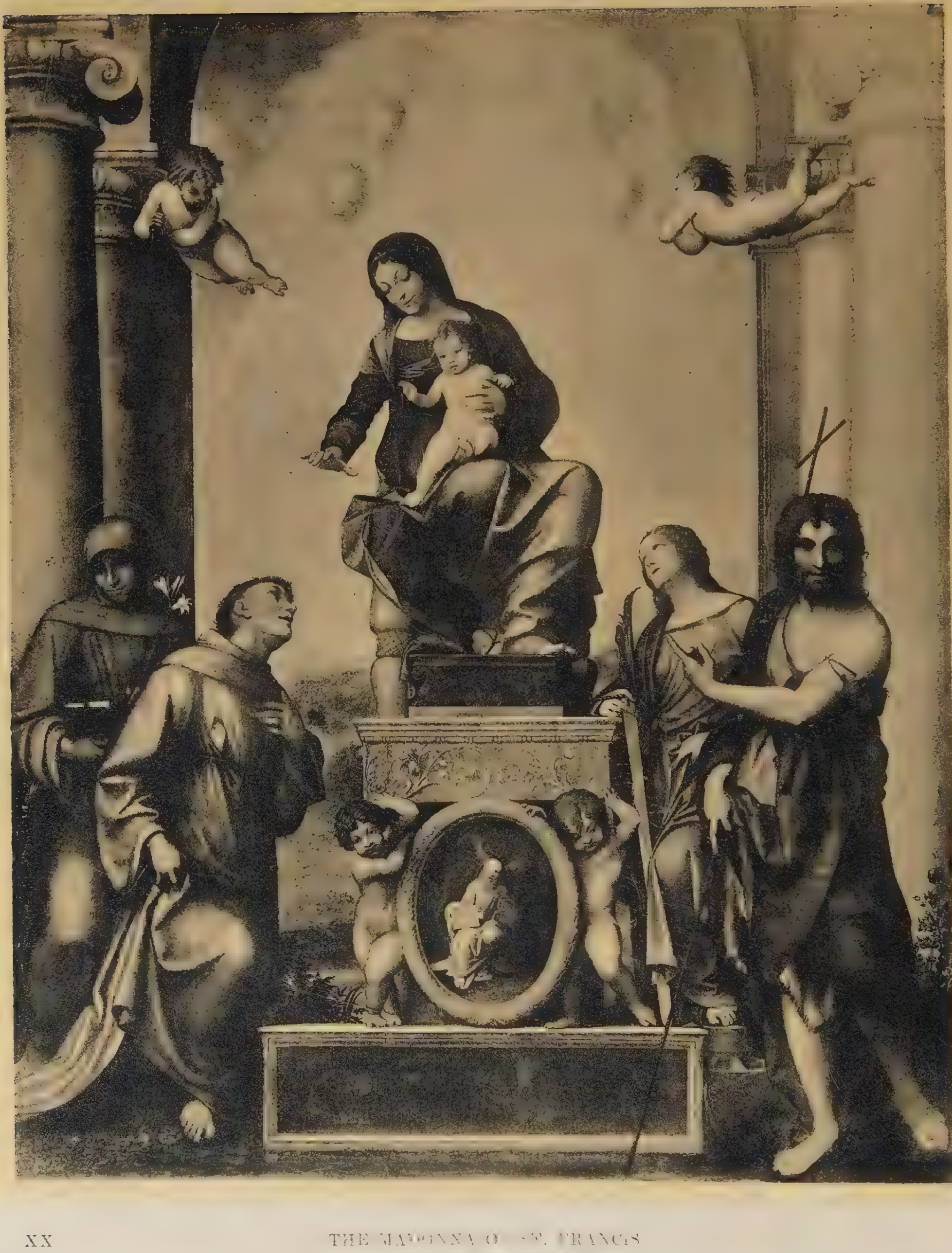
XVII "THE FOUR SAINTS," SS. PETER, LEONARD, MARTHA, AND MARY MAGDALENE
New York, Metropolitan Museum



XVIII THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. ELIZABETH AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST
Philadelphia, Collection of I. G. Johnson

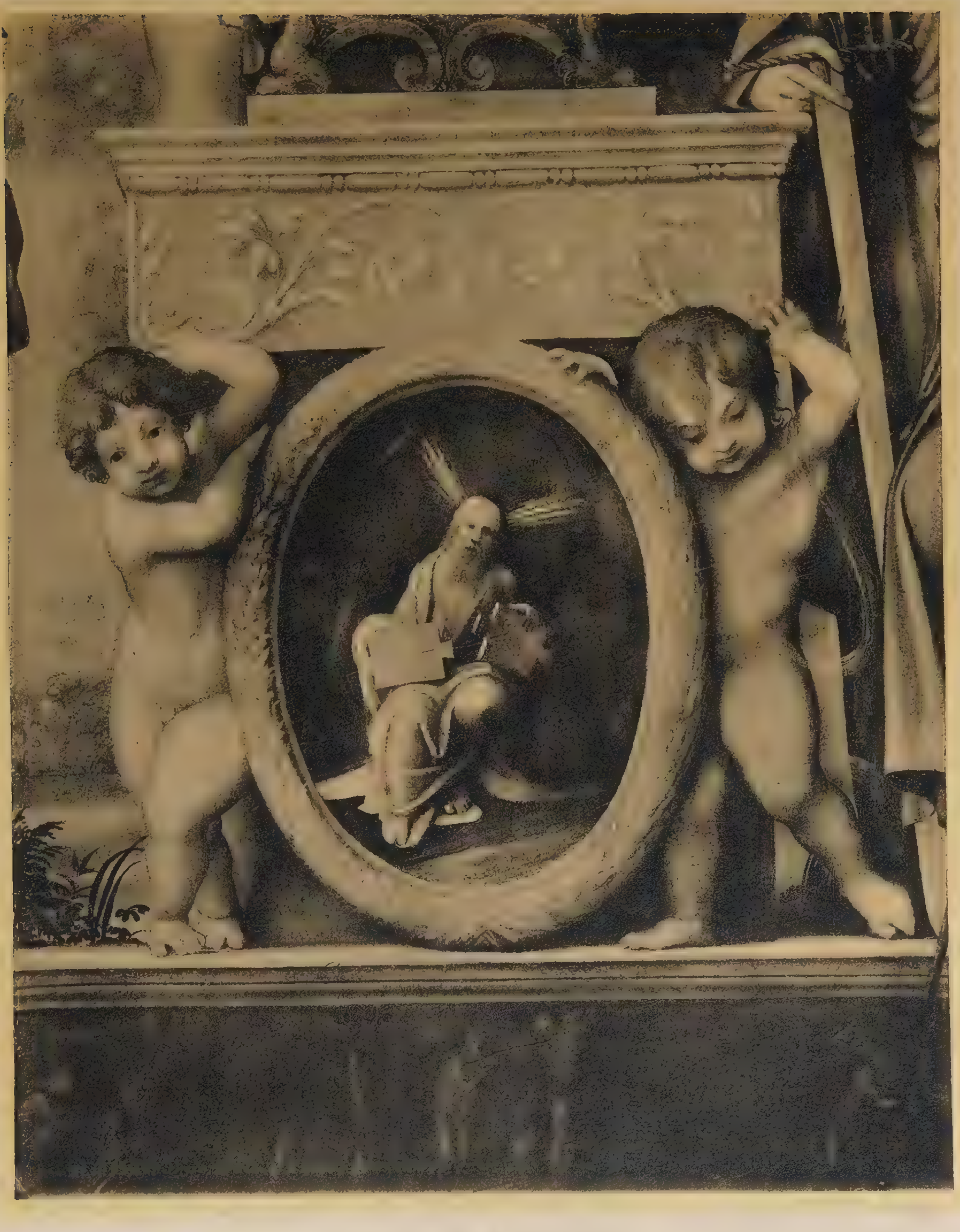


XIX THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST *(Photo. Royal Conservatory, Florence)*
Rome, Borghese Gallery



XX THE MADONNA OF ST. FRANCIS

Florence, Uffizi Gallery



XX [illegible]

MOSES BETWEEN TWO PUTTI

(Photo. Alinari)

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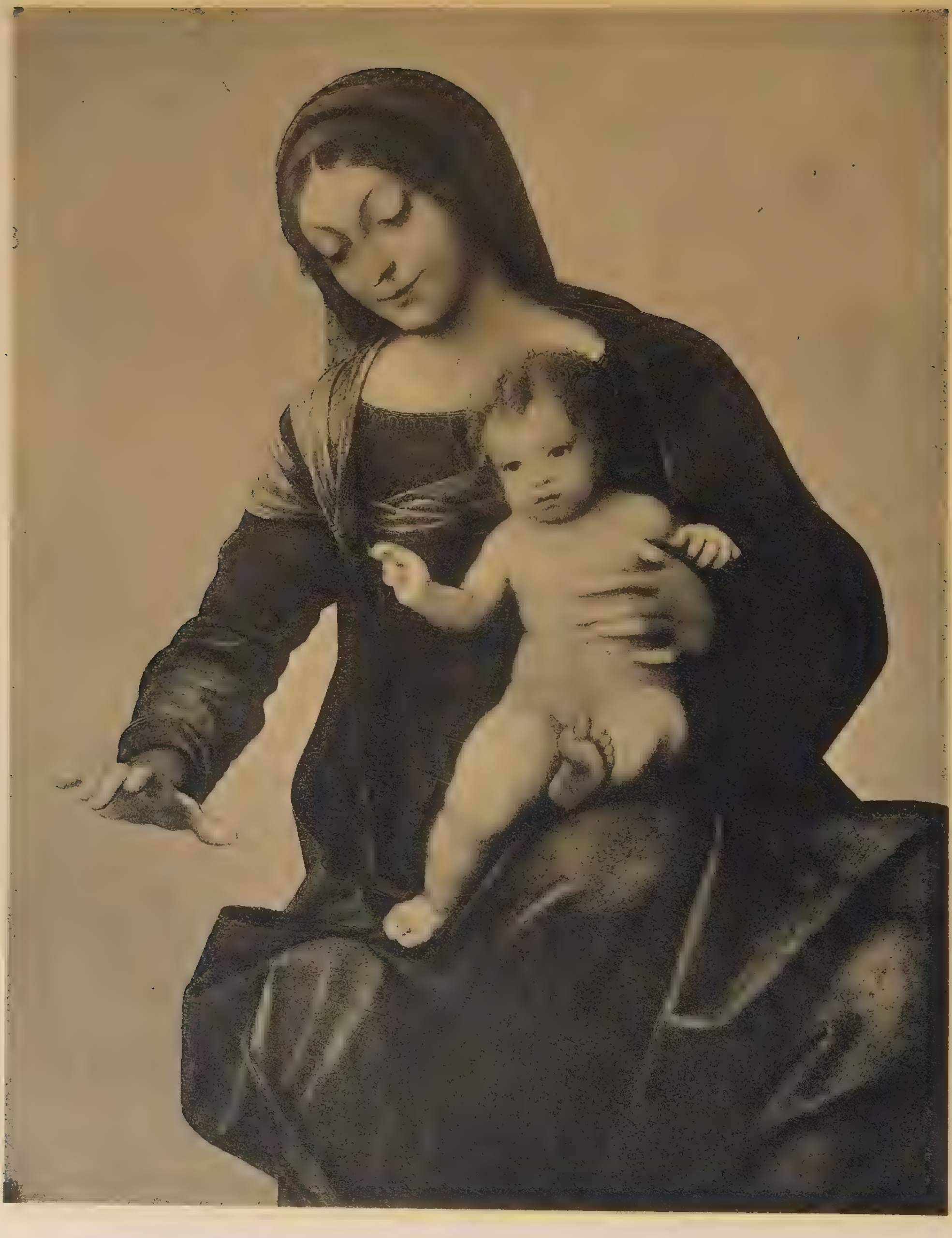
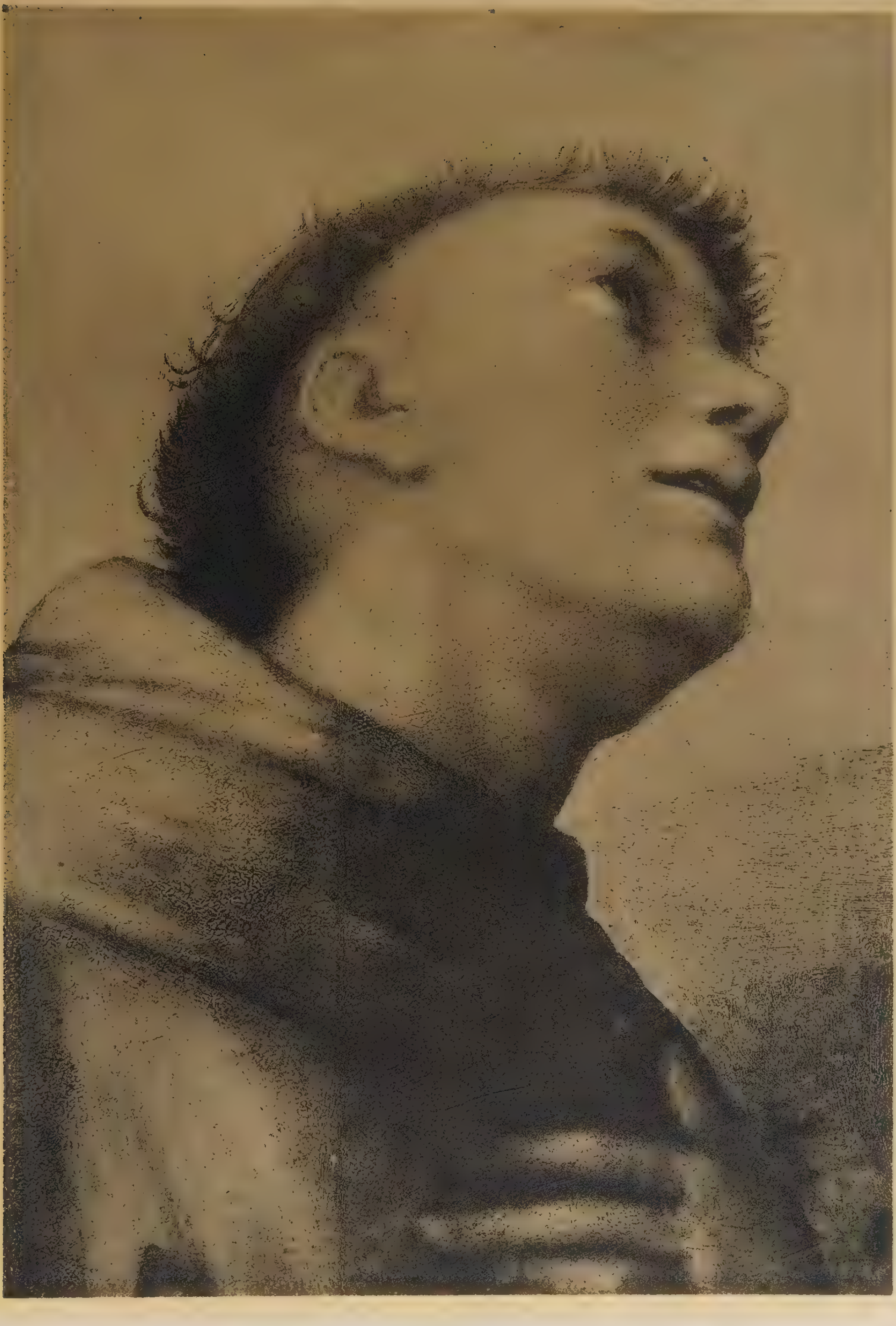
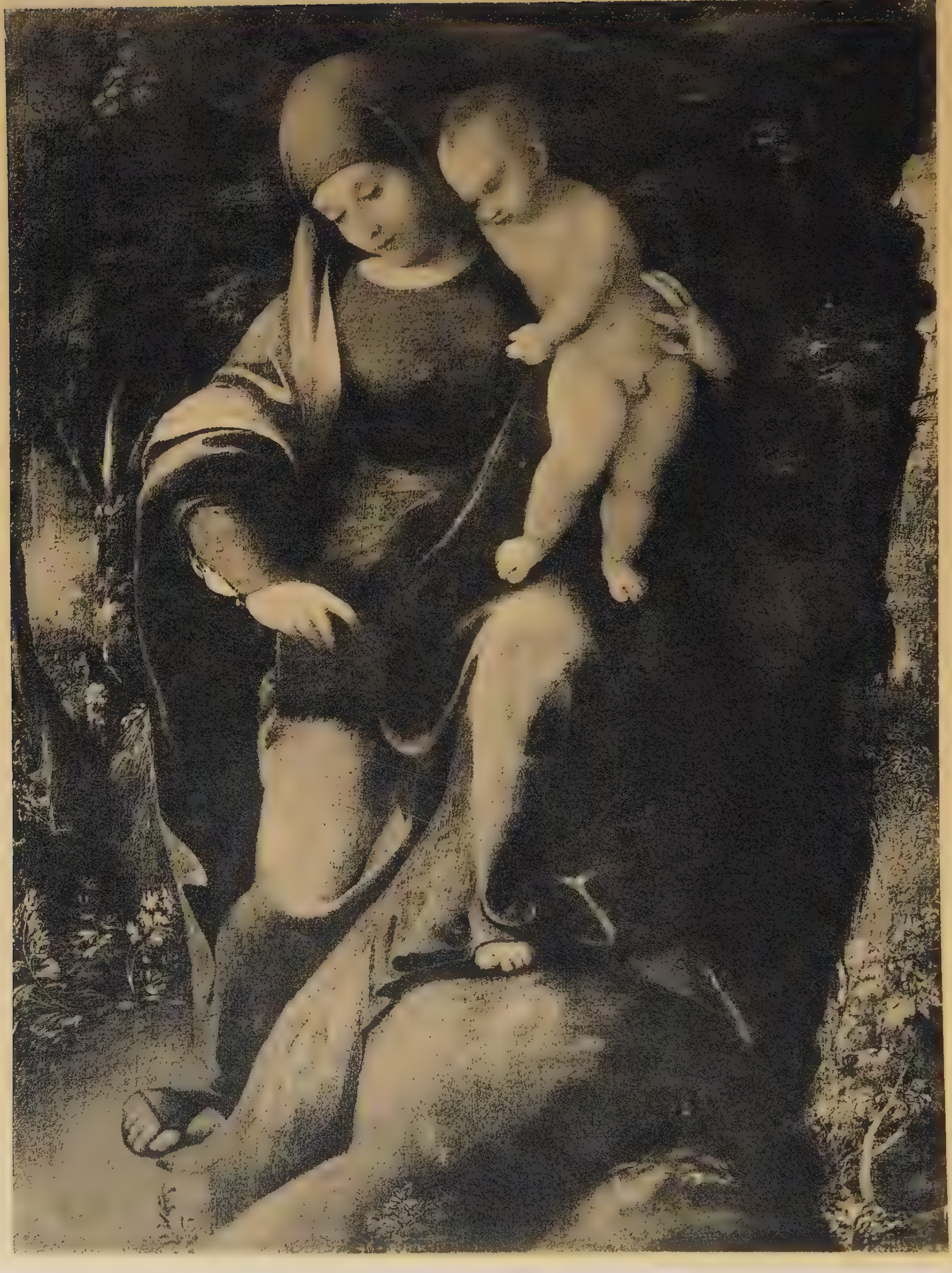


XXII THE MADONNA AND CHILD. DETAIL OF THE MADONNA OF ST. FRANCIS (*Photo. Alinari*)
Dresden, Art Gallery

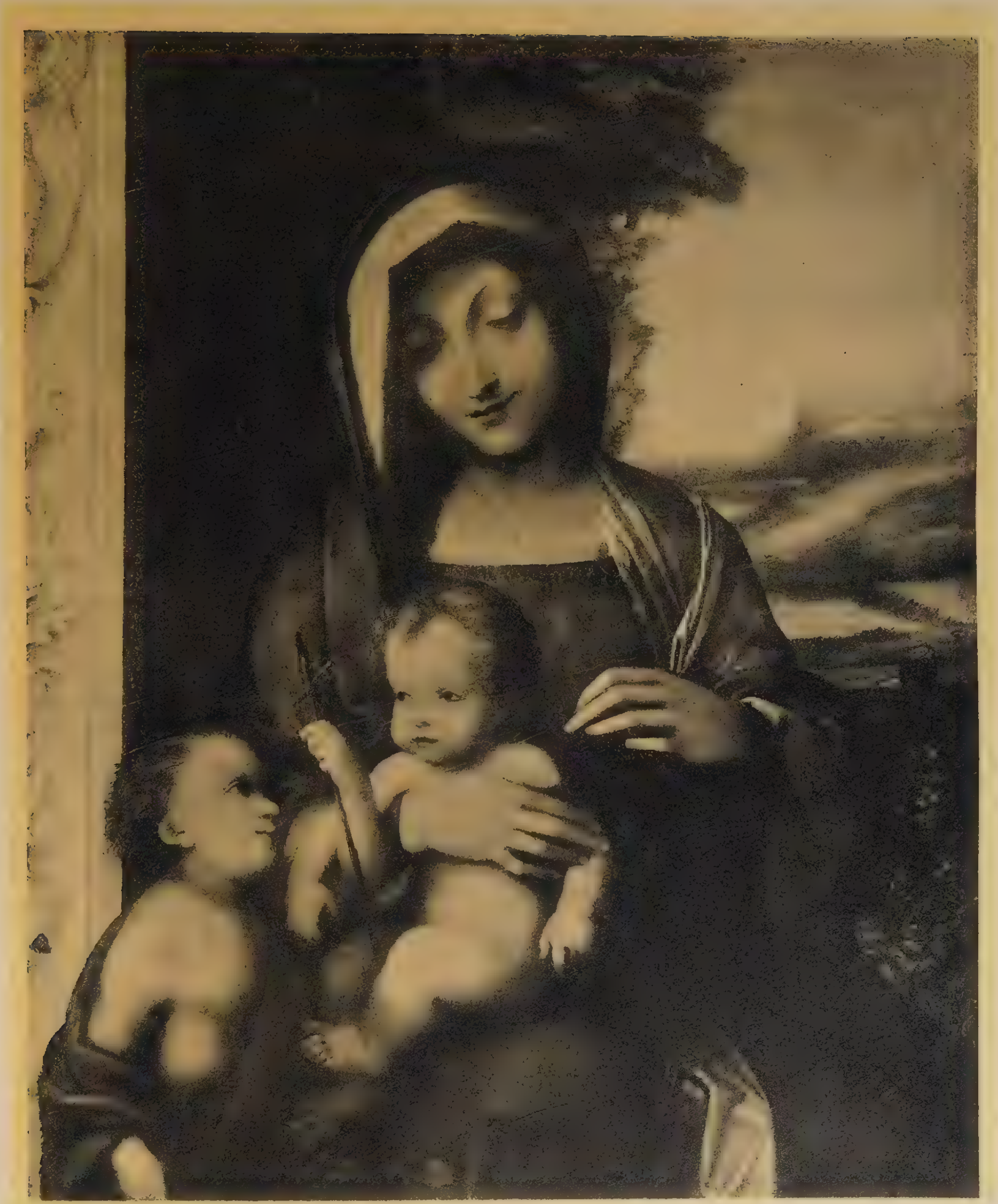


XXIII HEAD OF ST. FRANCIS. DETAIL OF THE MADONNA OF ST. FRANCIS (*Photo. Alinari*)

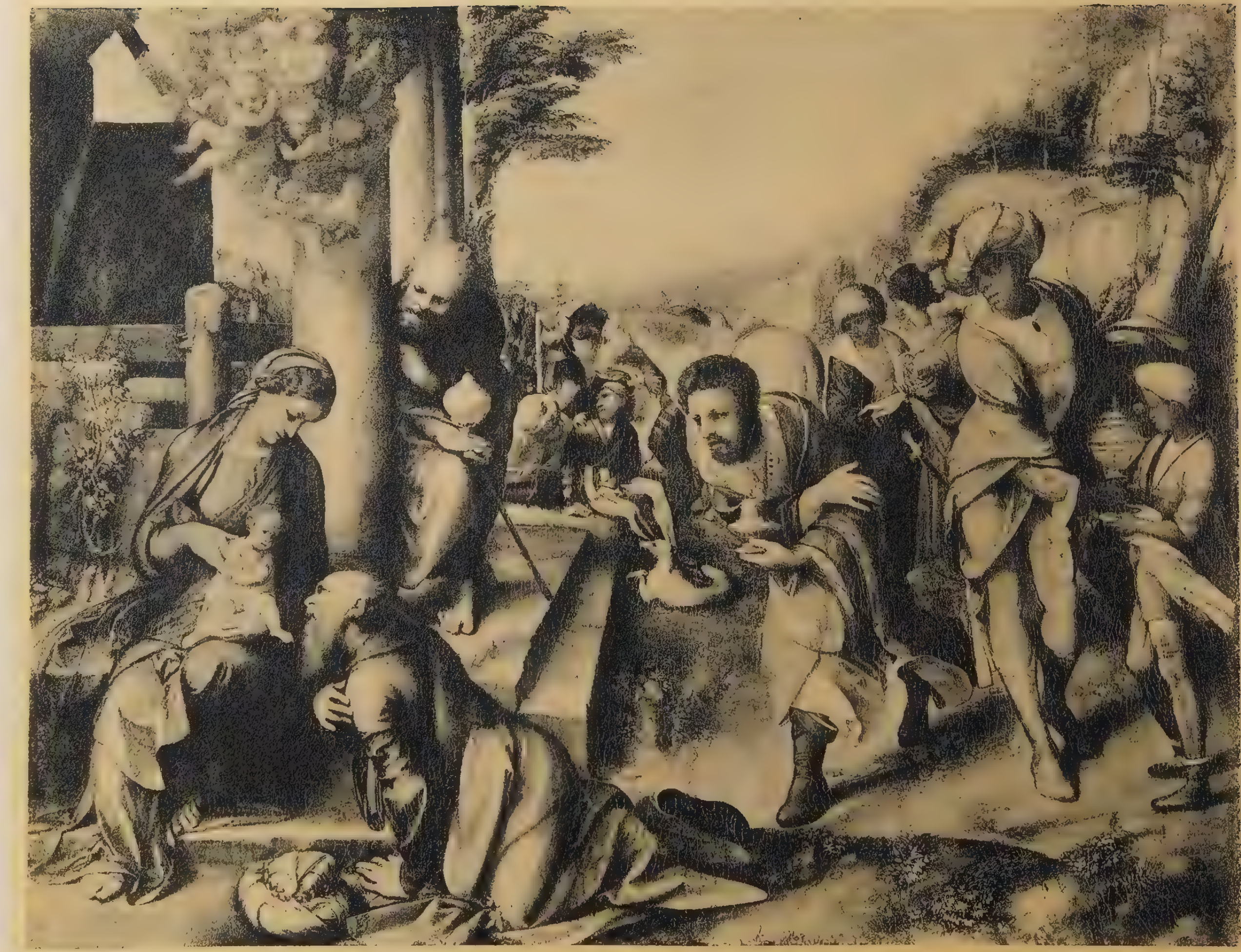
Dresden, Art Gallery



XXIV THE MADONNA AND CHILD. (*Correggio?*)
Switzerland, Private Collection

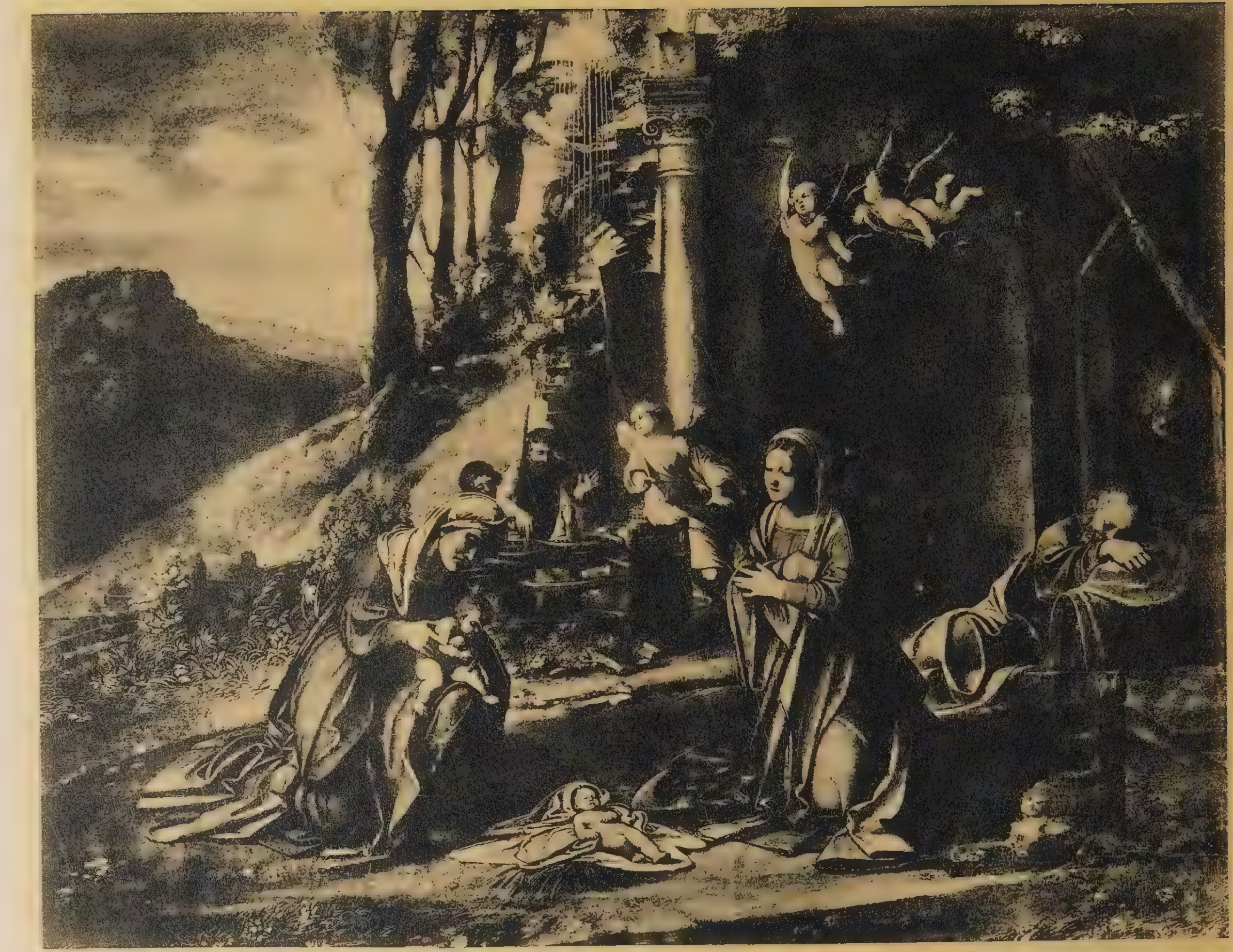


XXV THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST *(Photo. Anderson)*
known as the BOLOGNINI
Milan, Museum of the Castello Sforzesco



XXVI THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI (Photo. Anderson)

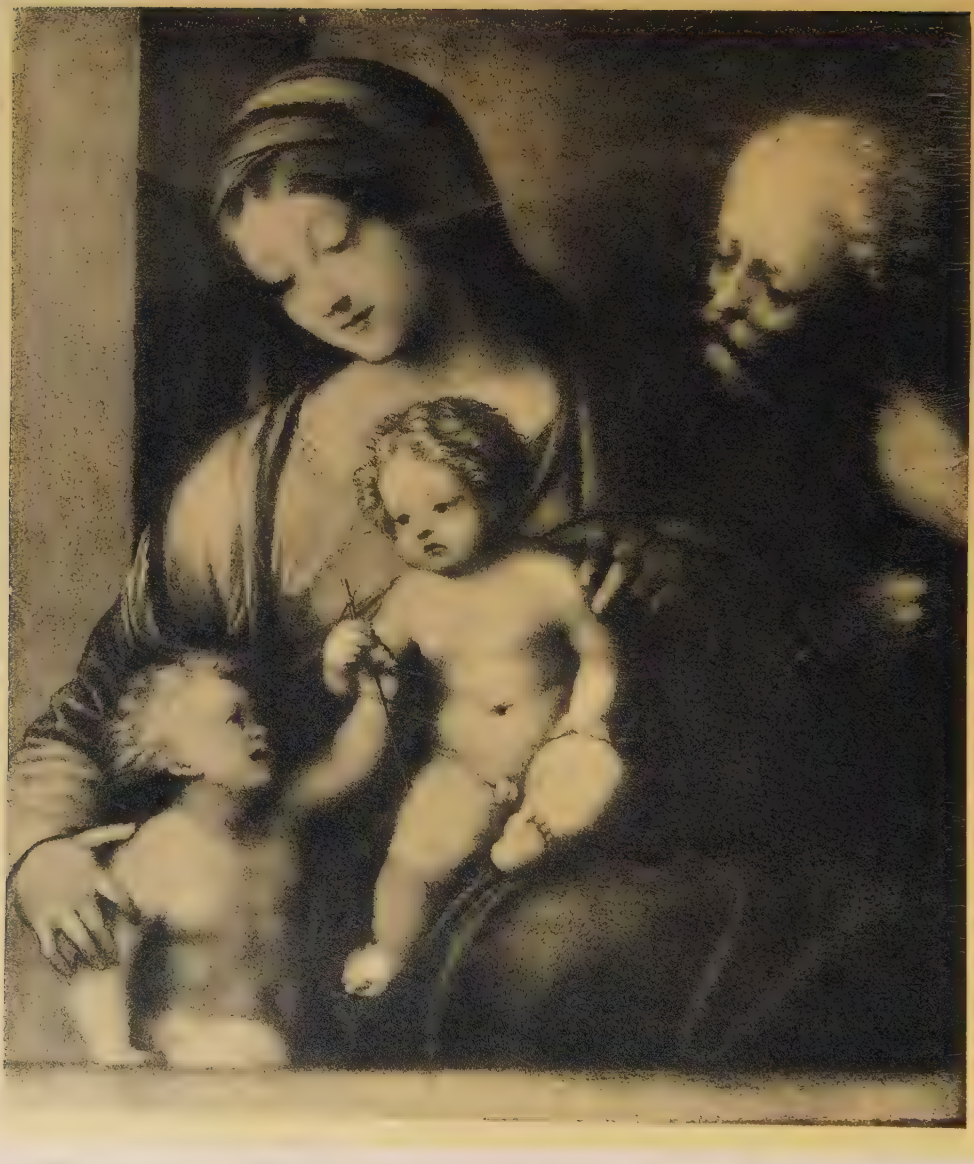
Milan, Brera Gallery



XXV

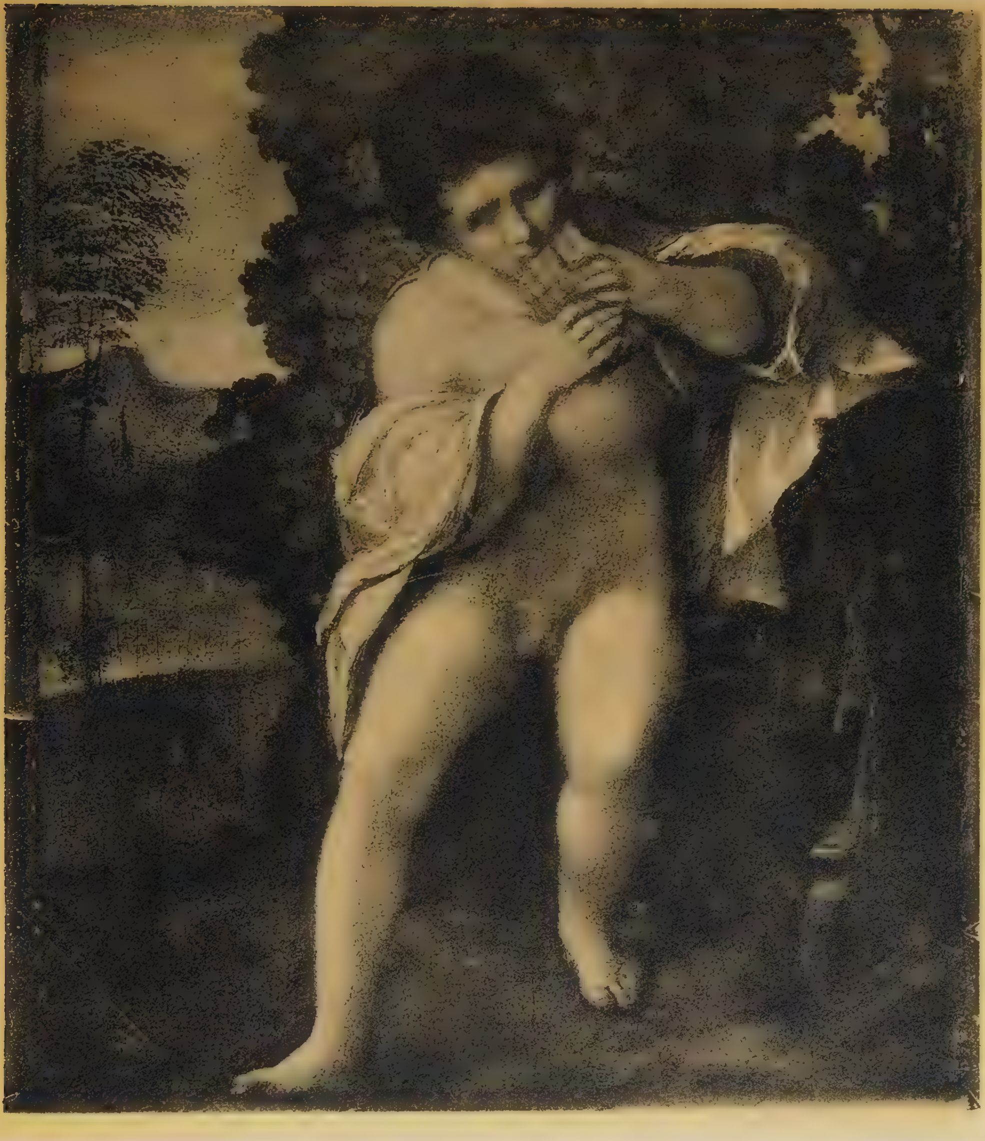
THE CRIB AT NIGHT
Milan, Brera Gallery

(*Photo. Anderson*)

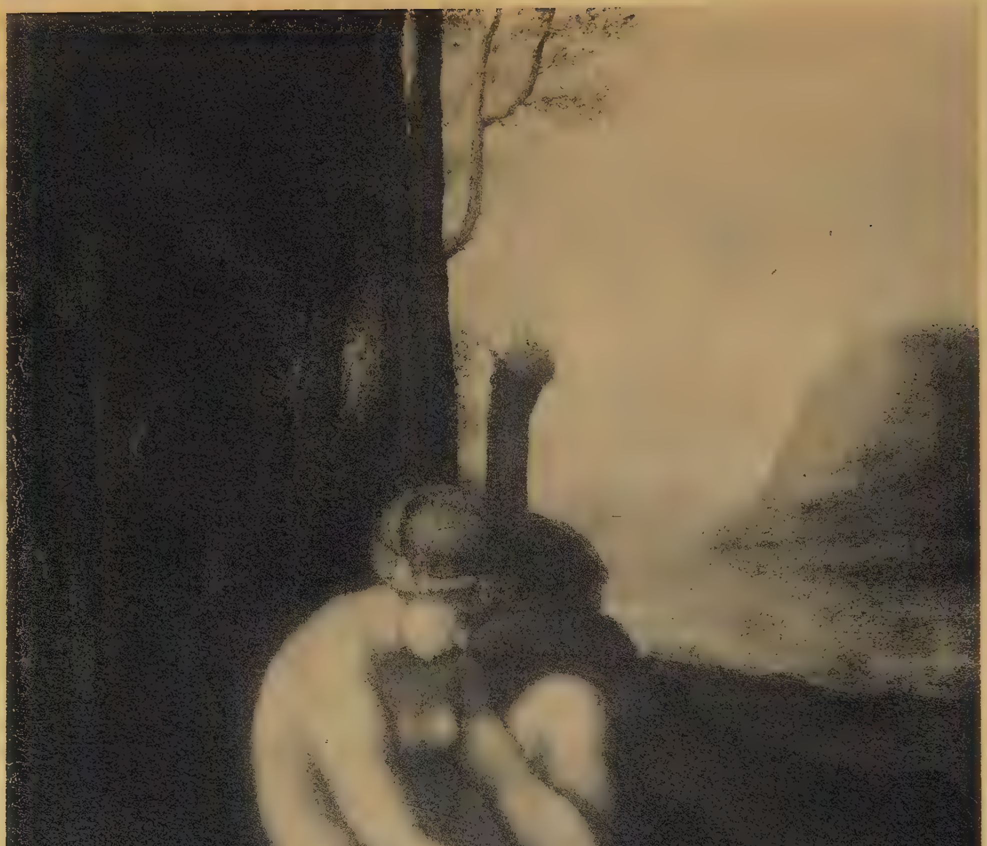


XXVIII THE HOLY FAMILY AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

London, Collection of Charles Fairfax Murray

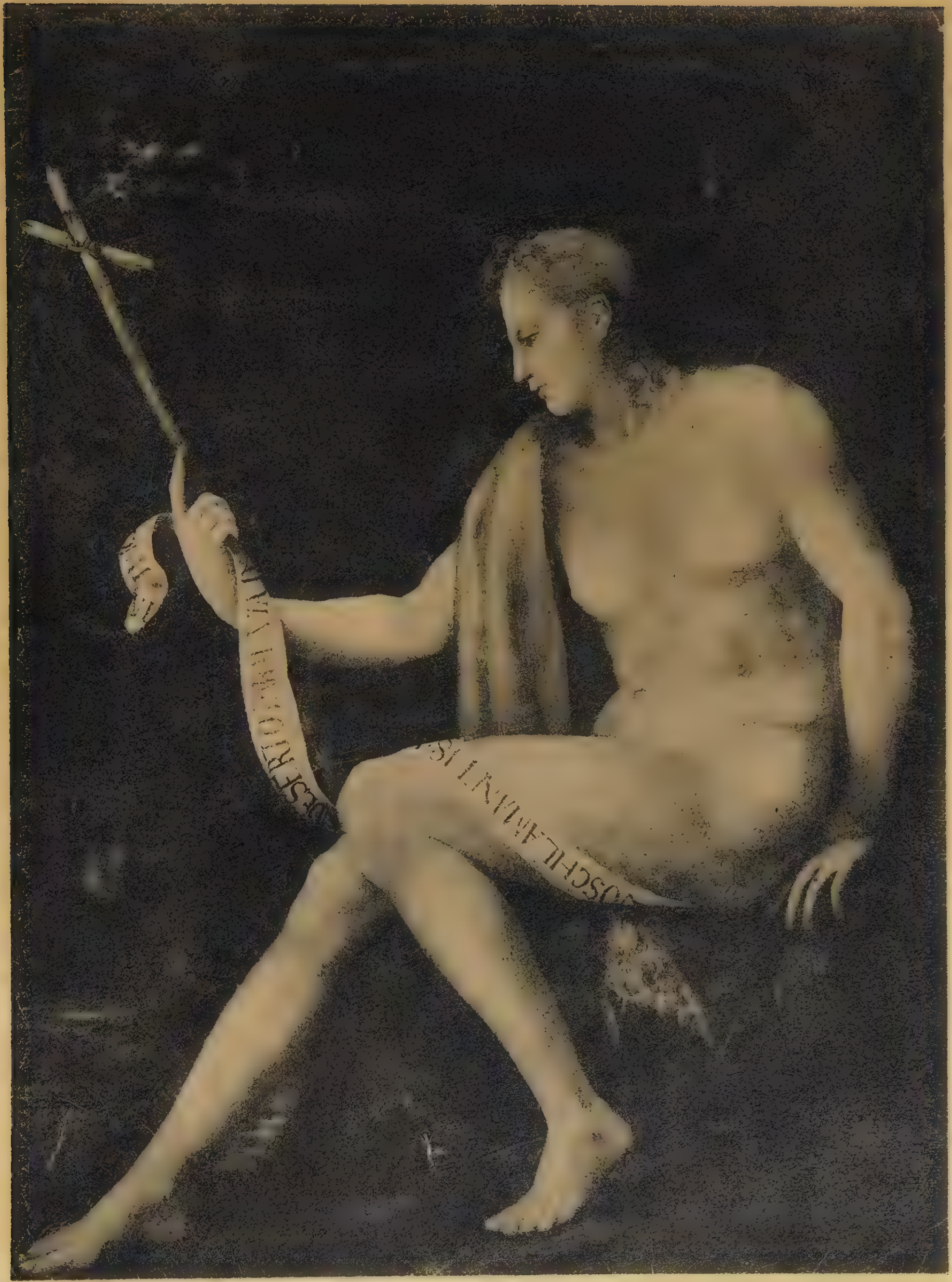


XXIX SHEPHERD-BOY PLAYING THE PIPES *(Correggio ?)* *(Photo. Hanfstaengl)*
Munich, Art Gallery

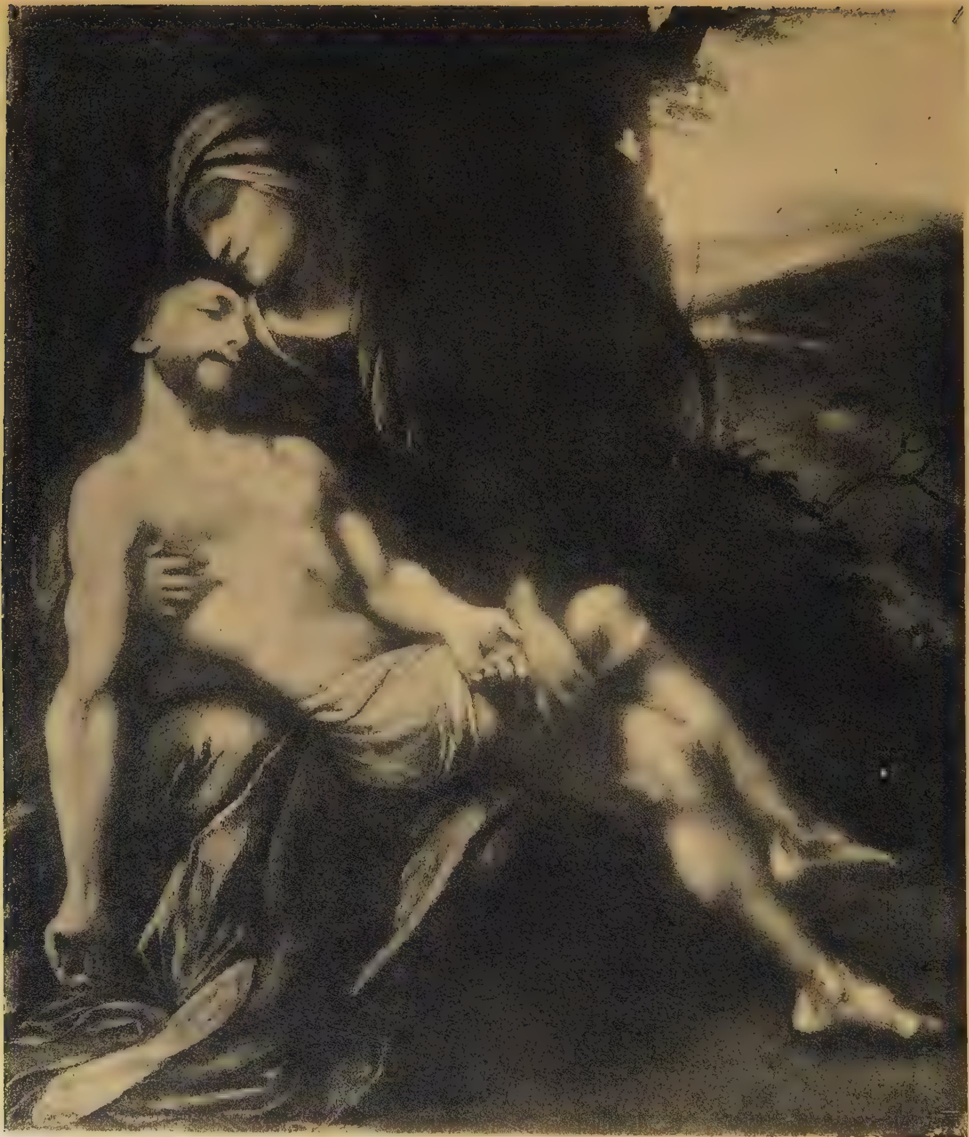


XXX VENUS PRICKED BY THE THORN. *(Correggio ?)* *(Photo. Mura)*

Boston, U. S. A., Gardner Collection



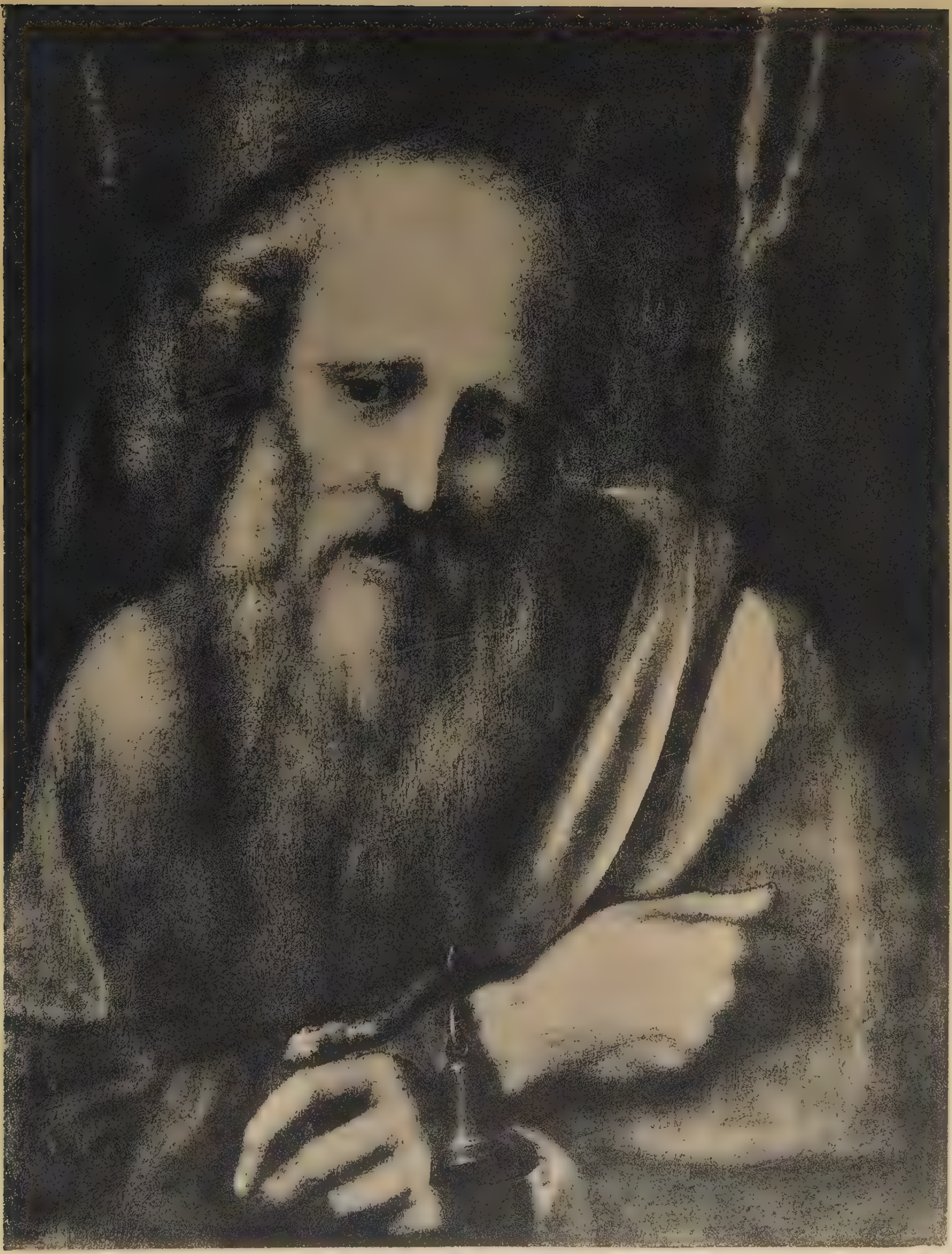
XXXI ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST IN THE WILDERNESS. *(Correggio ?)*
Oldenburg, Formerly in the Grand Ducal Gallery



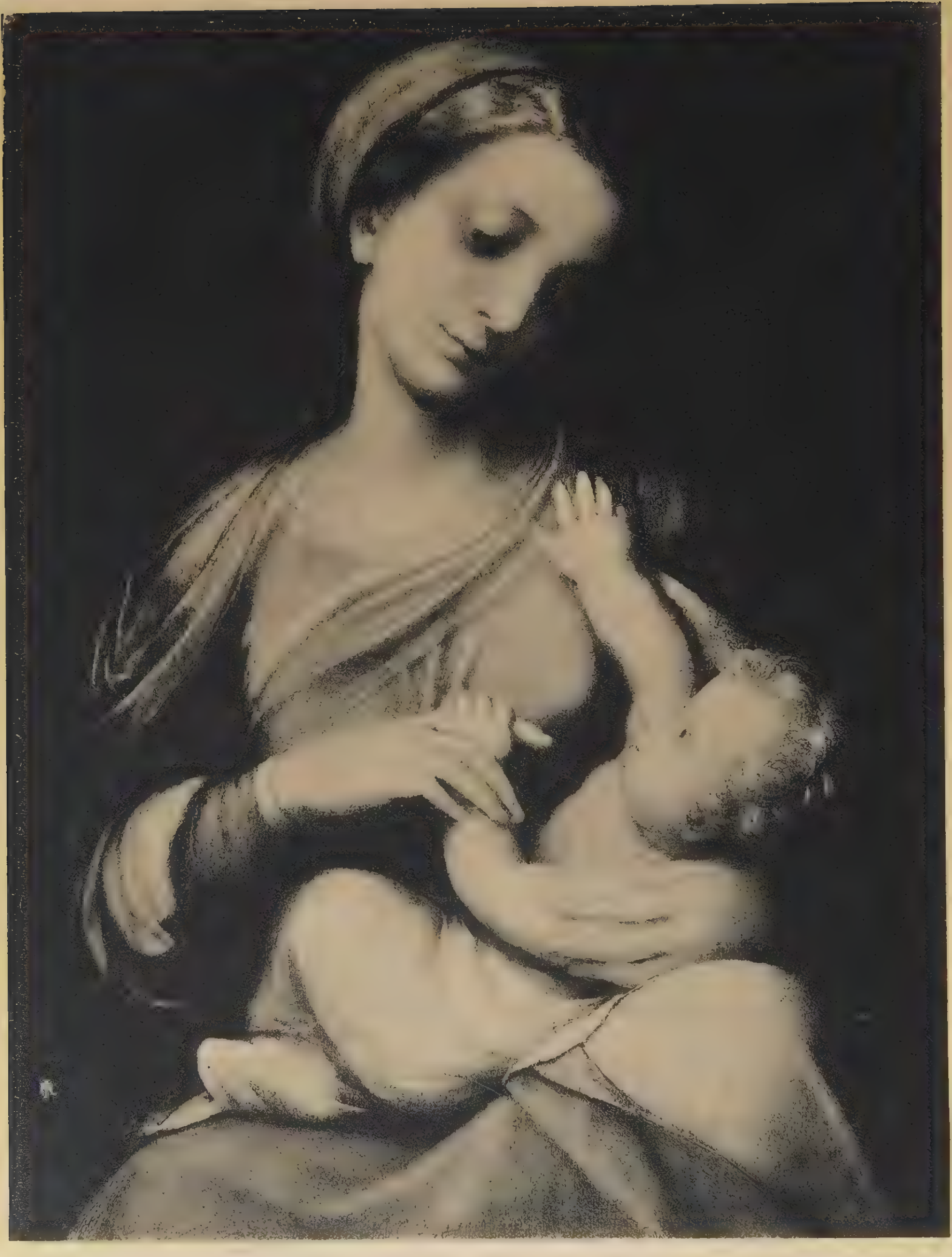
XXXII

PIETA

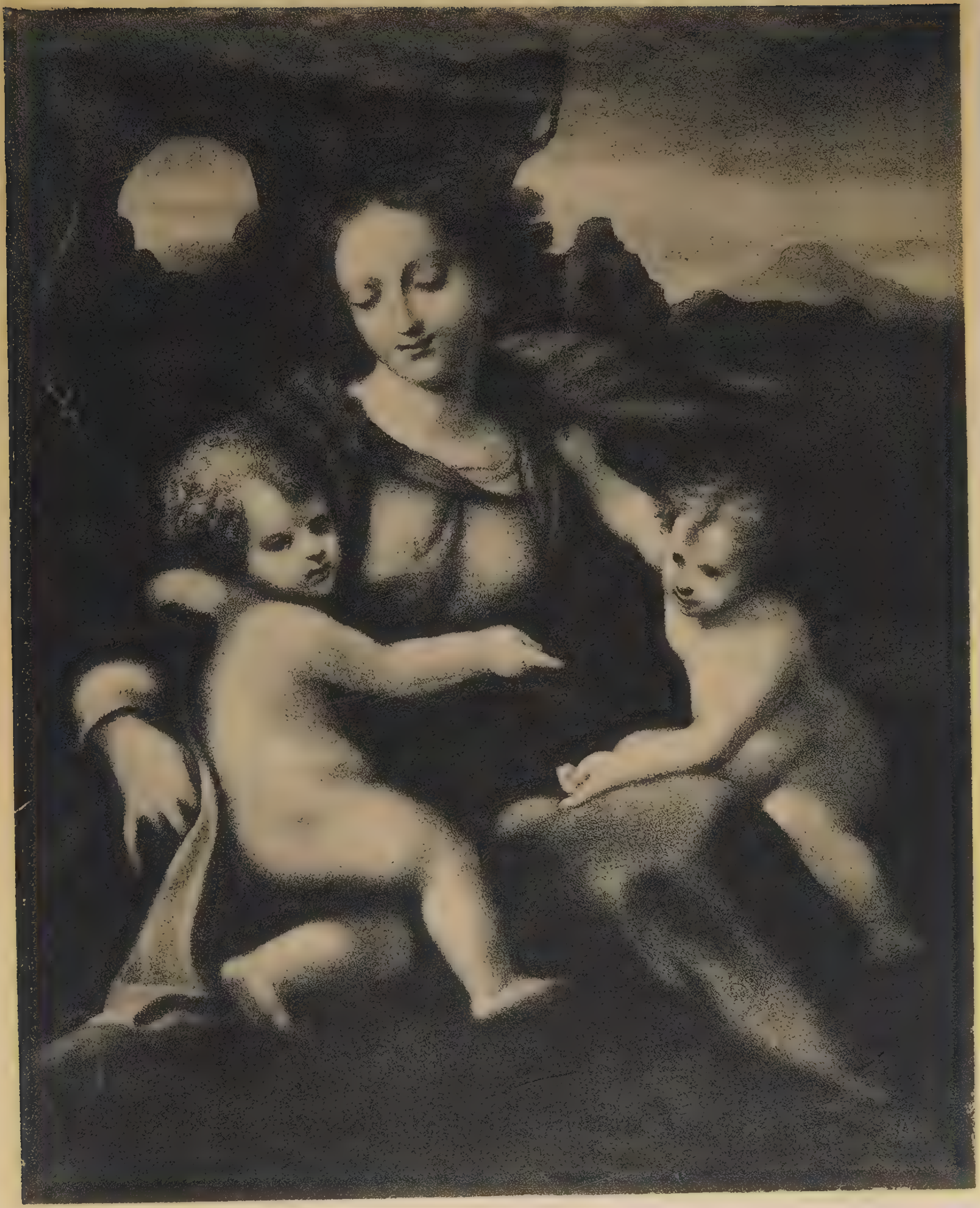
London, Collection of Lord Lee of Fareham



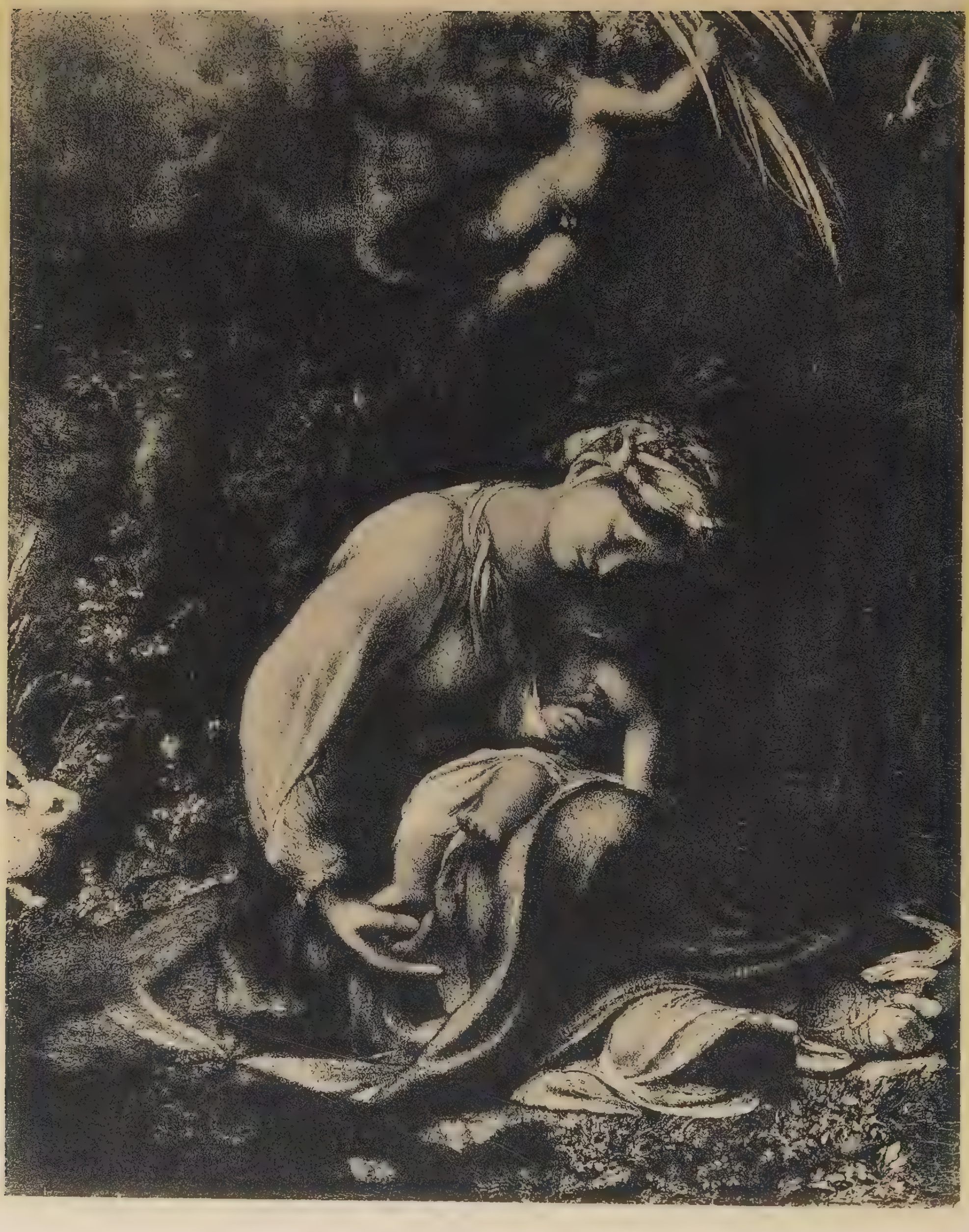
XXXIII ST. ANTHONY THE ABBOT (Photo. Anderson)
Naples, National Museum



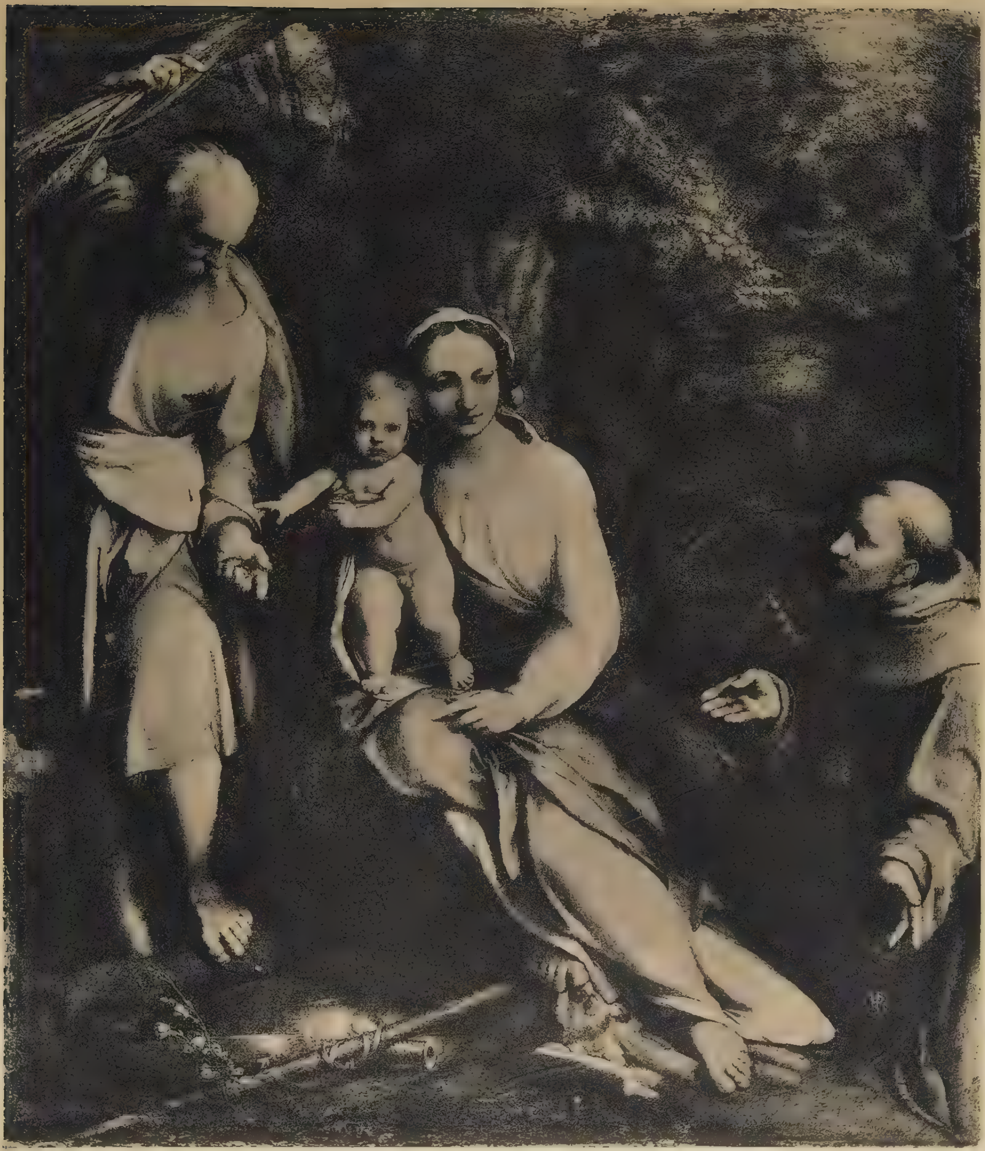
XXXIV THE MADONNA AND CHILD known as THE CAMPORI MADONNA (*Photo. Anderson*)
Modena, Este Gallery



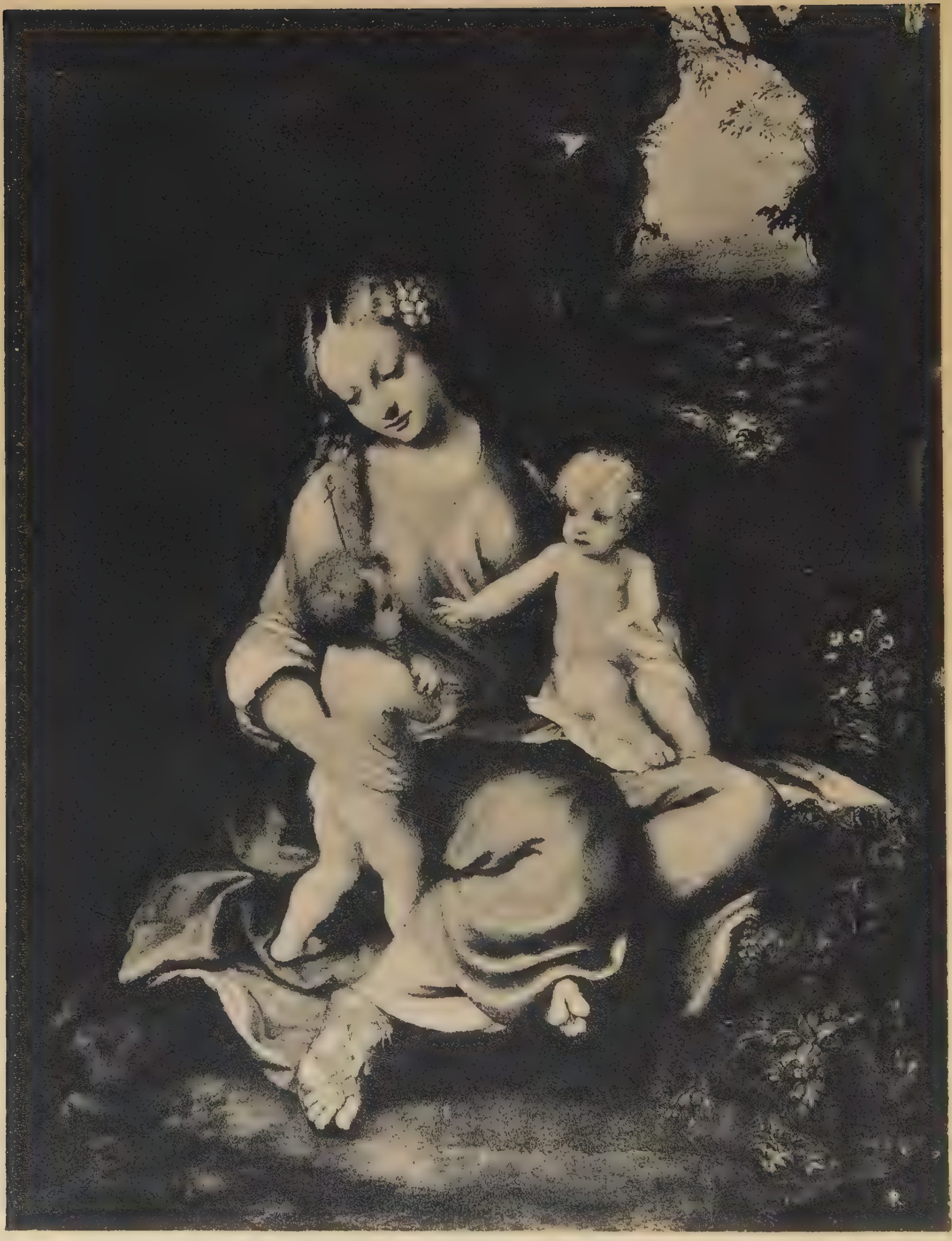
XXXV THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (*Photo. Bruckmann*)
Known as THE MADONNA OF CASALMAGGIORE
Frankfort-on-Main, the Städel Institute



XXXVI THE MADONNA AND CHILD Known as THE ZINGARELLA (Photo. Anderson)
Naples, National Museum

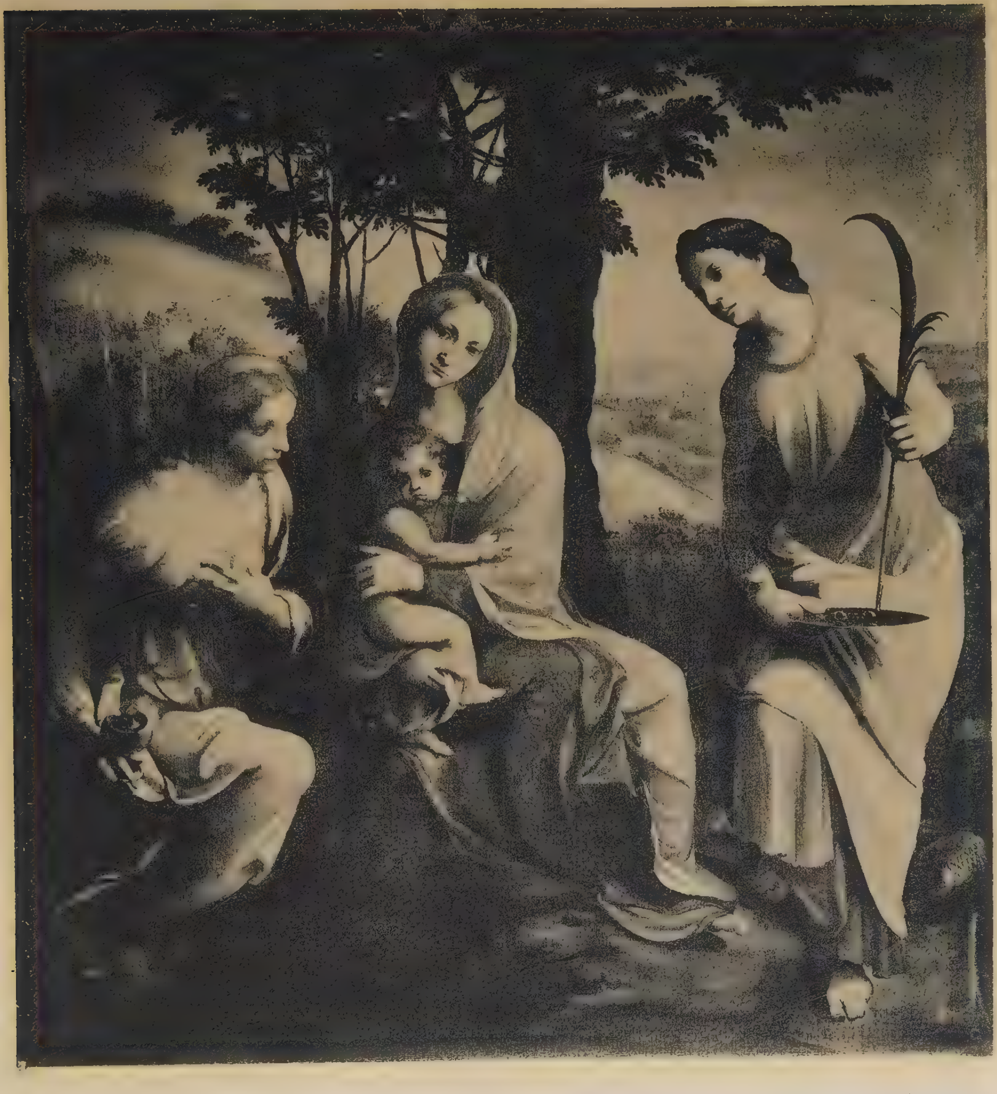


XXXVII THE SOJOURN IN EGYPT (Photo. Anderson)
Florence, Uffizi Gallery

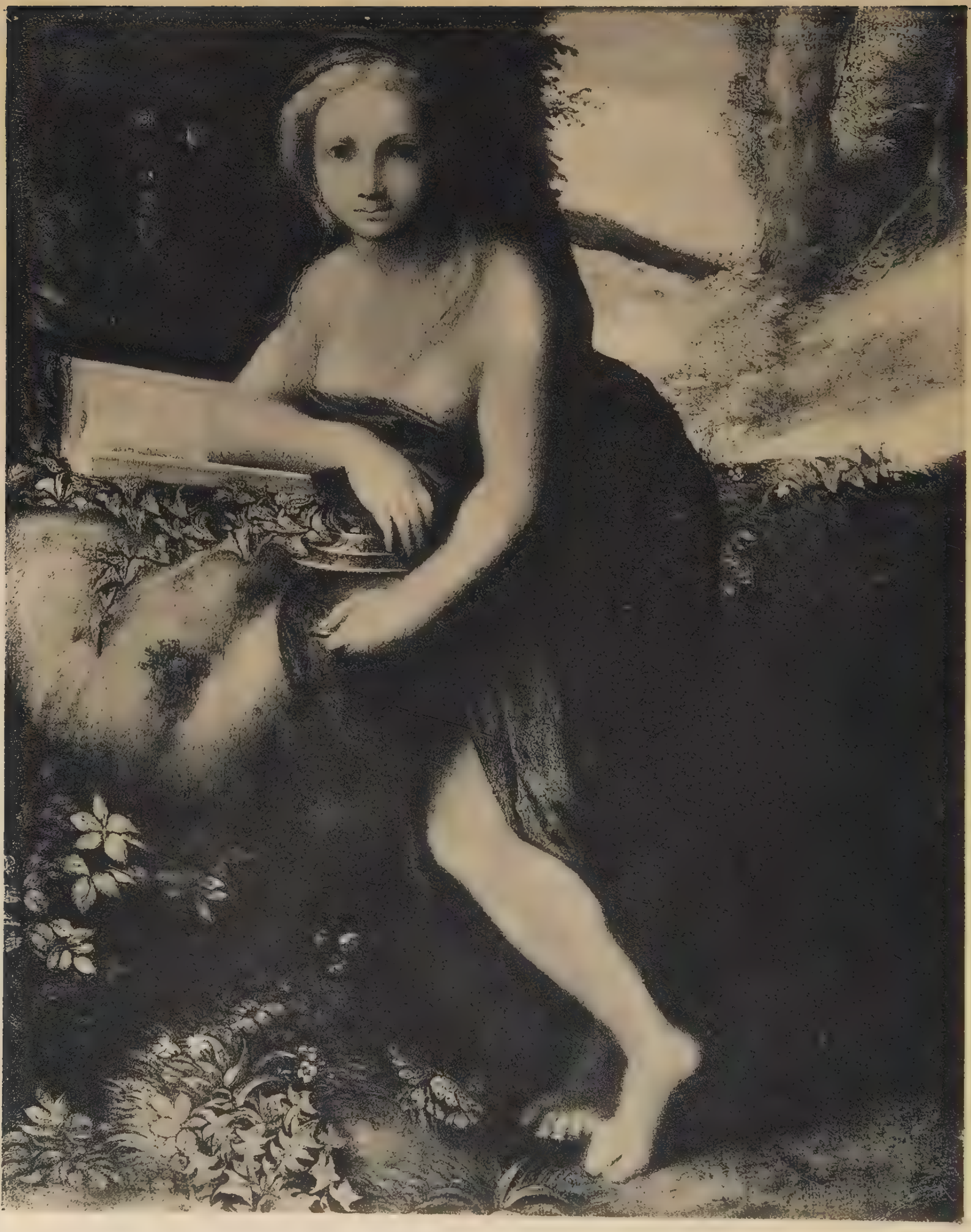


XXXVIII THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST *(Photo. Anderson)*

Madrid, Prado Gallery

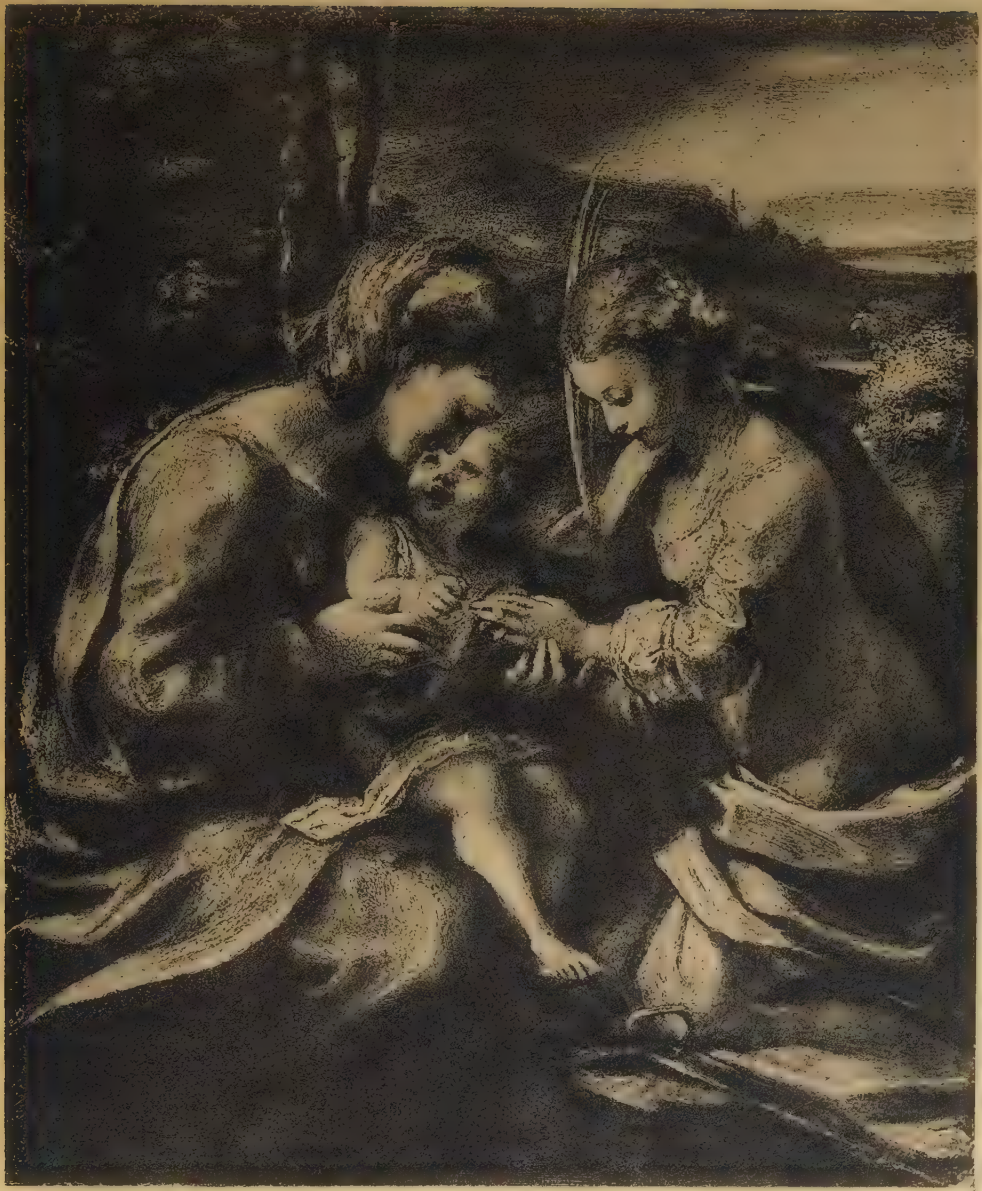


XXXIX THE MADONNA OF ALBINEA. COPY AFTER CORREGGIO (Photo. Anderson)
Rome, The Capitol Museum

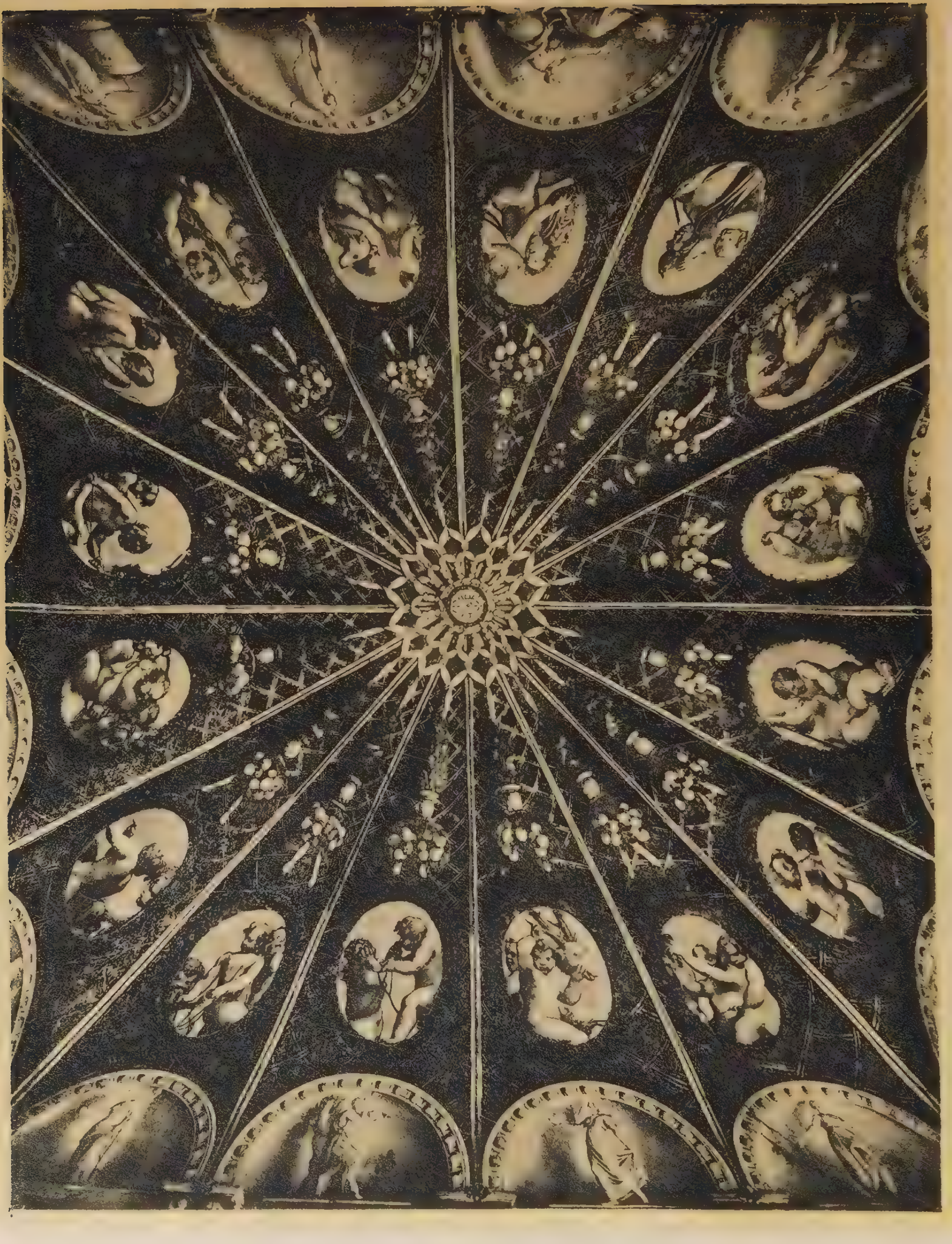


XL

ST. MARY MAGDALENE
London, National Gallery

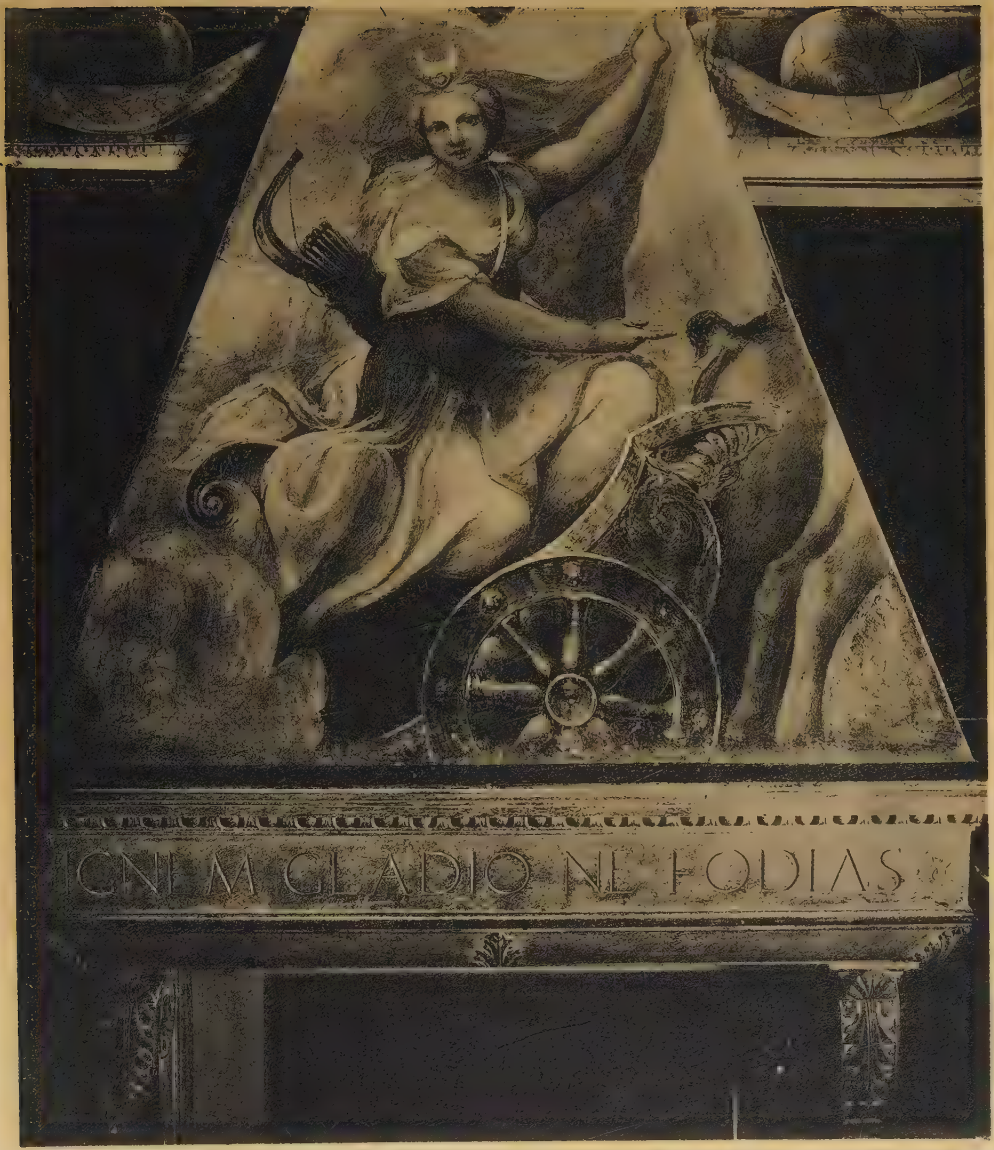


XLI THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE (Photo. Anderson)
Naples, National Museum



XLII VAULT OF THE CAMERA DI SAN PAOLO (*Photo. Alinari*)

Parma

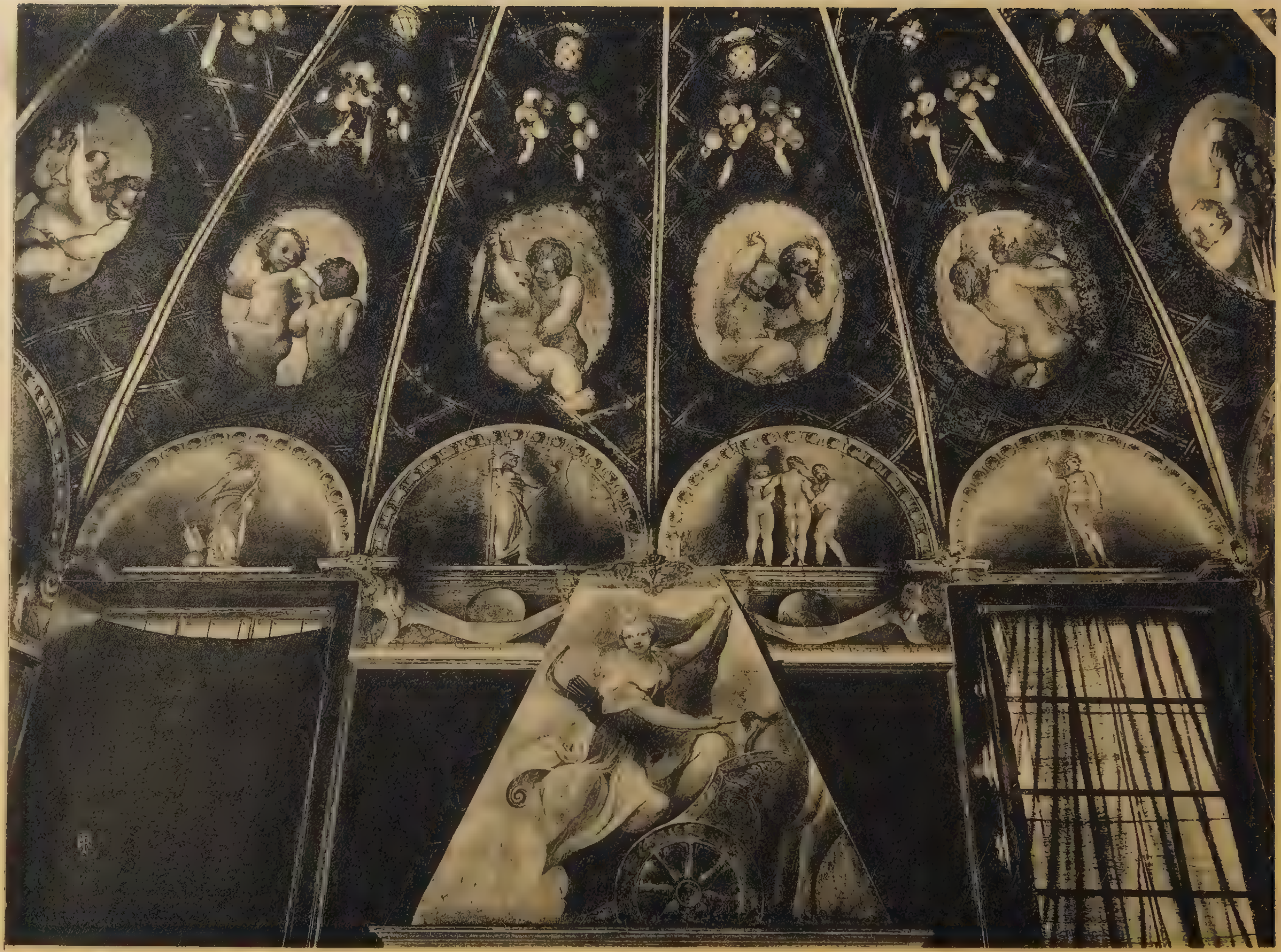

IGNEM GLADIO NE FODIAS

XLIII

DIANA

Parma, Camera di San Paolo

(Photo. Anderson)

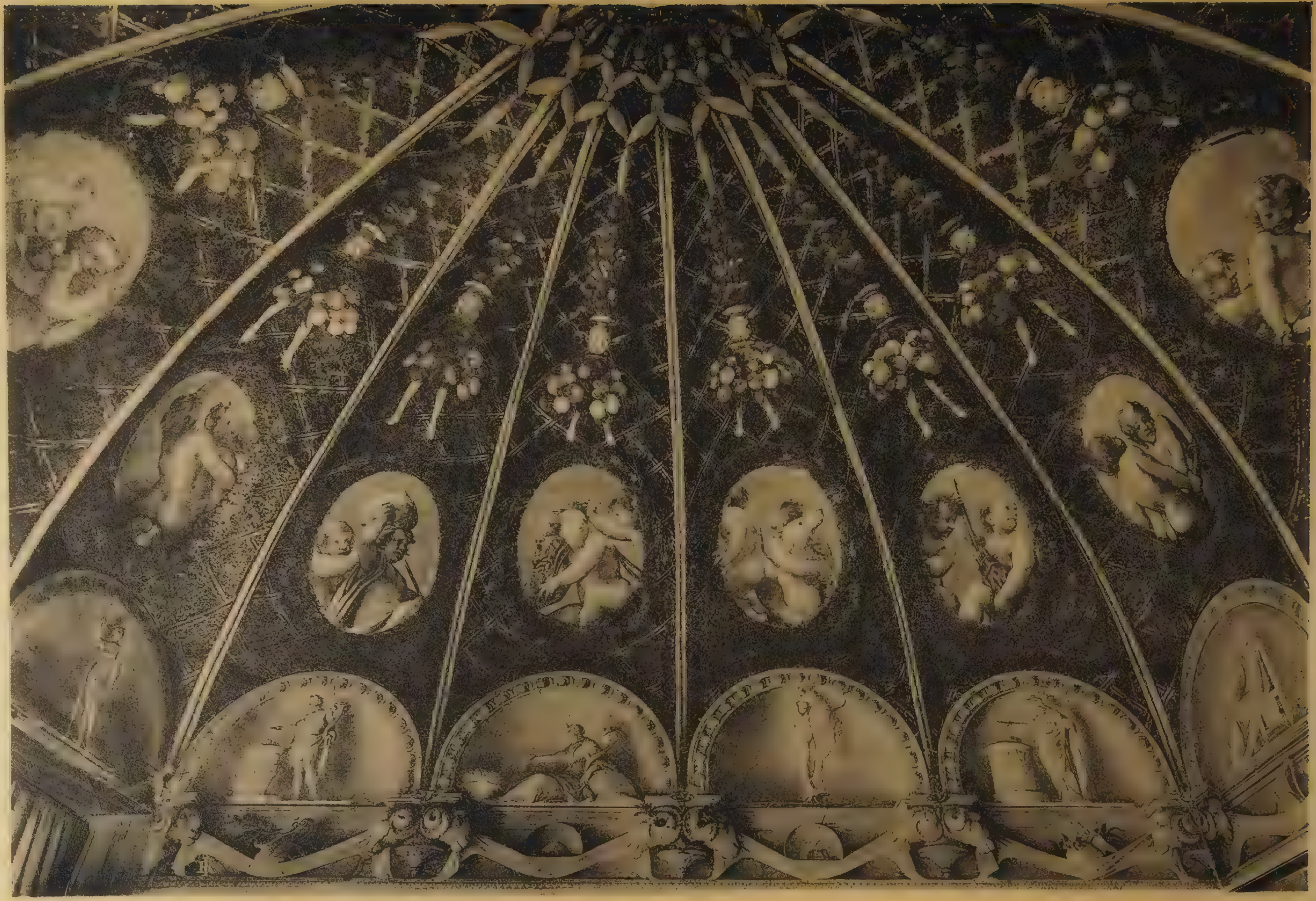


XLIV

CAMERA DI SAN PAOLO

Parma, Frescoes of the North Side

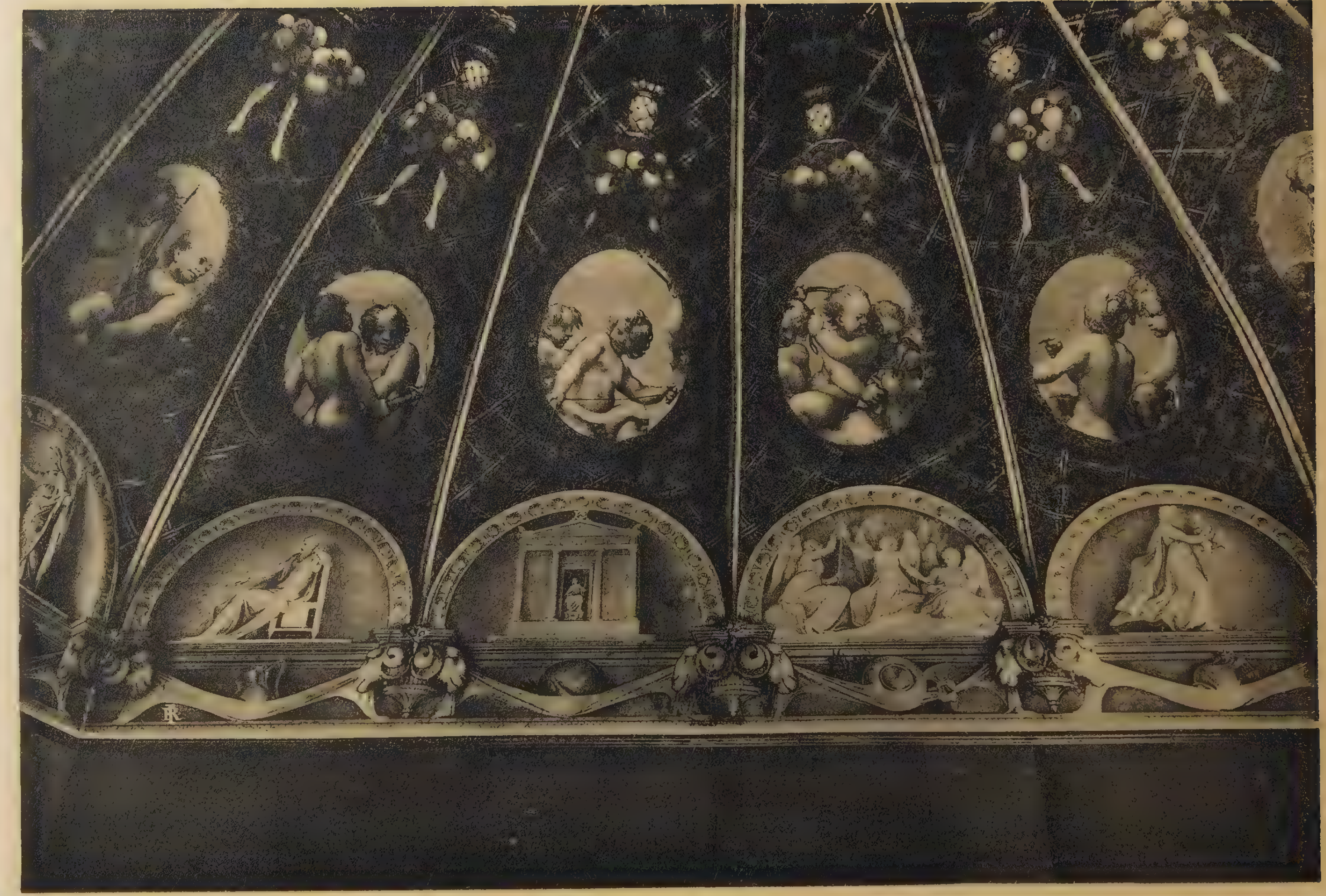
(Photo. Anderson)



XLV

CAMERA DI SAN PAOLO
Parma, Frescoes of the East Side

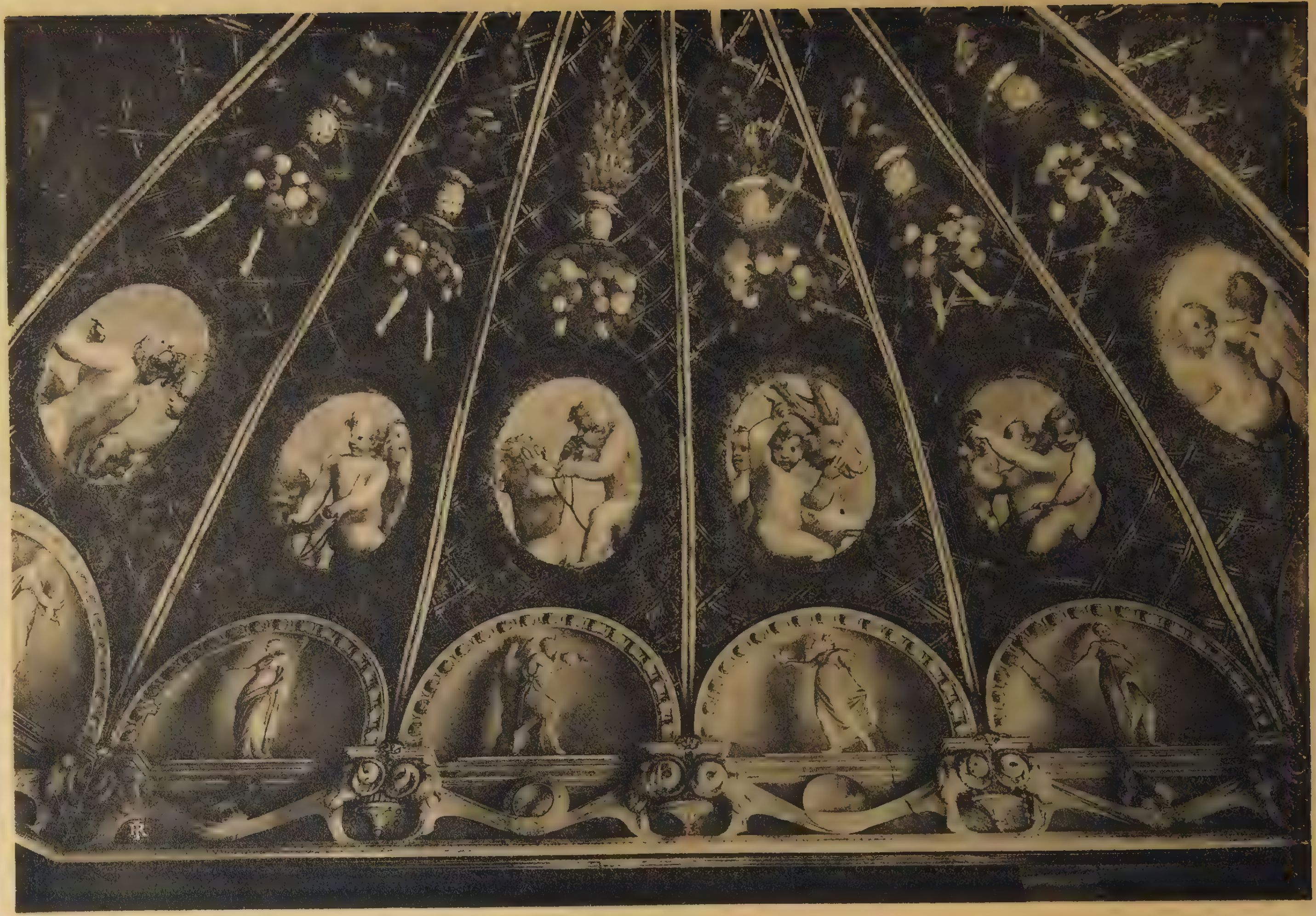
(Photo. Anderson)



XLVI

CAMERA DI SAN PAOLO
Parma, Frescoes of the South Side

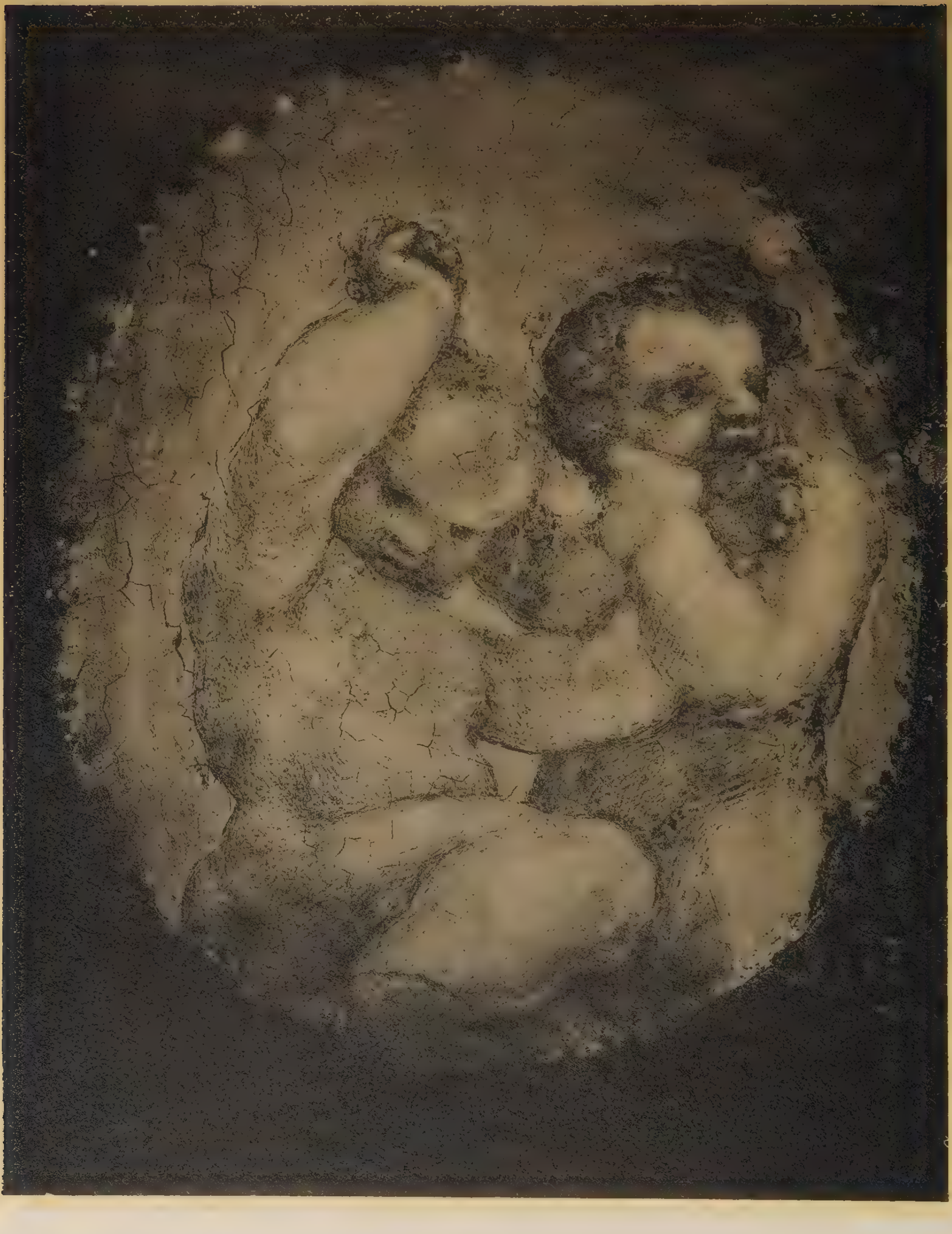
(Photo. Anderson)



XLVII

CAMERA DI SAN PAOLO
Parma, Frescoes of the West Side

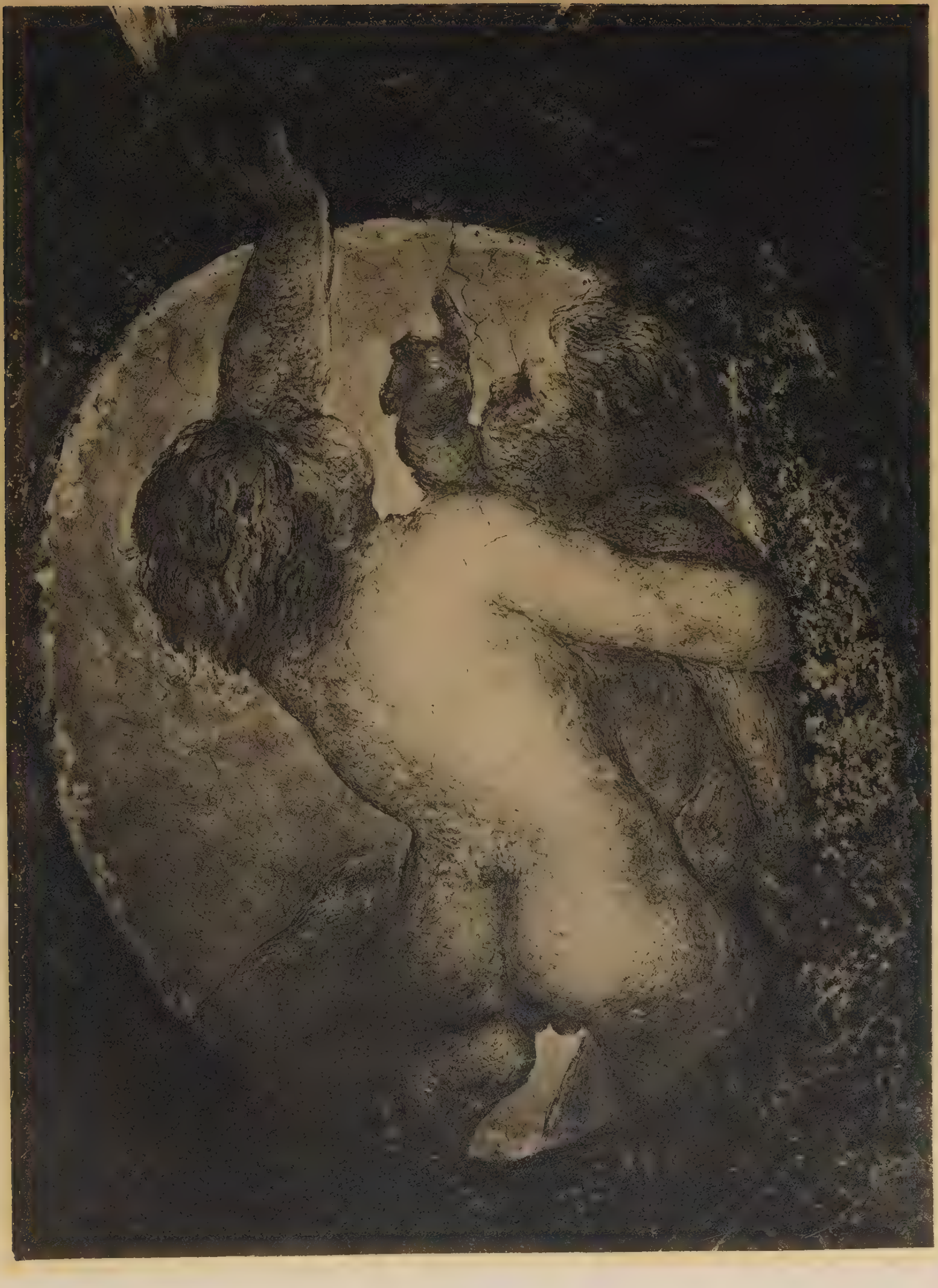
(Photo. Anderson)



XLVIII

PUTTI
Parma, Camera di San Paolo

(Photo. Anderson)

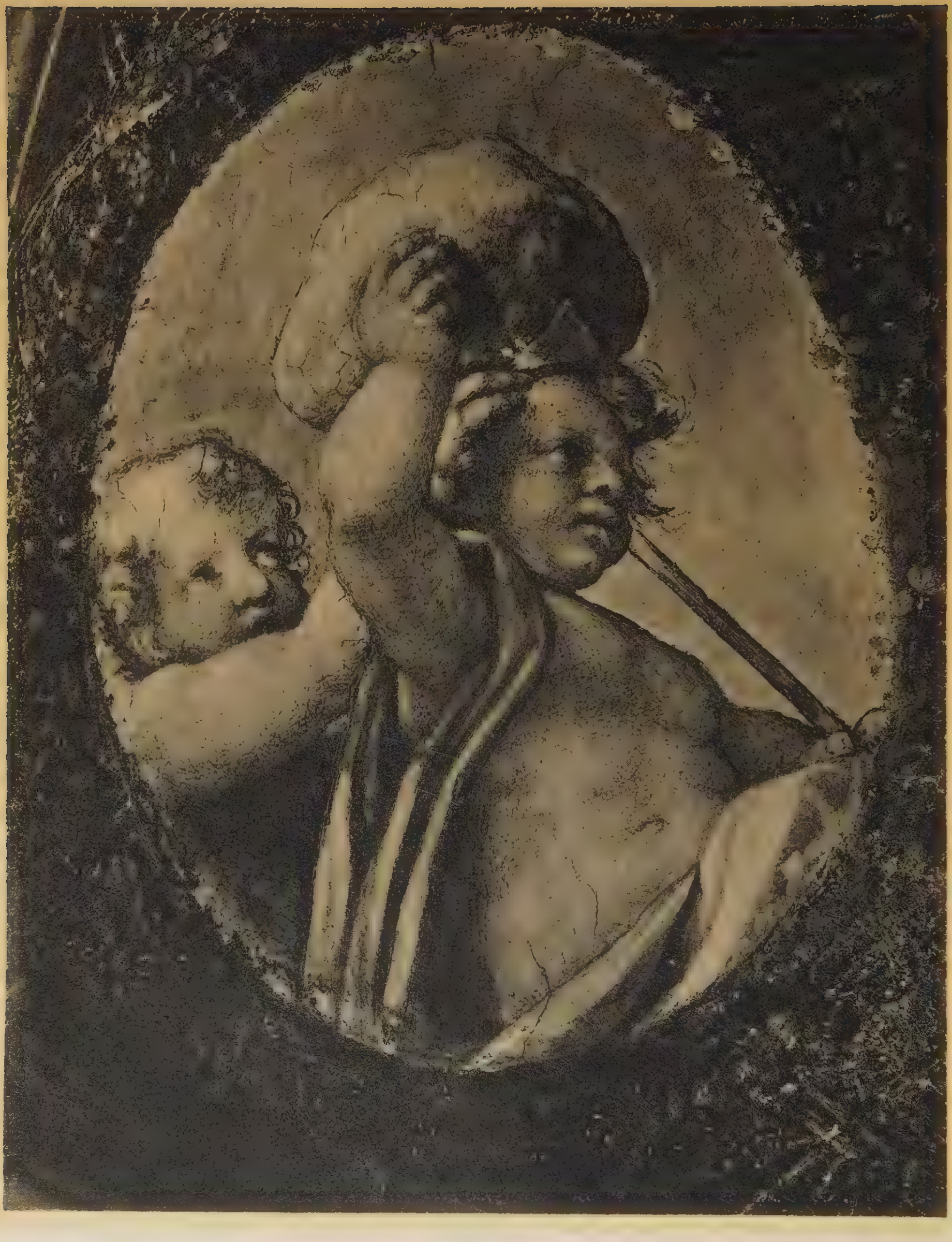


XLIX

PUTTI

Parma, Camera di San Paol

(Photo. Anderson)

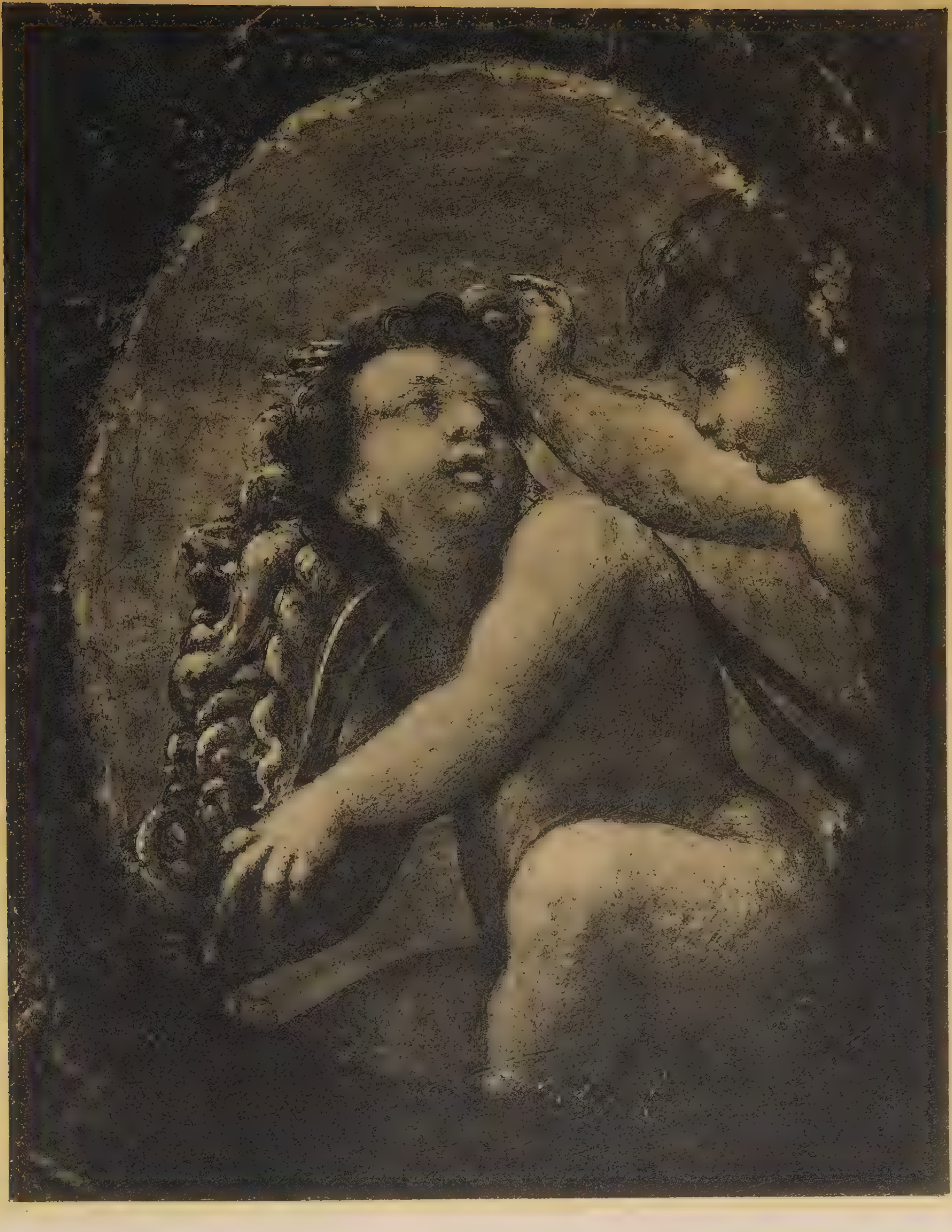


L

PUTTI

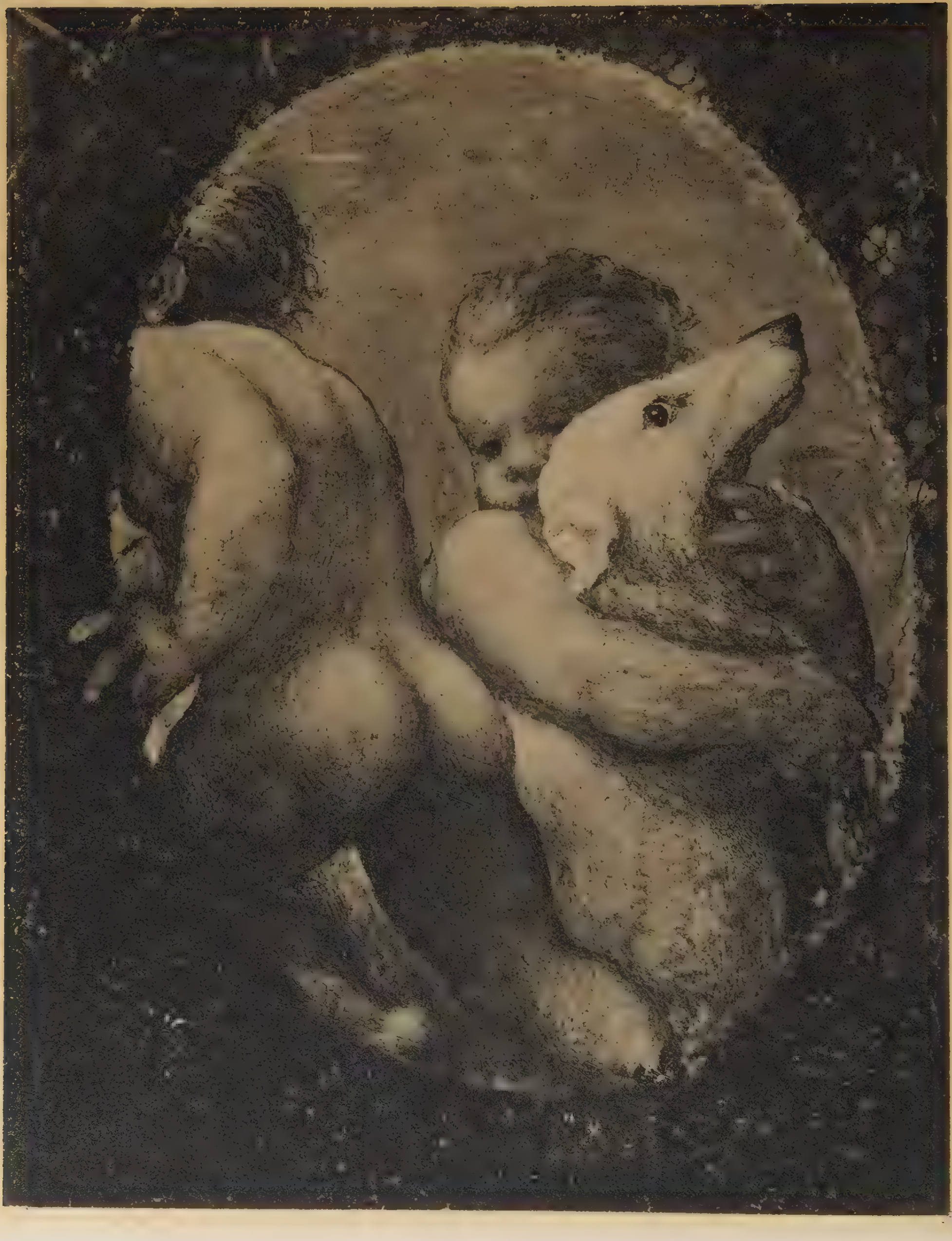
Parma, Camera di San Paolo

(Photo. Anderson)



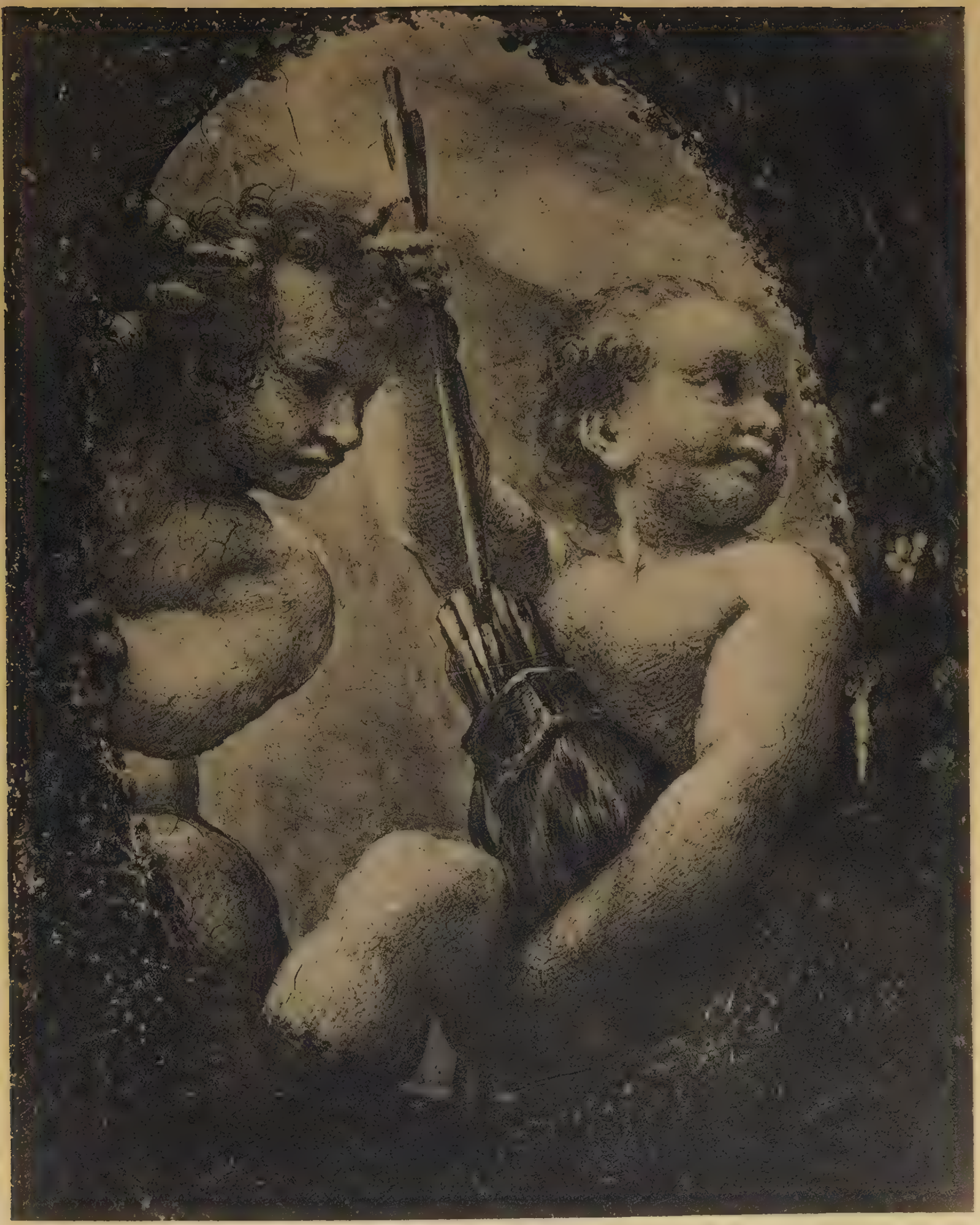
LI PUTTI (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Camera di San Paolo



LII PUTTI (Photo. Anderson)

Parma. Camera di San Paolo

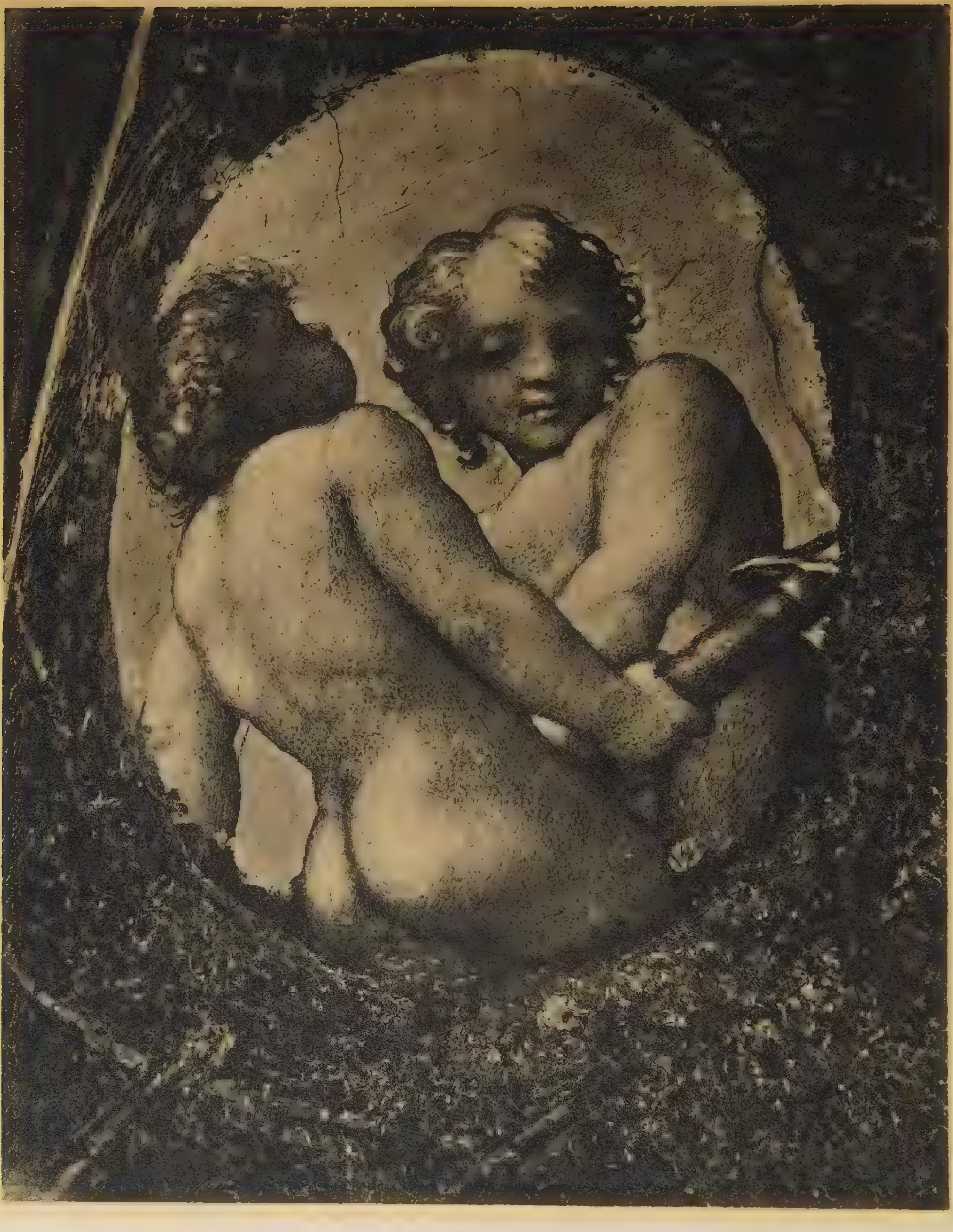


LIII

PUTTI

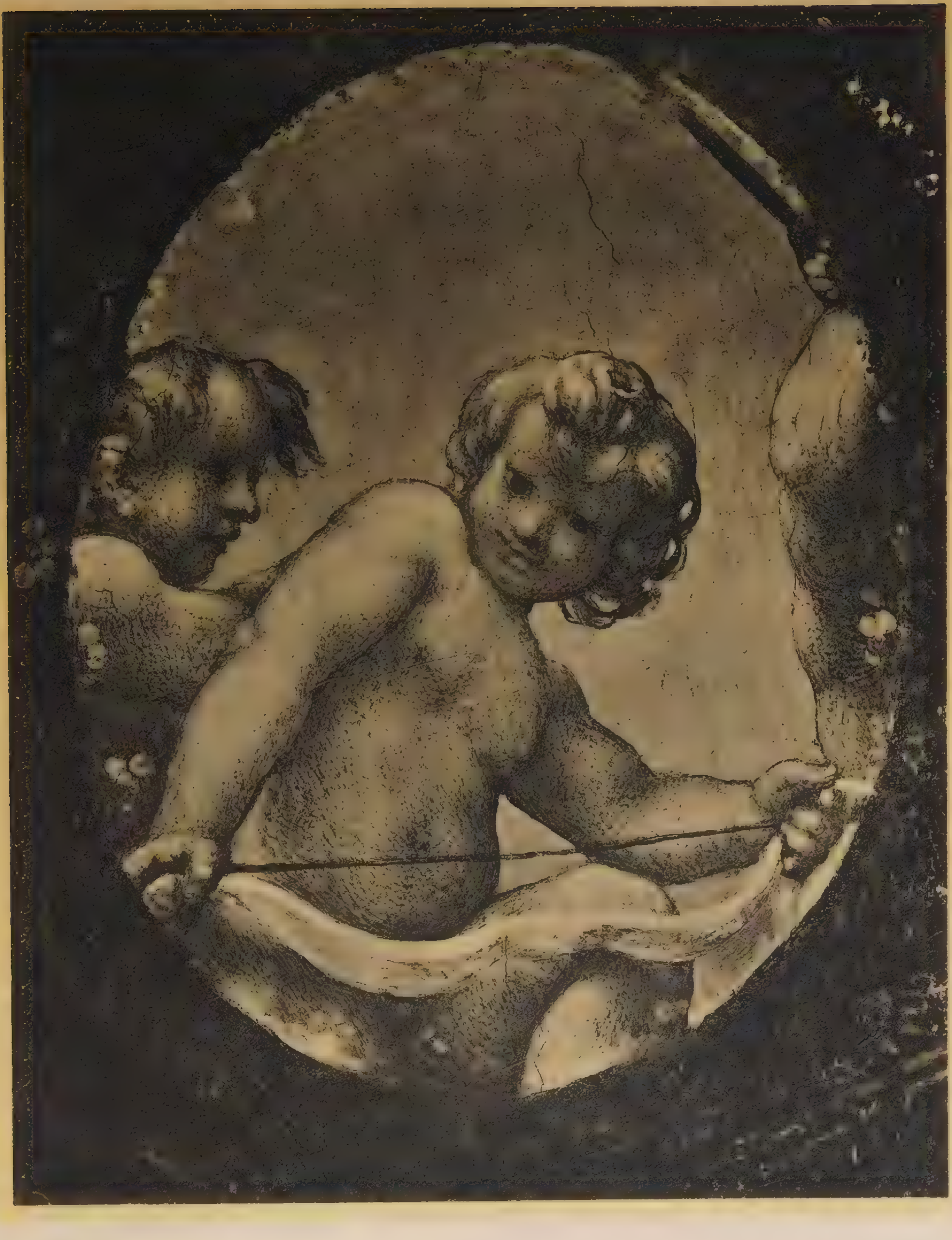
Parma, Camera di San Paolo

(Photo. Anderson)



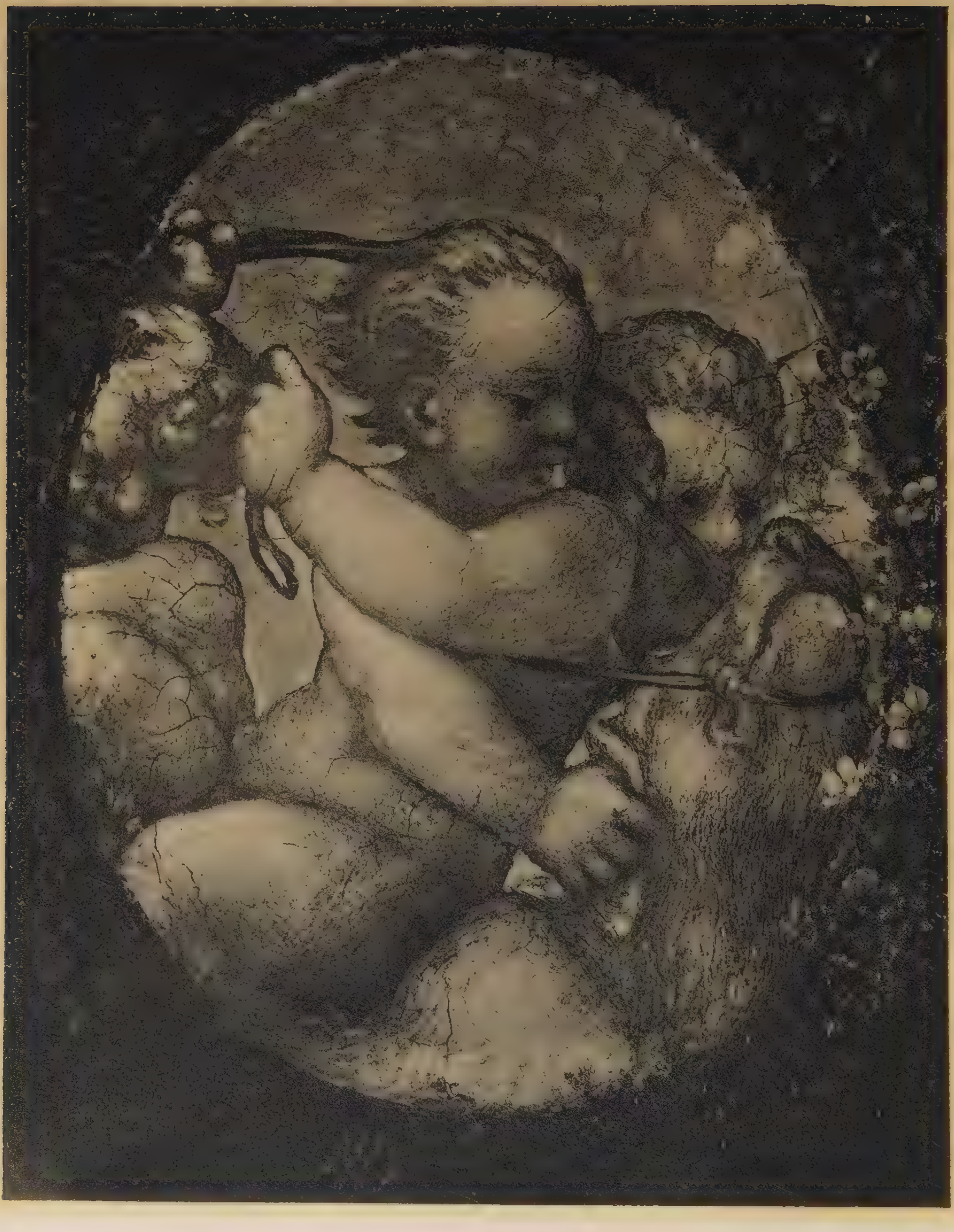
LIV PUTTI (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Camera di San Paolo



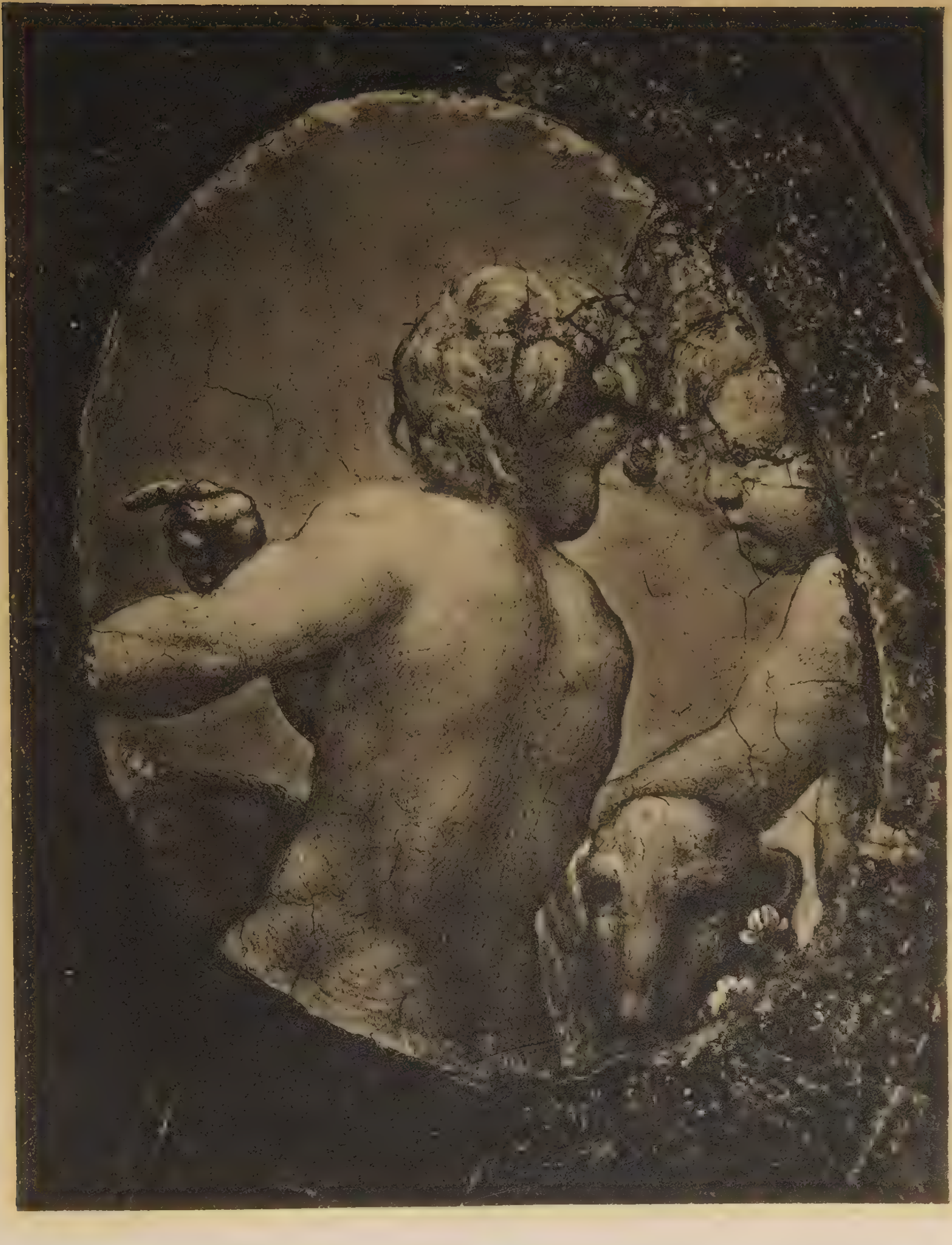
LV PUTTI (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Camera di San Paolo



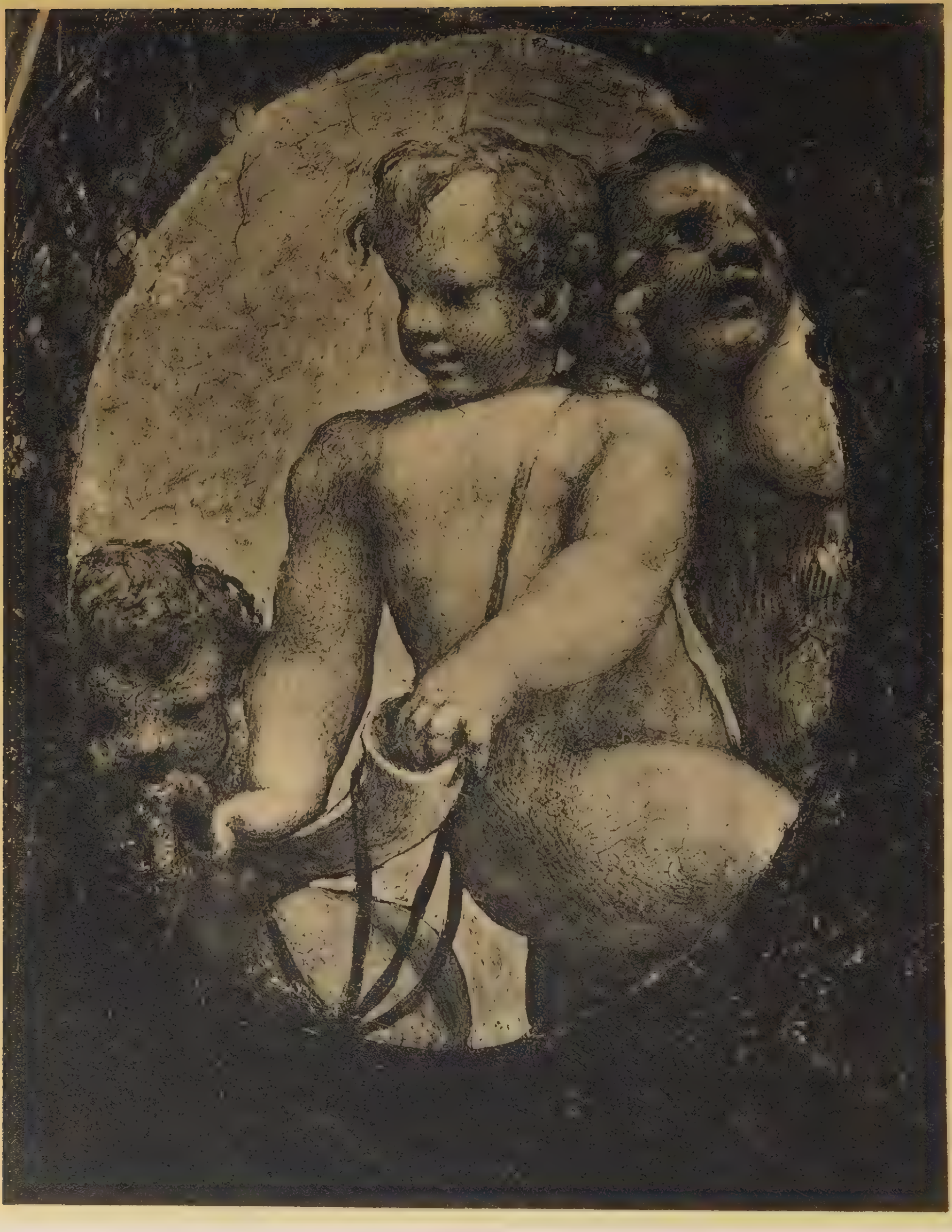
LVI PUTTI (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Camera di San Paolo



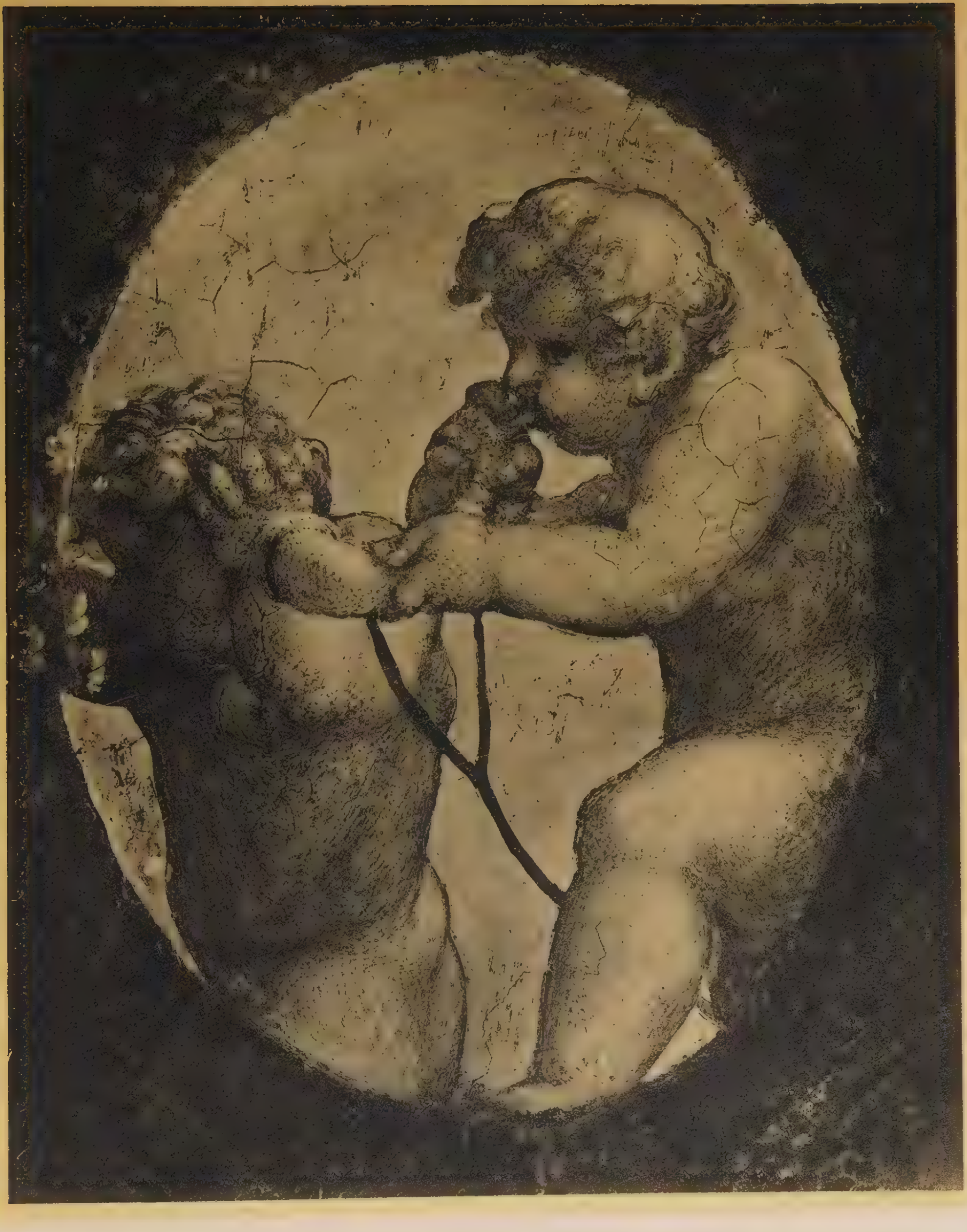
LVII PUTTI (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Camera di San Paolo



LVIII PUTTI (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Camera di San Paolo

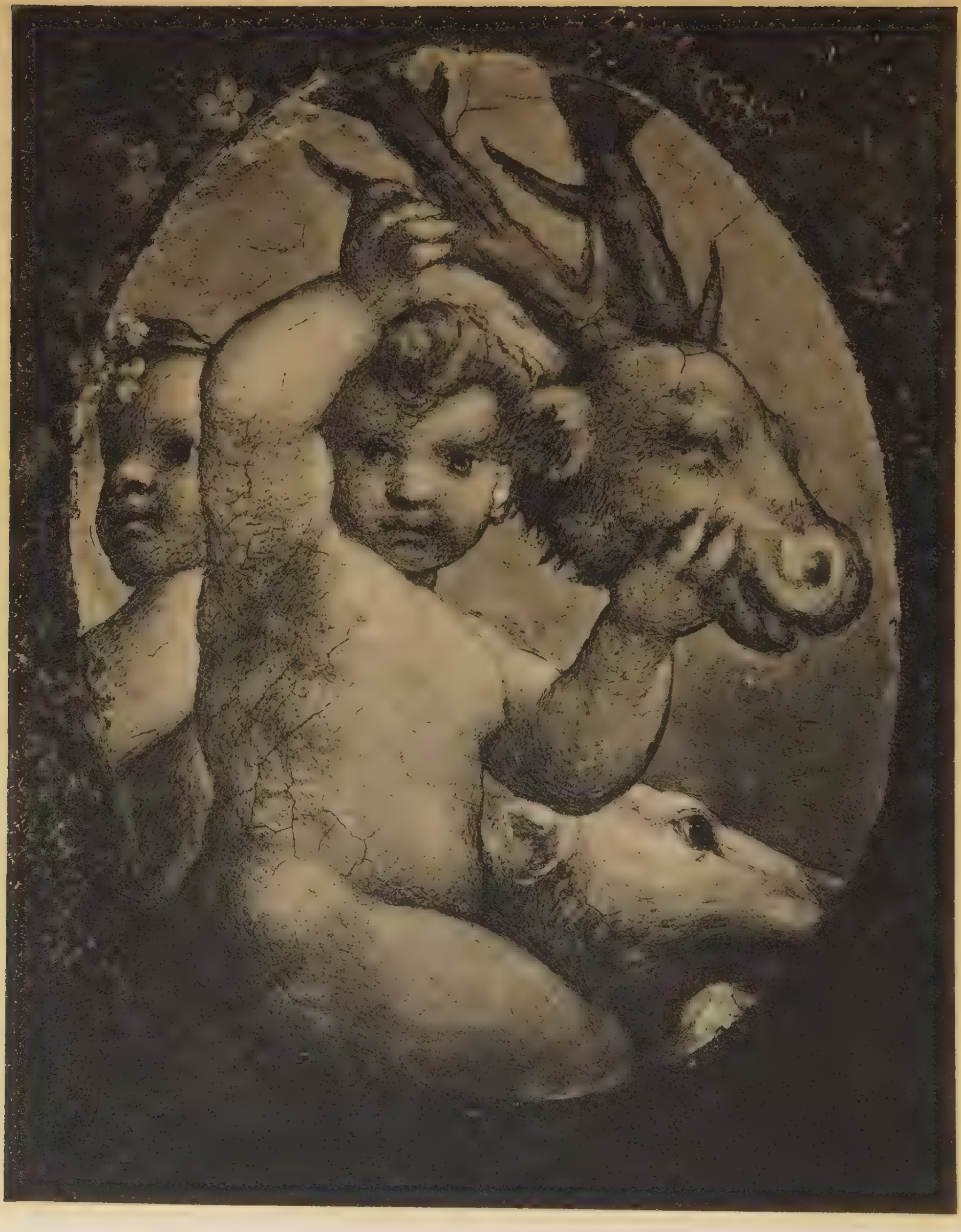


LIX

PUTTI

Parma, Camera di San Paolo

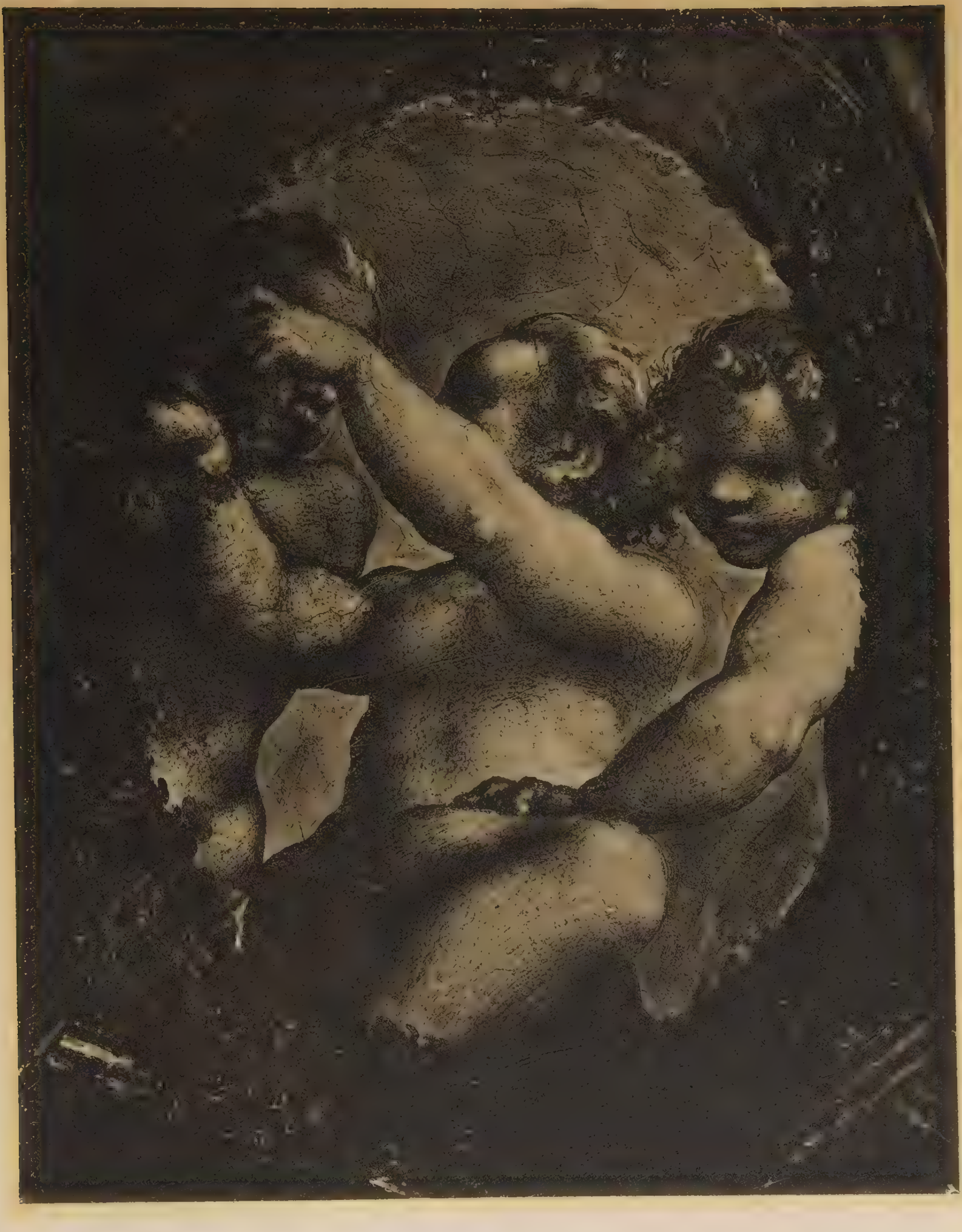
(Photo. Anderson)



LX

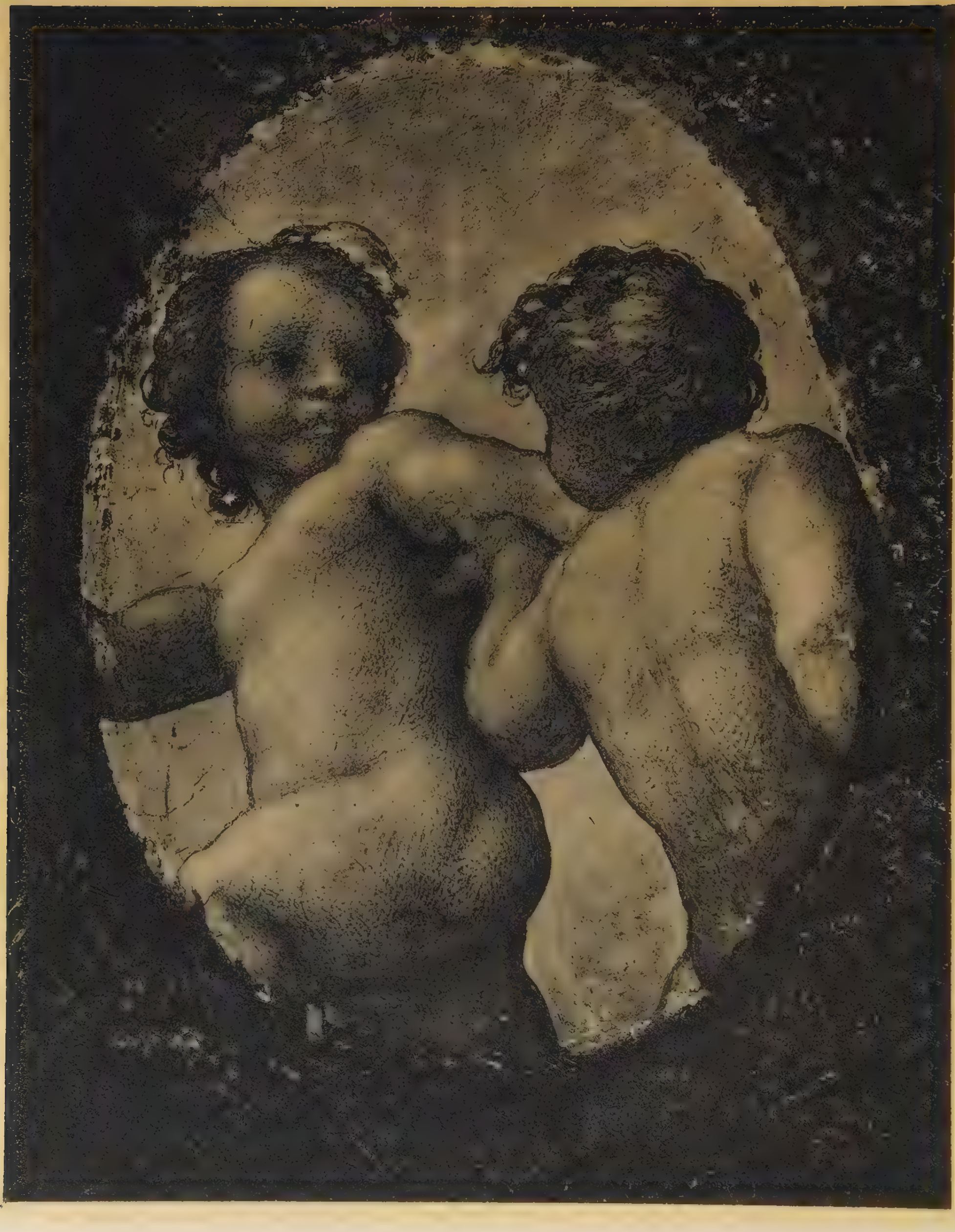
PUTTI
Parma, Camera di San Paolo

(Photo. Anderson)



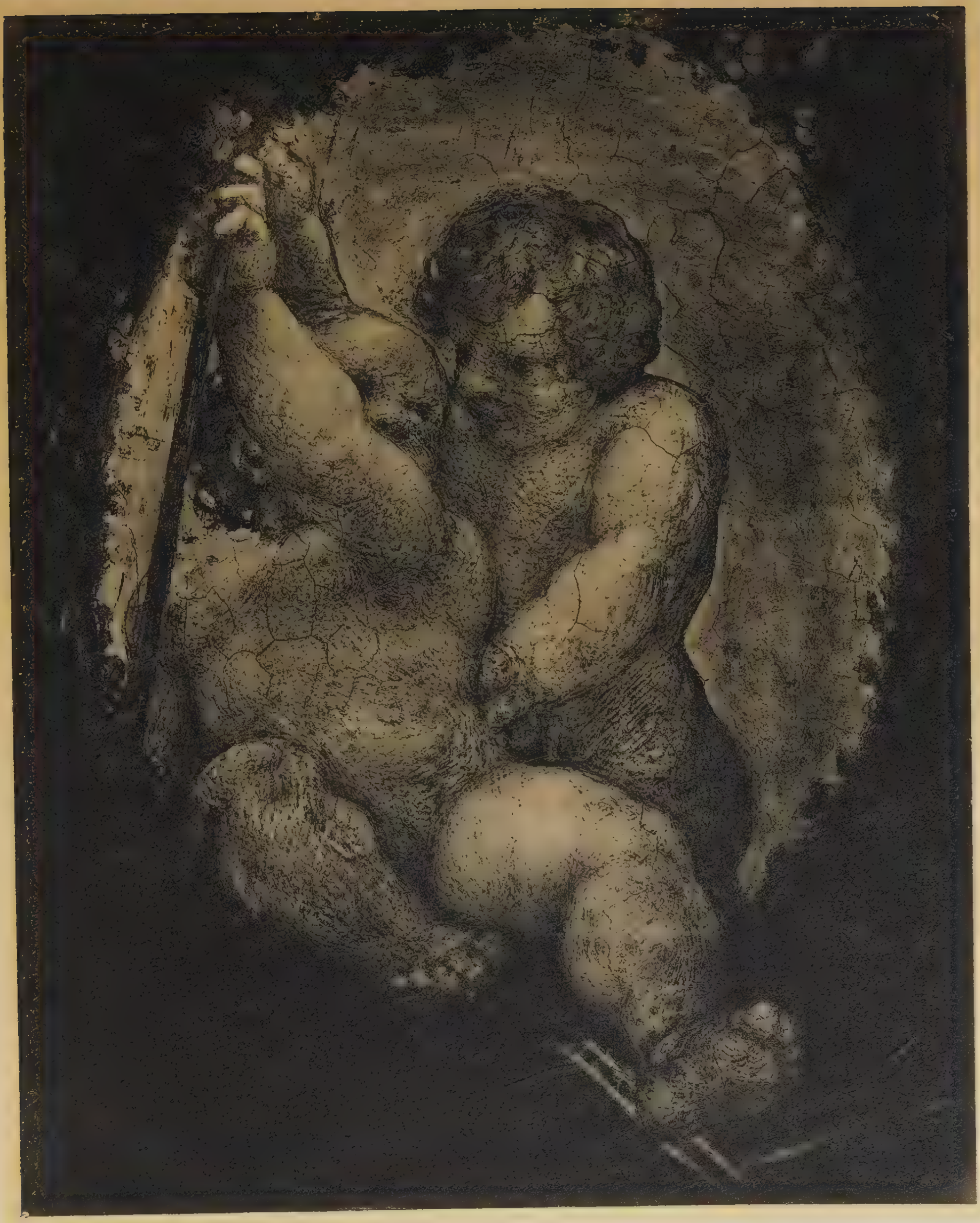
LXI PUTTI (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Camera di San Paolo



LXII PUTTI (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Camera di San Paolo

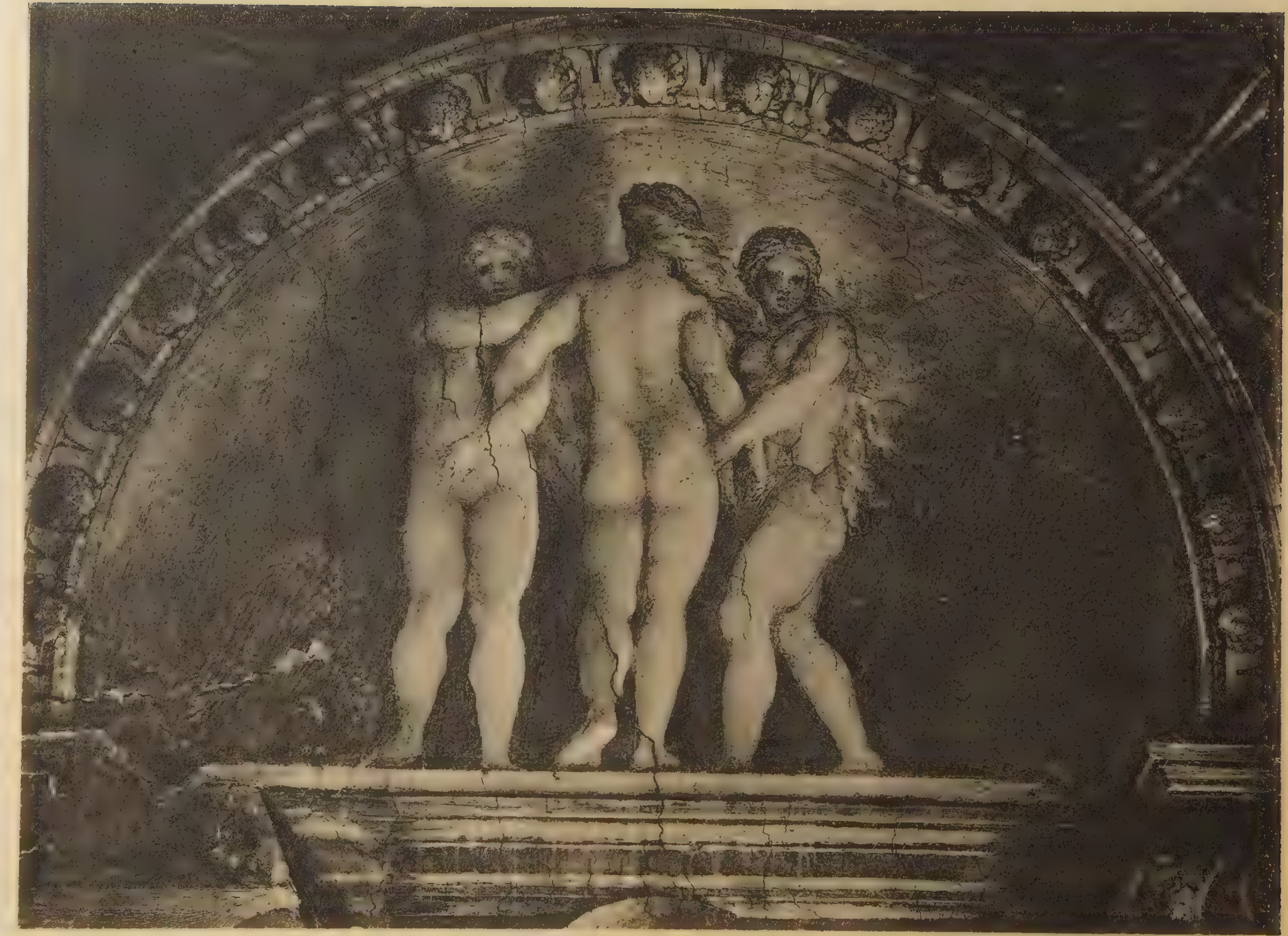


LXIII

PUTTI

Parma, Camera di San Paolo

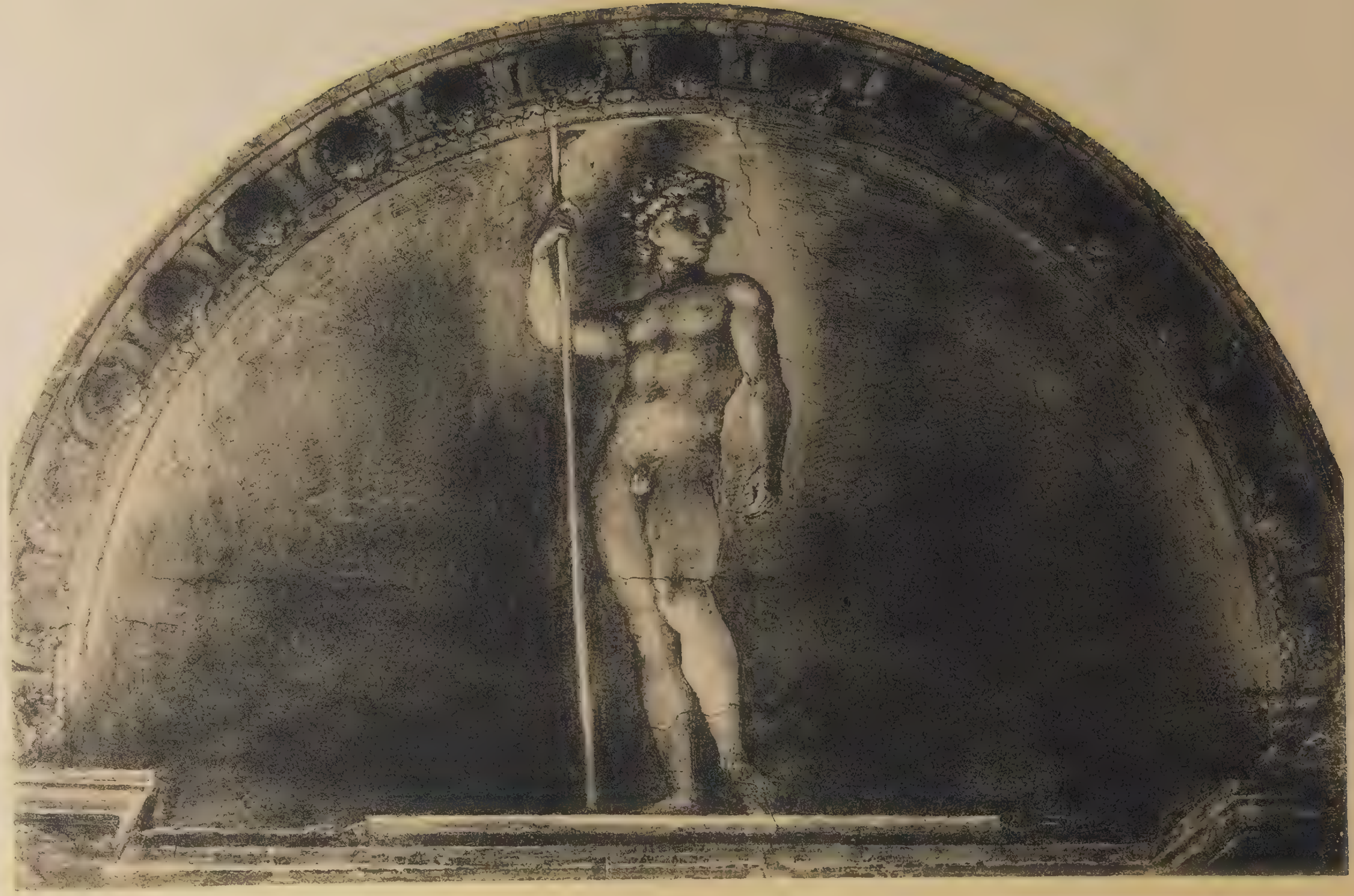
(Photo. Anderson)



LXIV

THE THREE GRACES
Parma, Camera di San Paolo

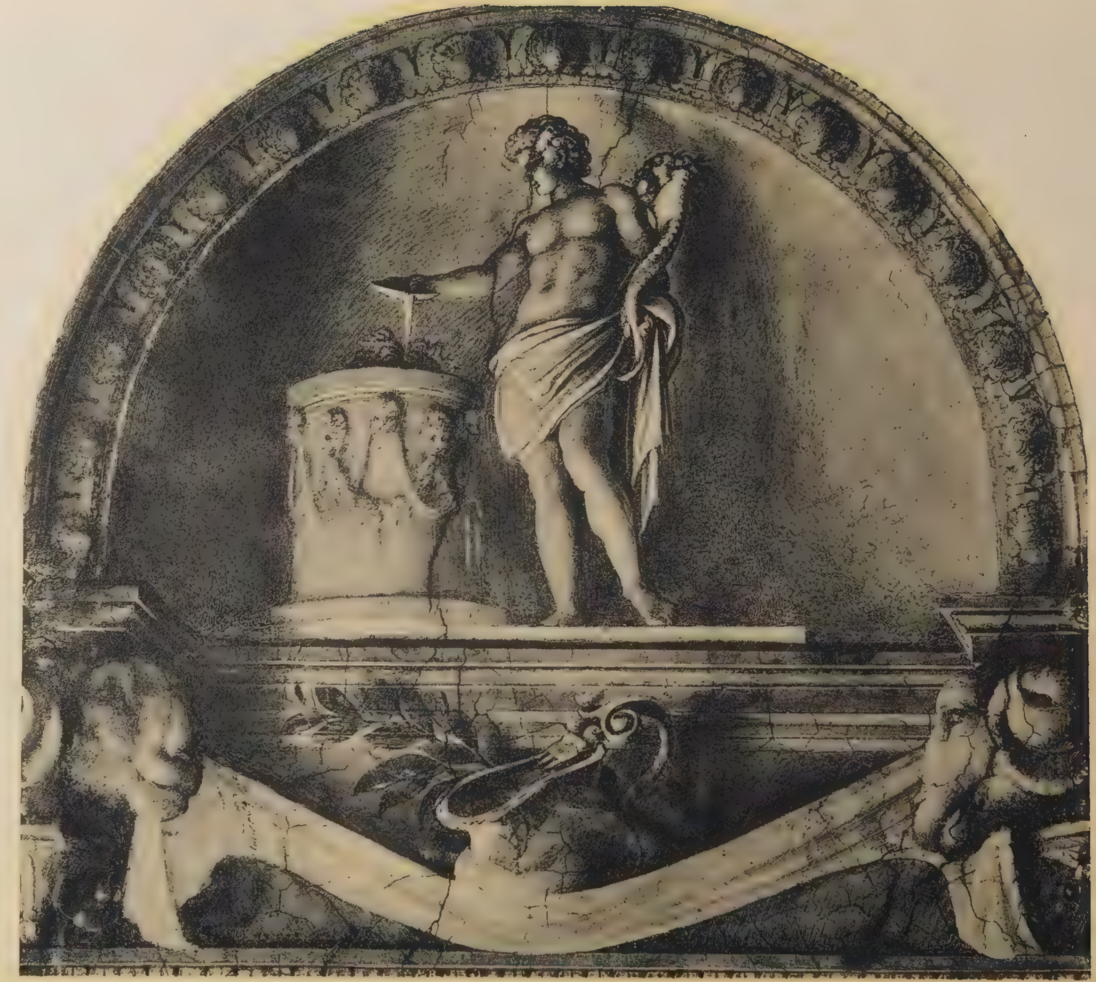
(Photo. Anderson)



LXV

ADONIS
Parma, Camera di San Paolo

(Photo. Anderson)

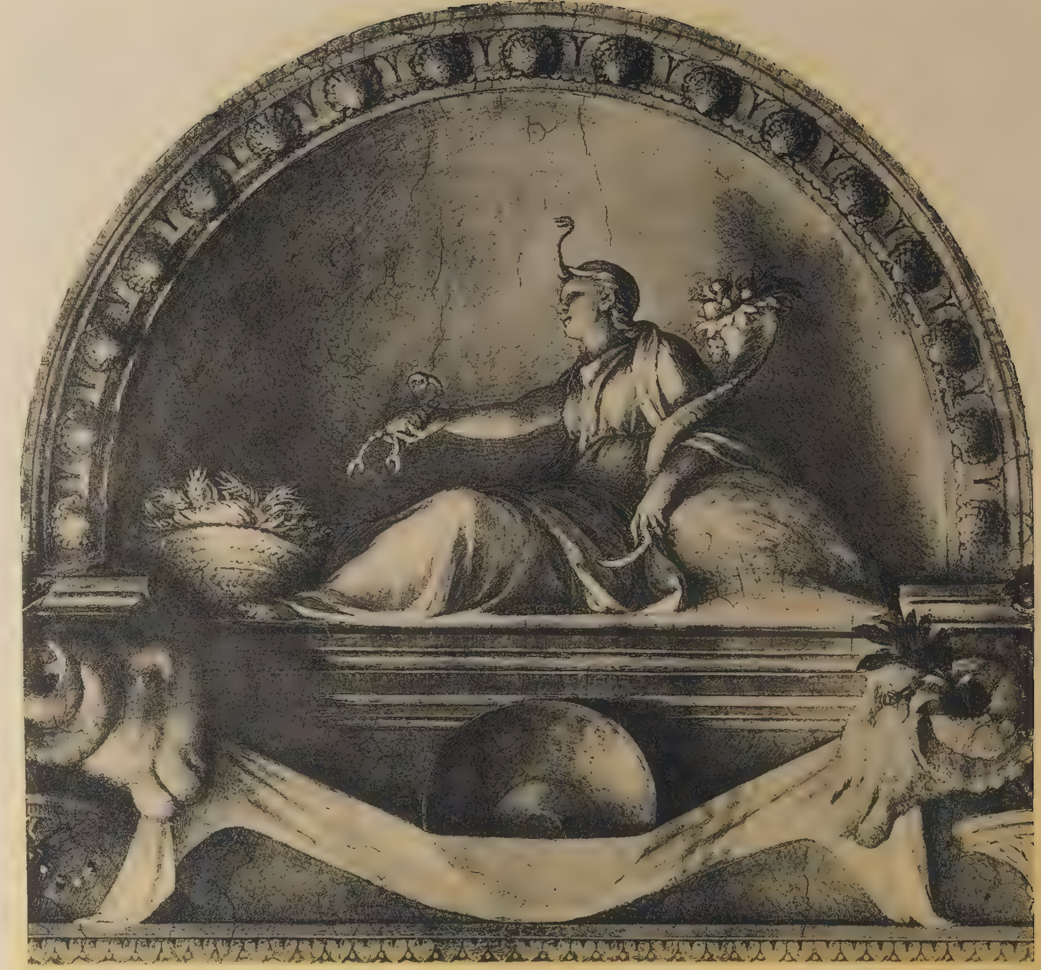


LXVI

GENIUS POPULI ROMANI

Parma, Camera di San Paolo

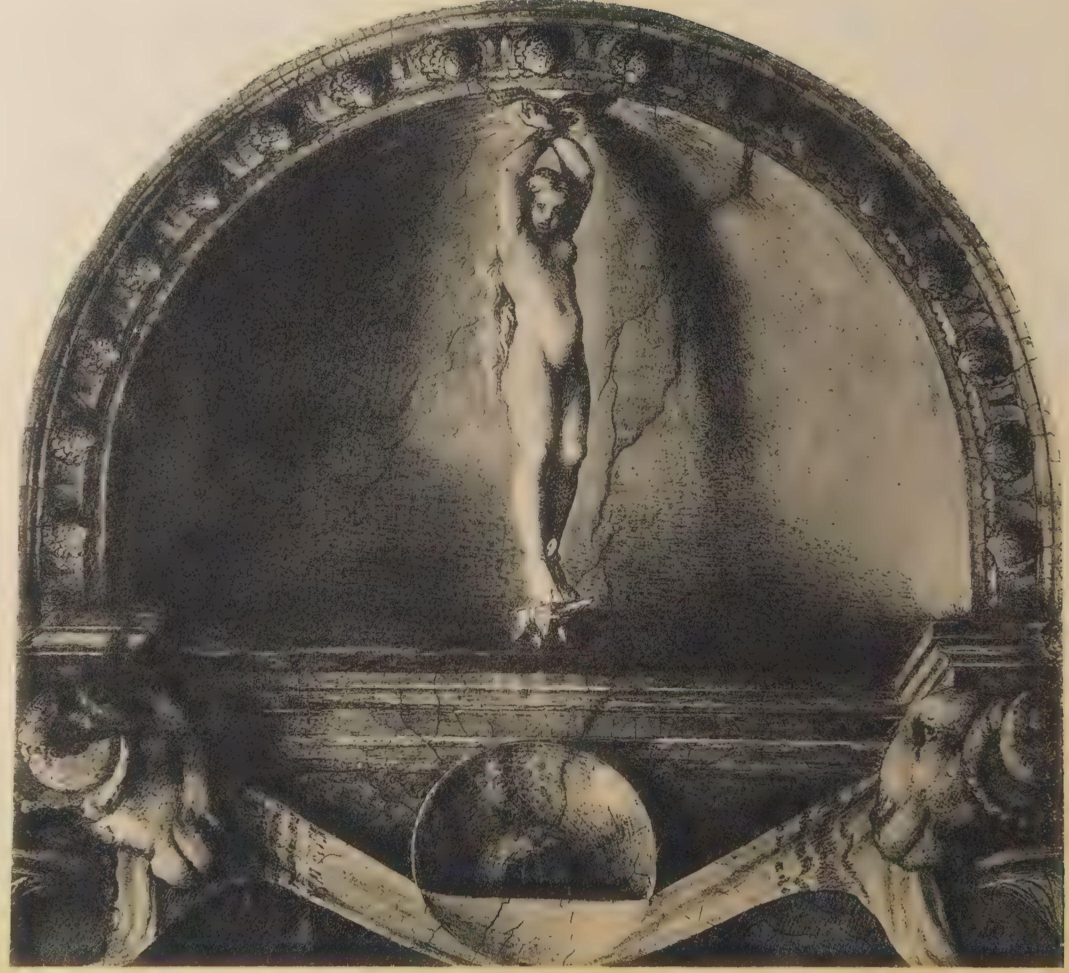
(*Photo. Anderson*)



LXVII

AFRICA
Parma, Camera di San Paolo

(*Photo. Anderson*)

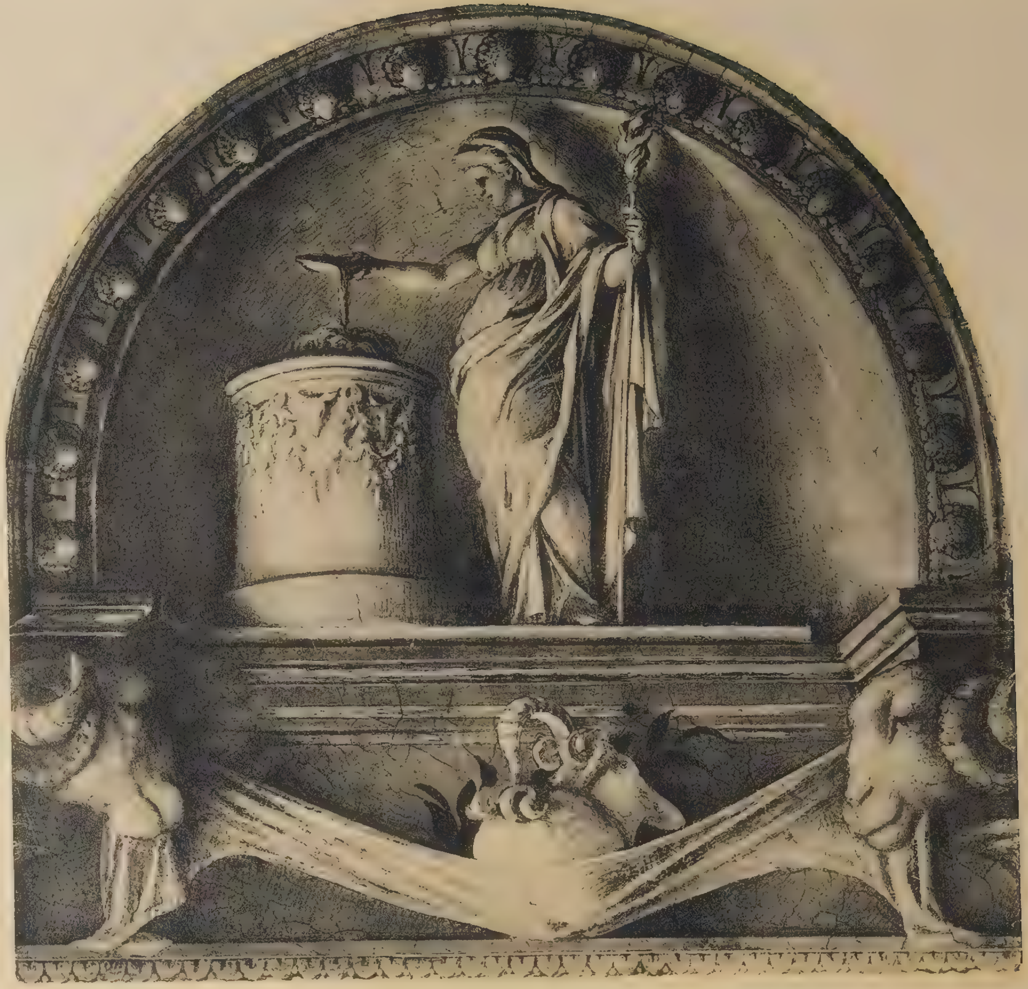


LXVIII

JUNO PUNISHED

Parma, Camera di San Paolo

(Photo. Anderson)

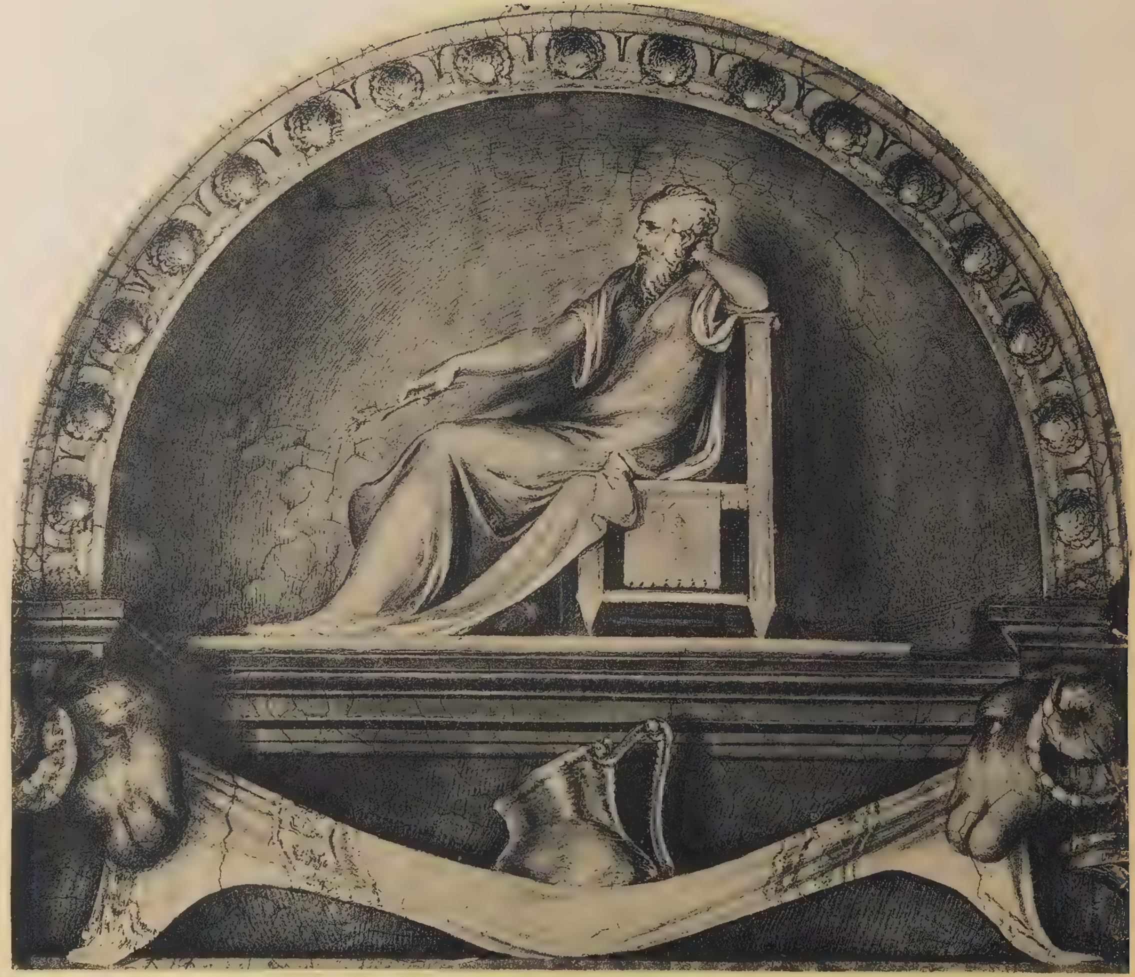


LXIX

VESTA

Parma, Camera di San Paolo

(Photo. Anderson)

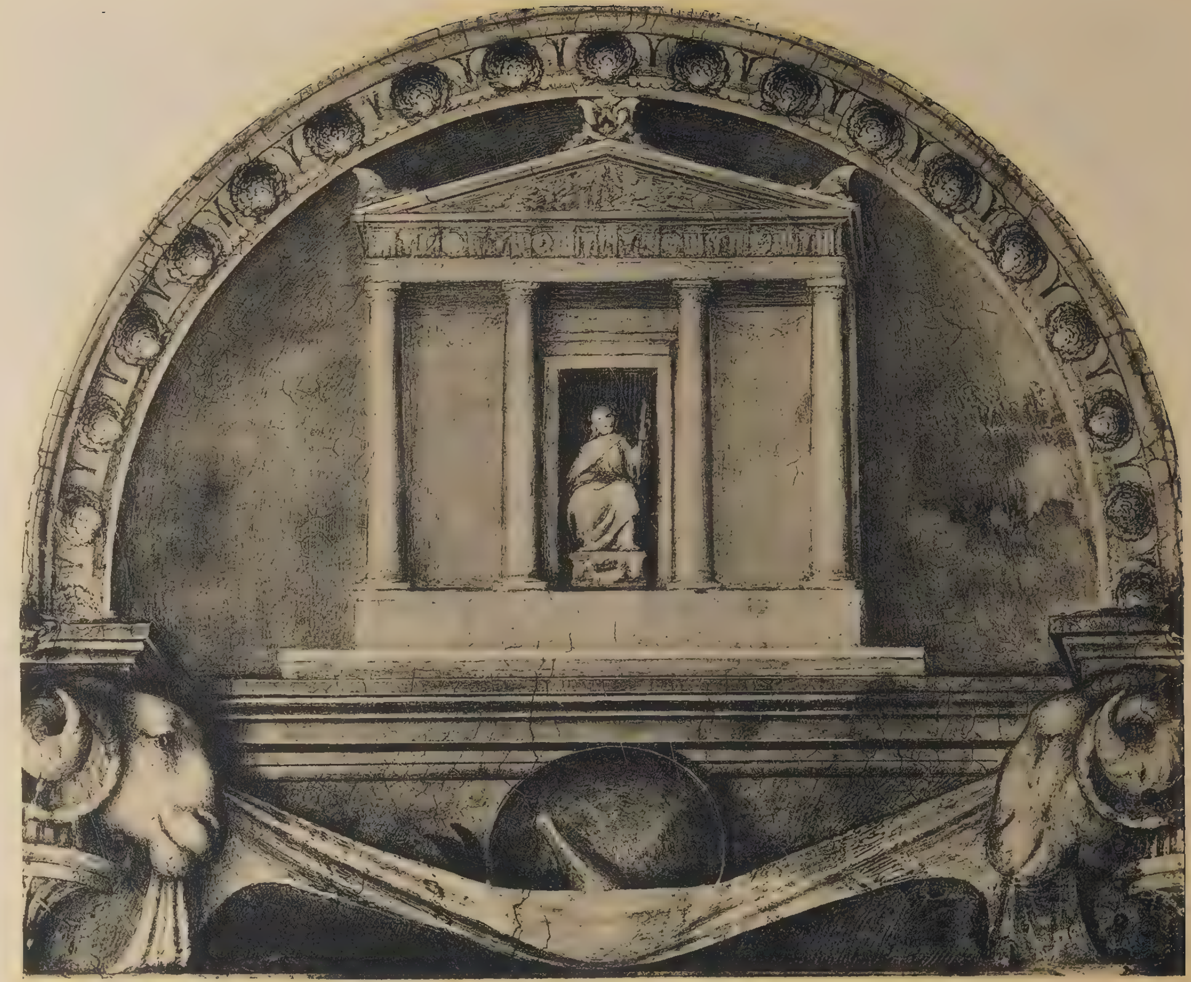


LXX

A PHILOSOPHER

Parma, Camera di San Paolo

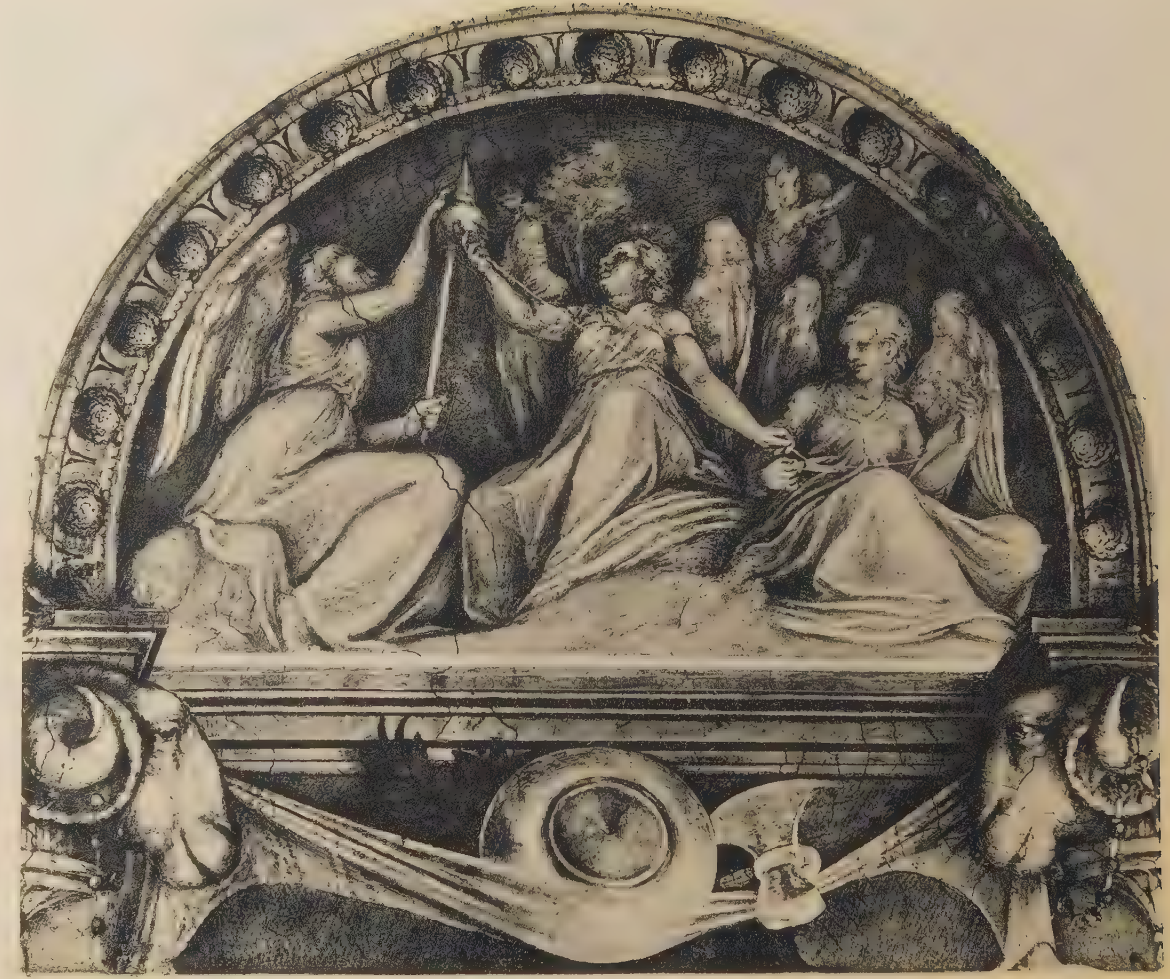
(*Photo. Anderson*)



LXXI

THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER
Parma, Camera di San Paolo

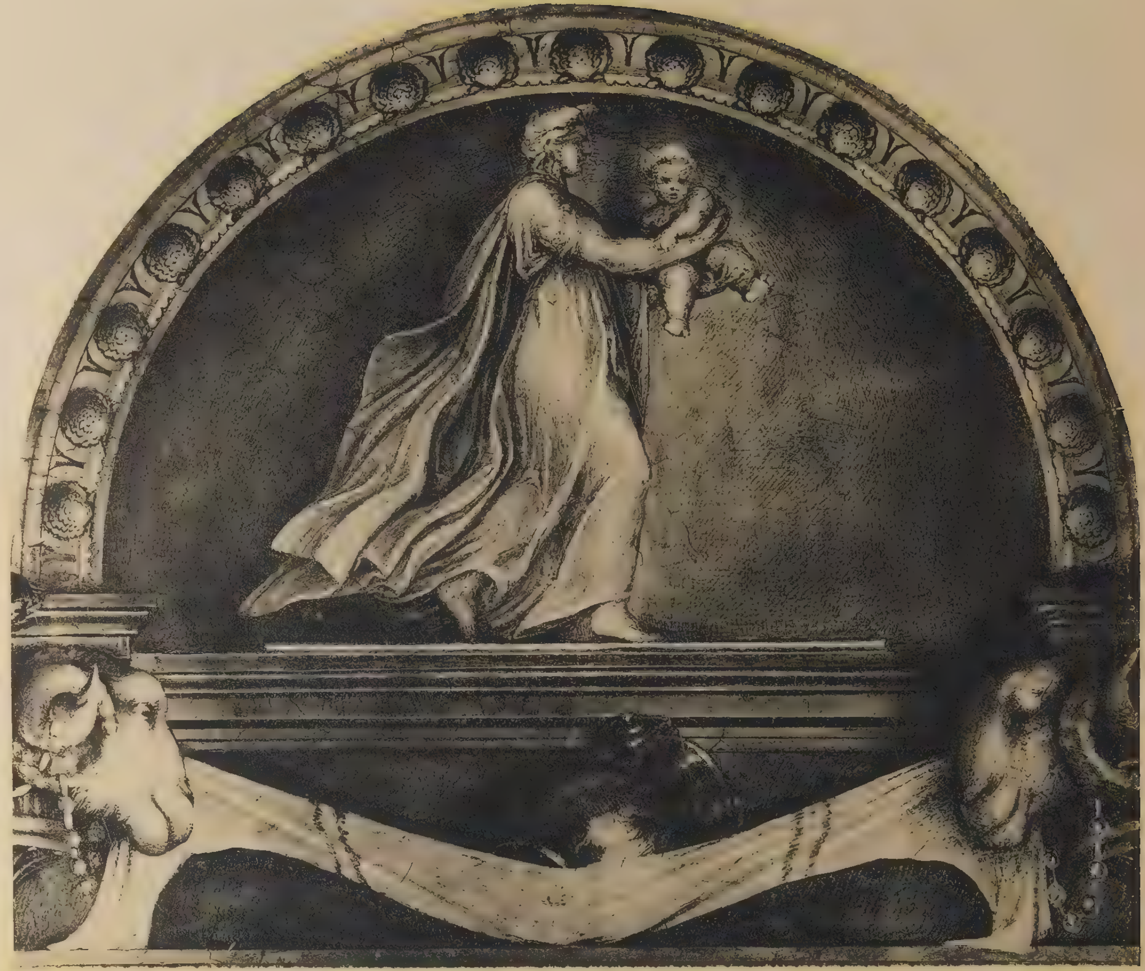
(Photo. Anderson)



LXXII

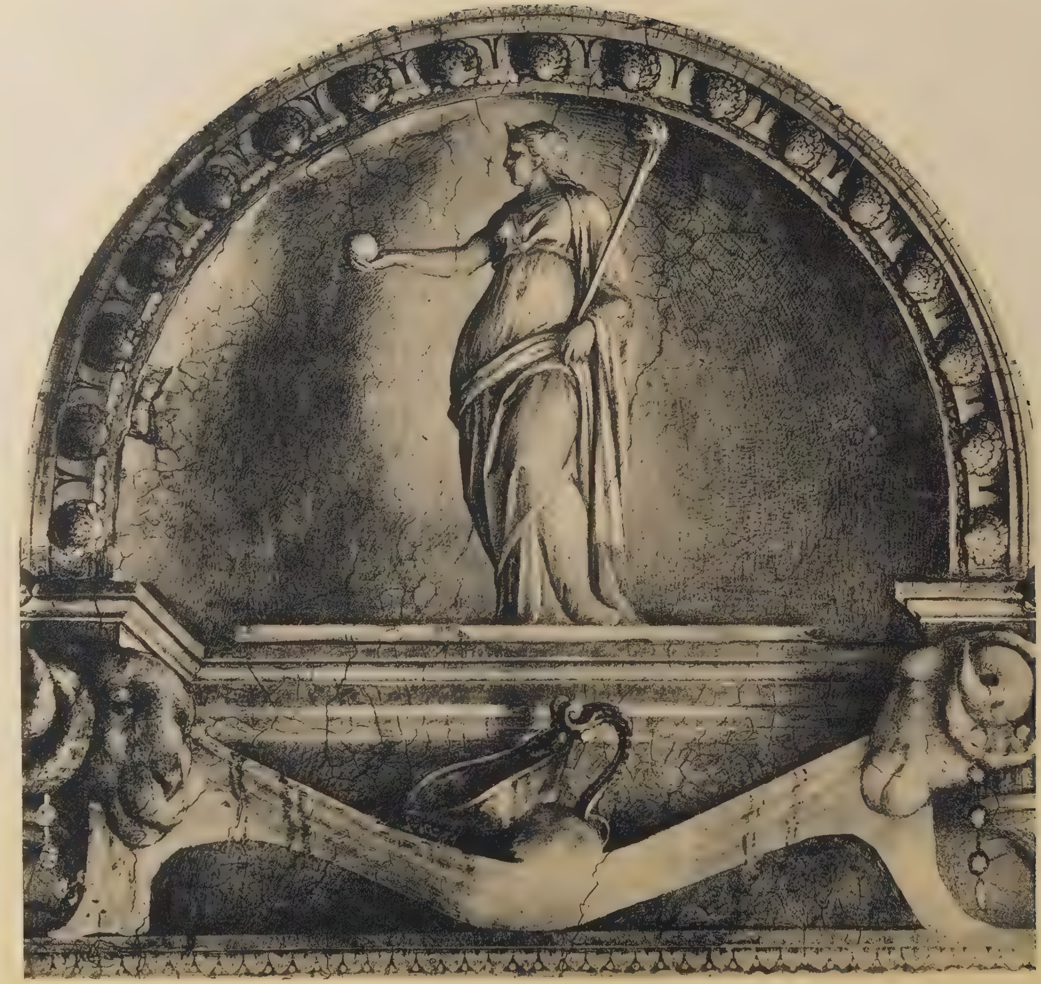
THE THREE FATES
Parma, Camera di San Paolo

(*Photo. Anderson*)



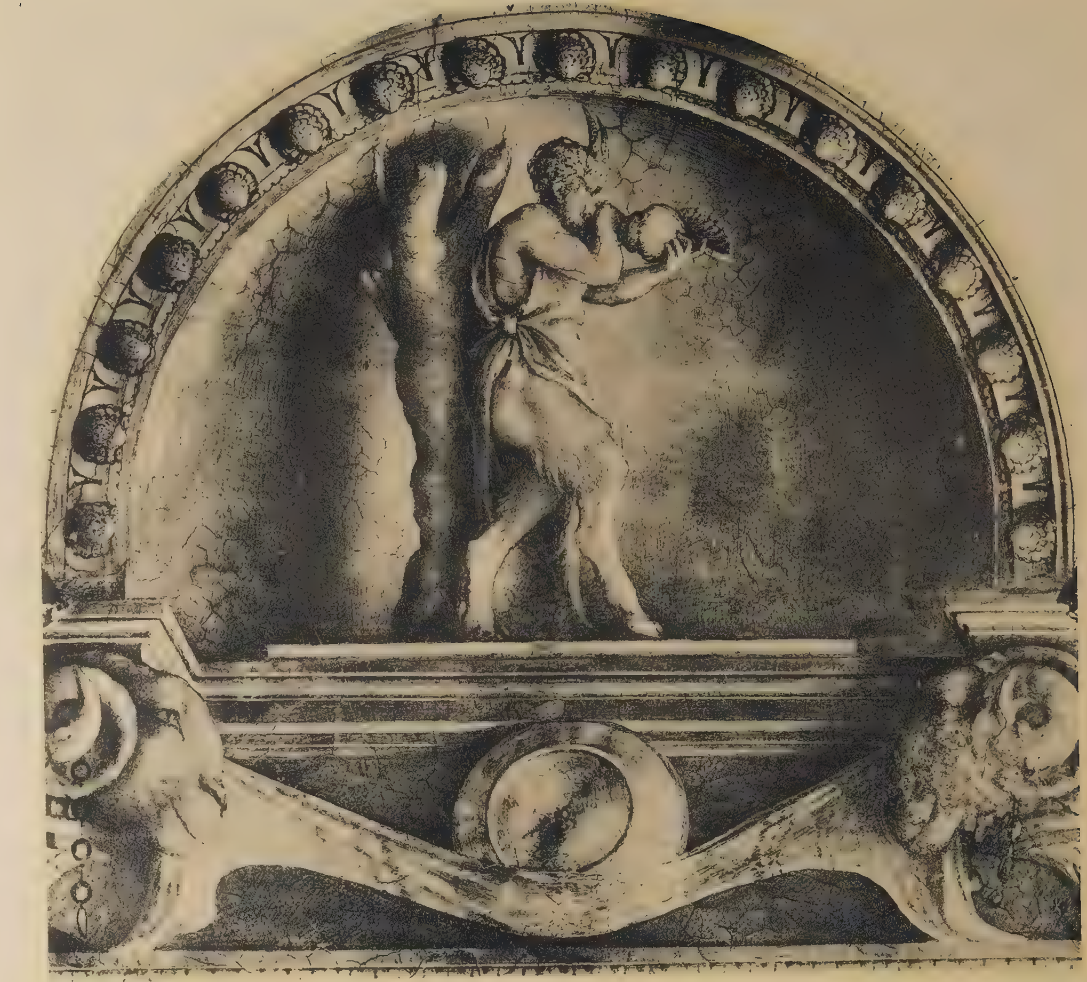
LXXIII INO LEUCOTHEA WITH THE INFANT BACCHUS (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Camera di San Paolo



LXXIV CERES or PROVIDENCE (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Camera di San Paolo

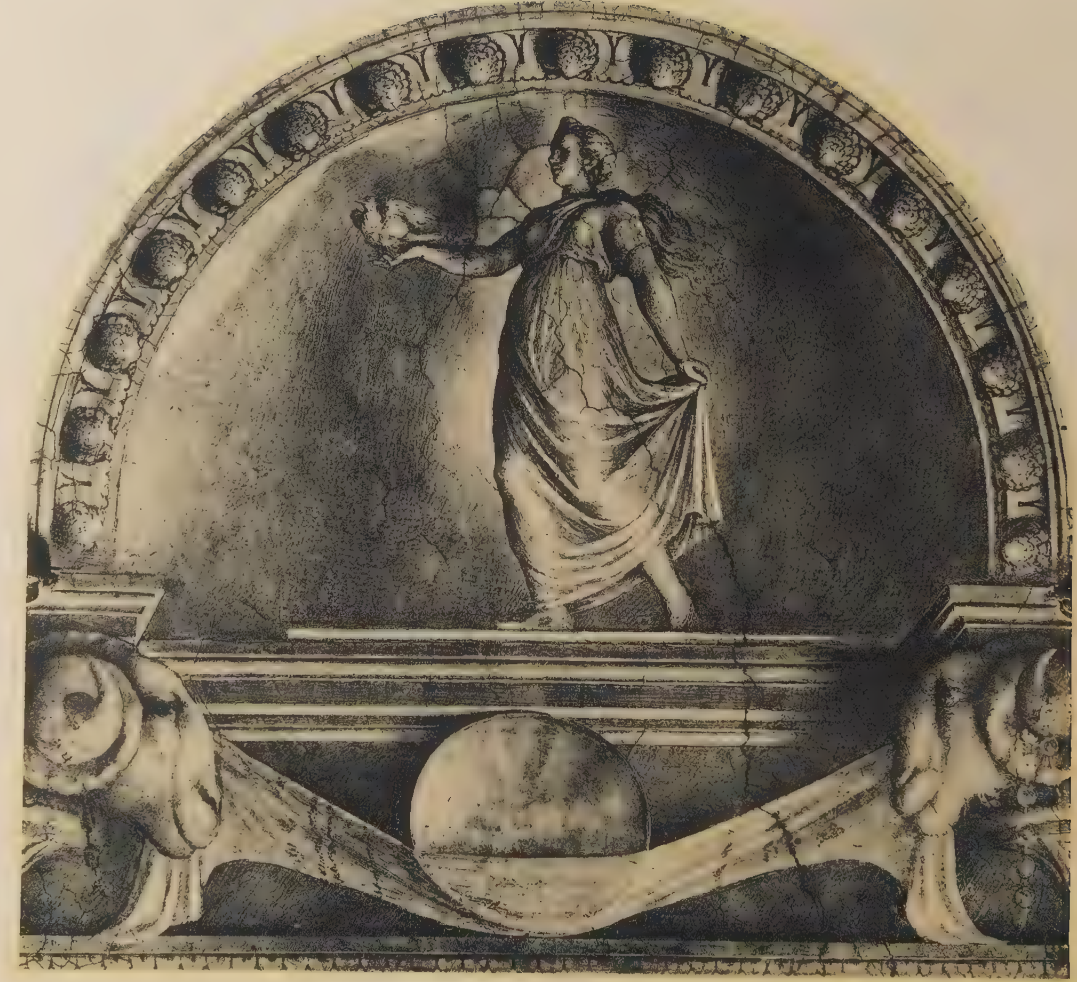


LXXV

SATYR OR PAN

Parma, Camera di San Paolo

(Photo. Anderson)

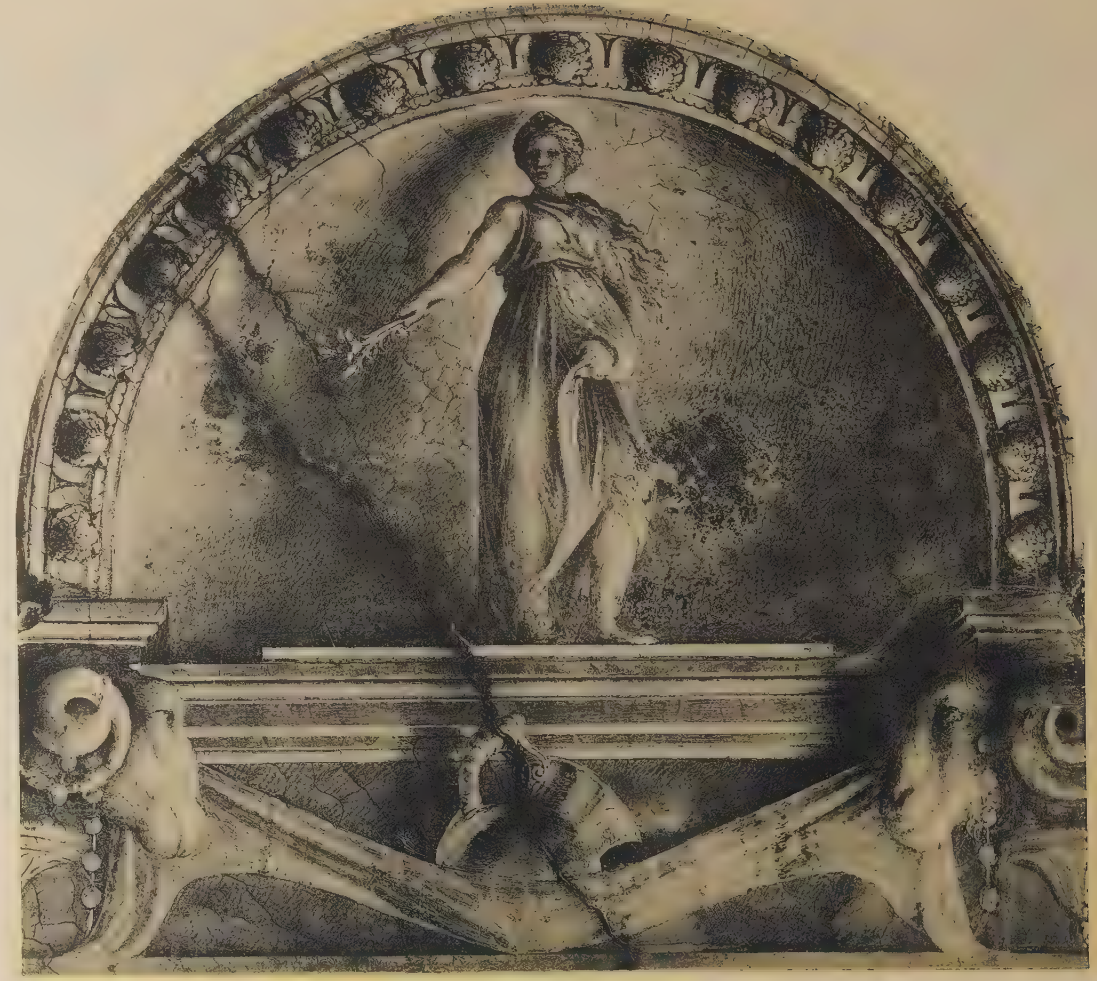


LXXVI

CHASTITY

Parma, Camera di San Paolo

(Photo. Anderson)

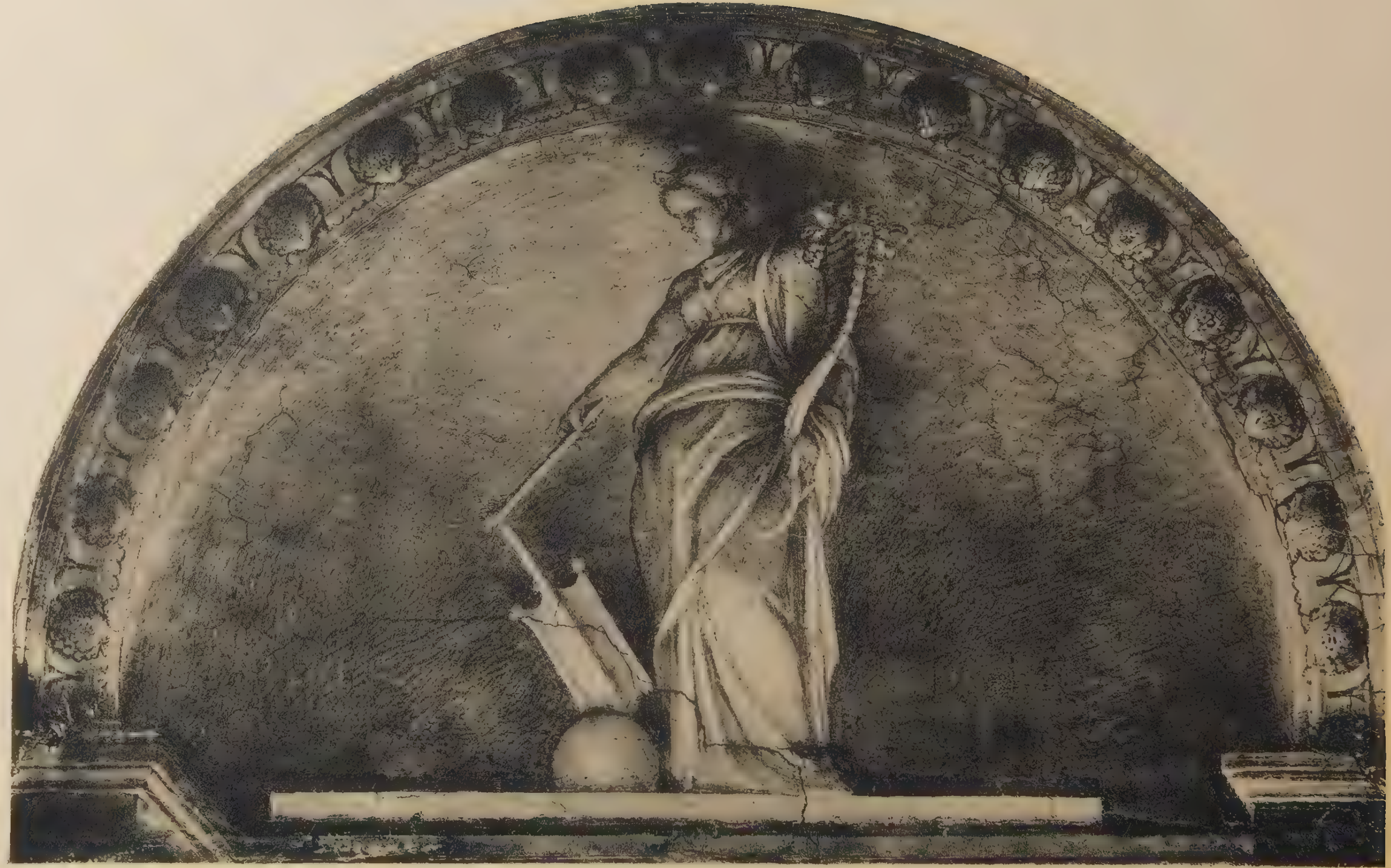


LXXVII

VIRGINITY

Parma, Camera di San Paolo

(Photo. Anderson)

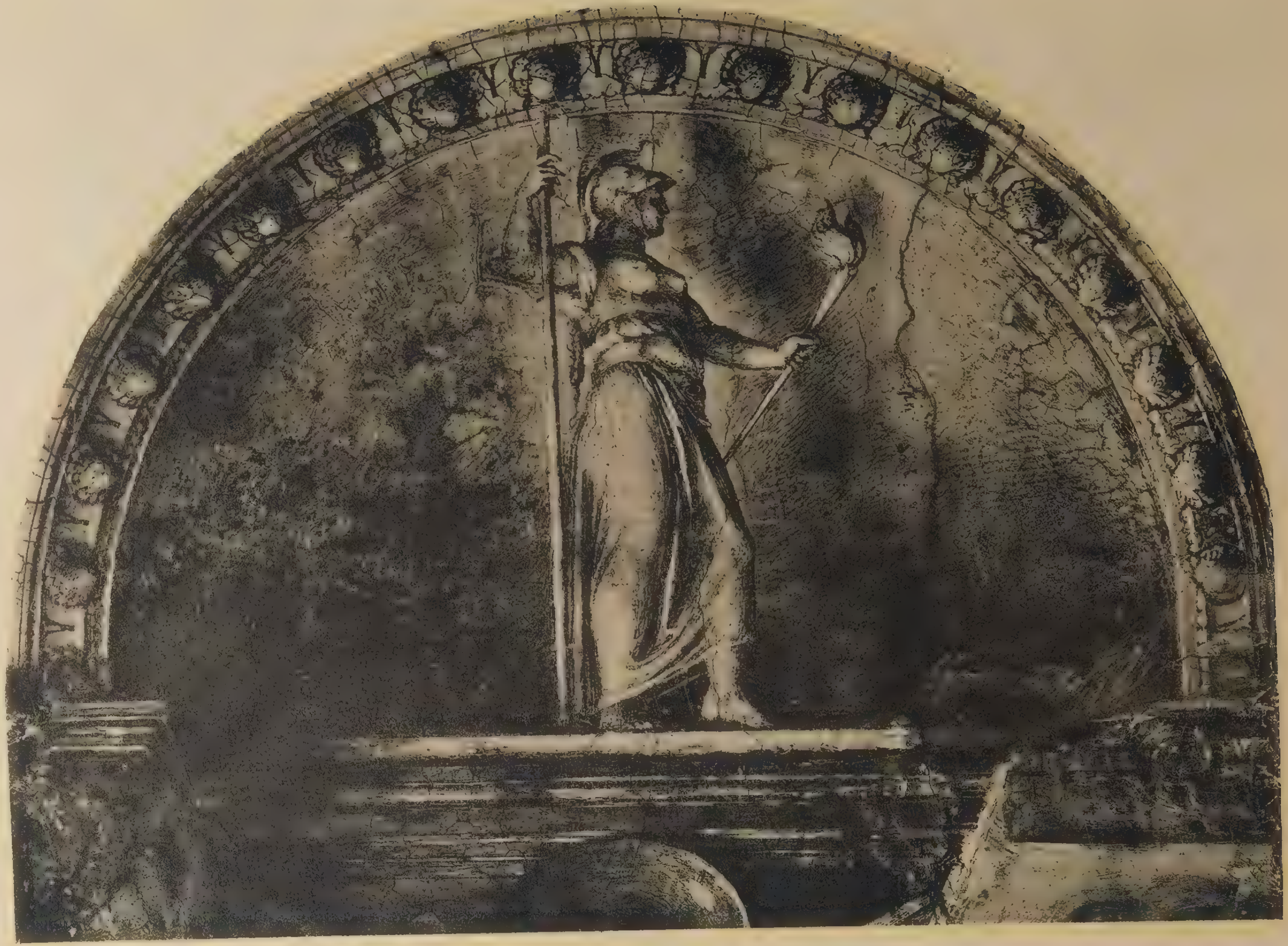


LXXVIII

FORTUNE

Parma, Camera di San Paolo

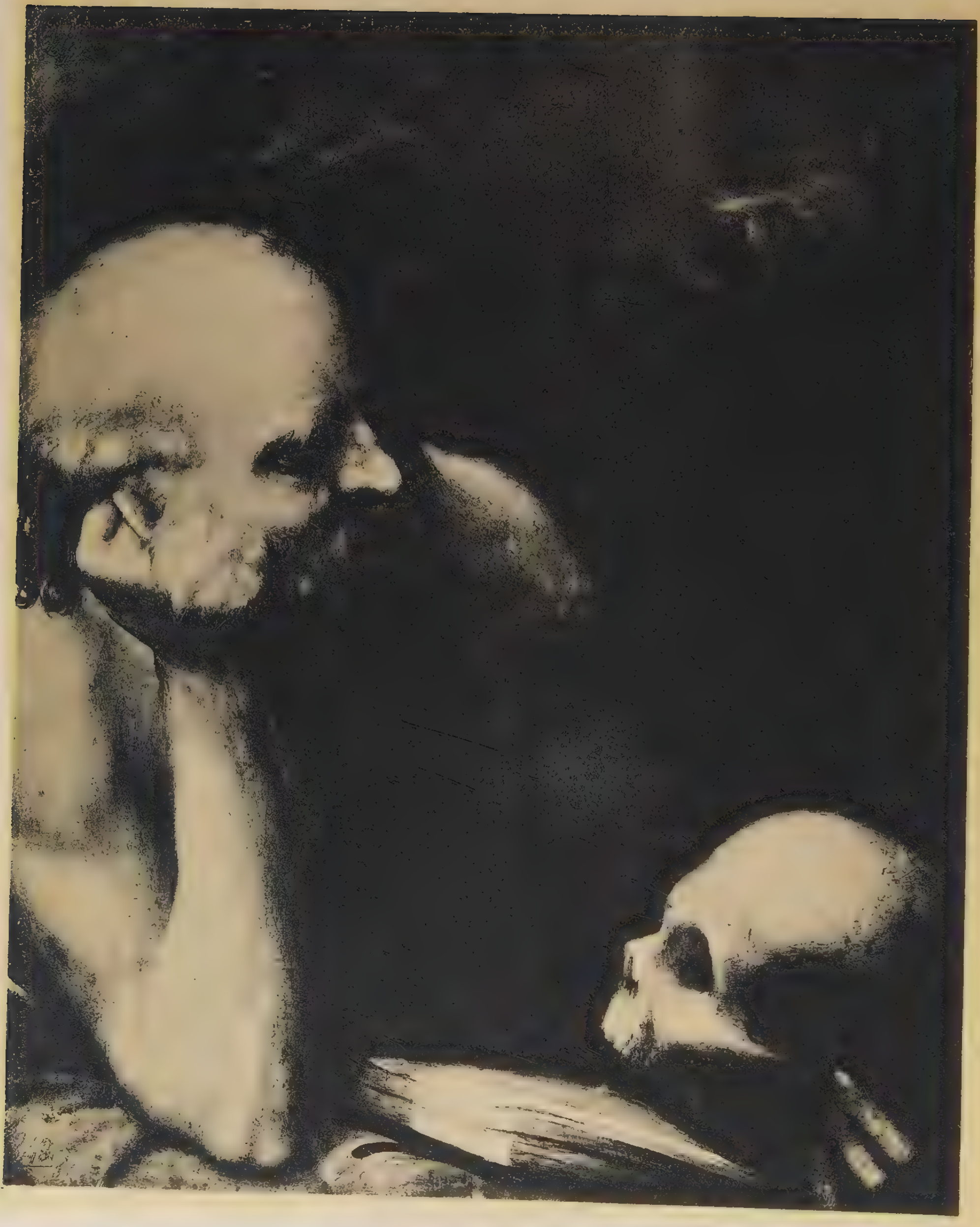
(Photo. Anderson)



LXXIX

MINERVA
Parma, Camera di San Paolo

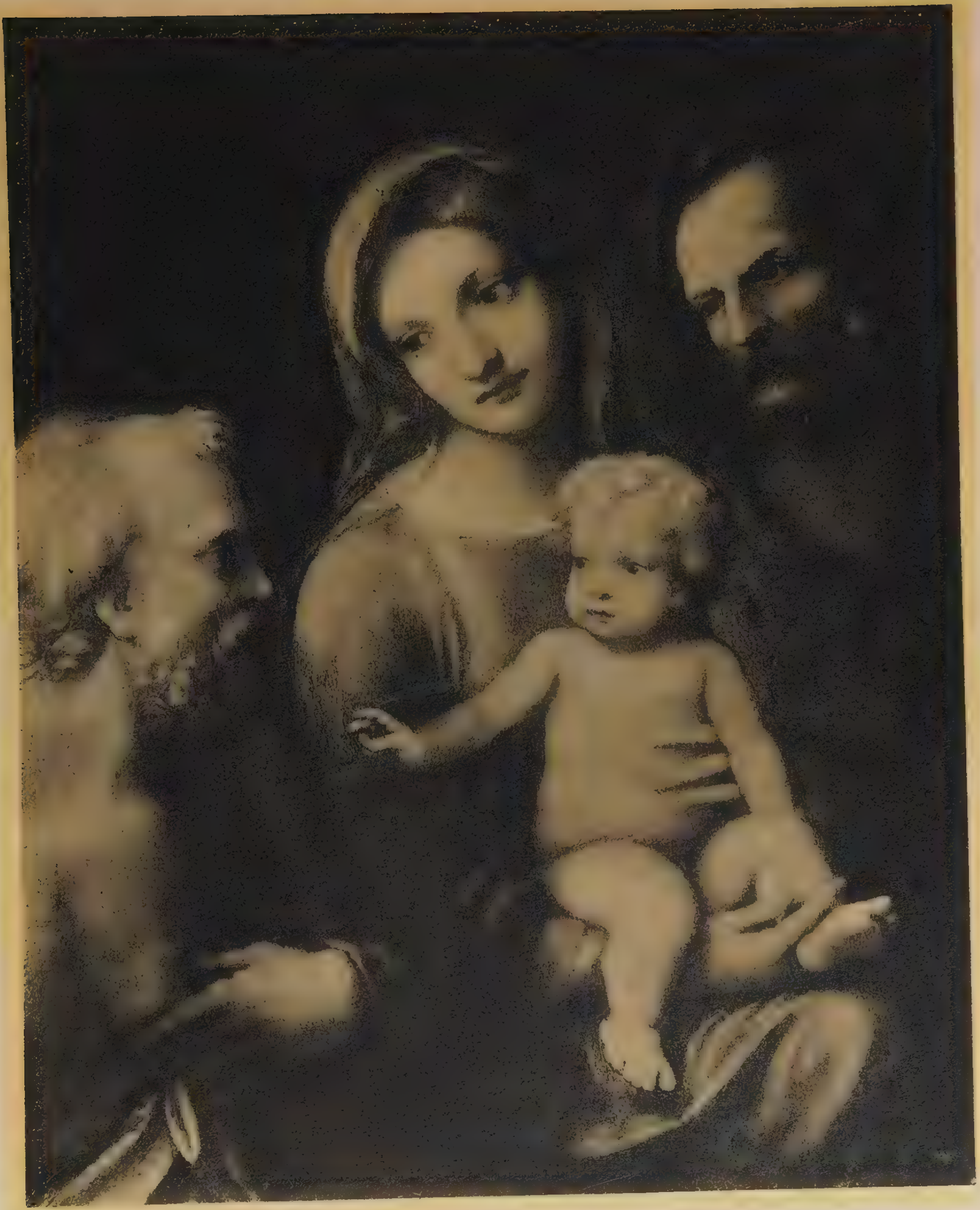
(Photo. Anderson)



LXXX

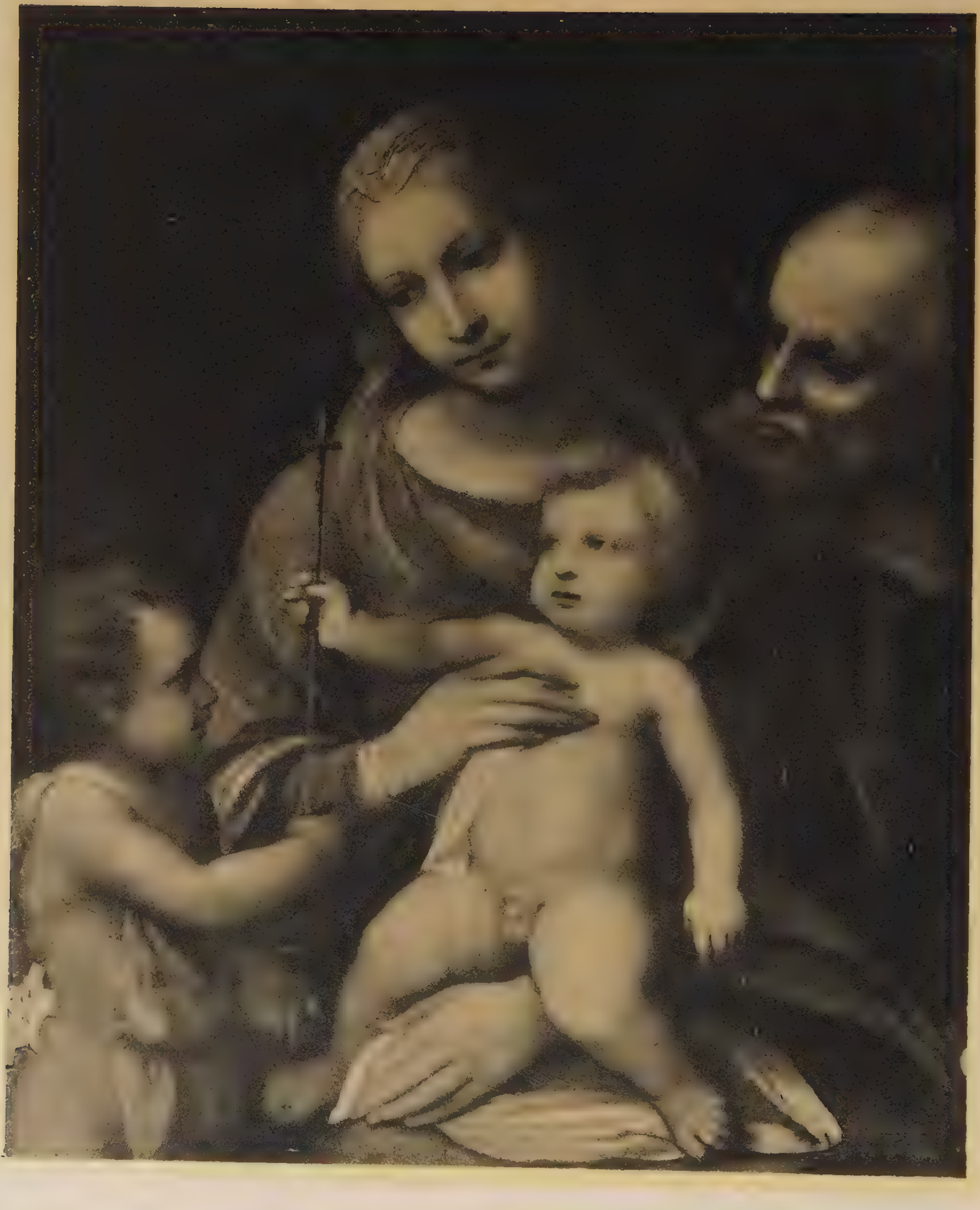
ST. JEROME

Madrid, Academy of S. Fernando



LXXXI THE HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. JAMES (*Photo. Ellis*)

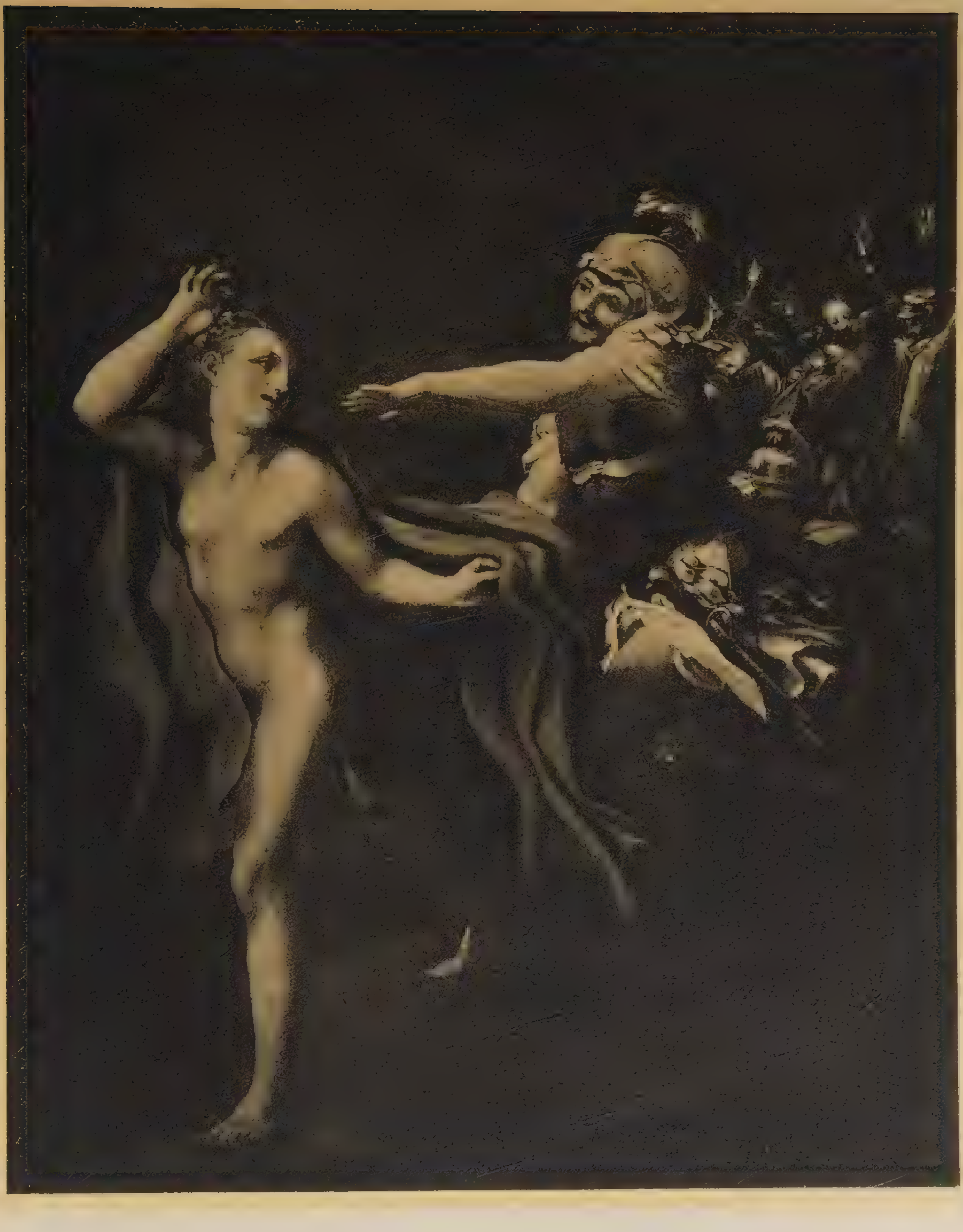
Hampton Court Palace



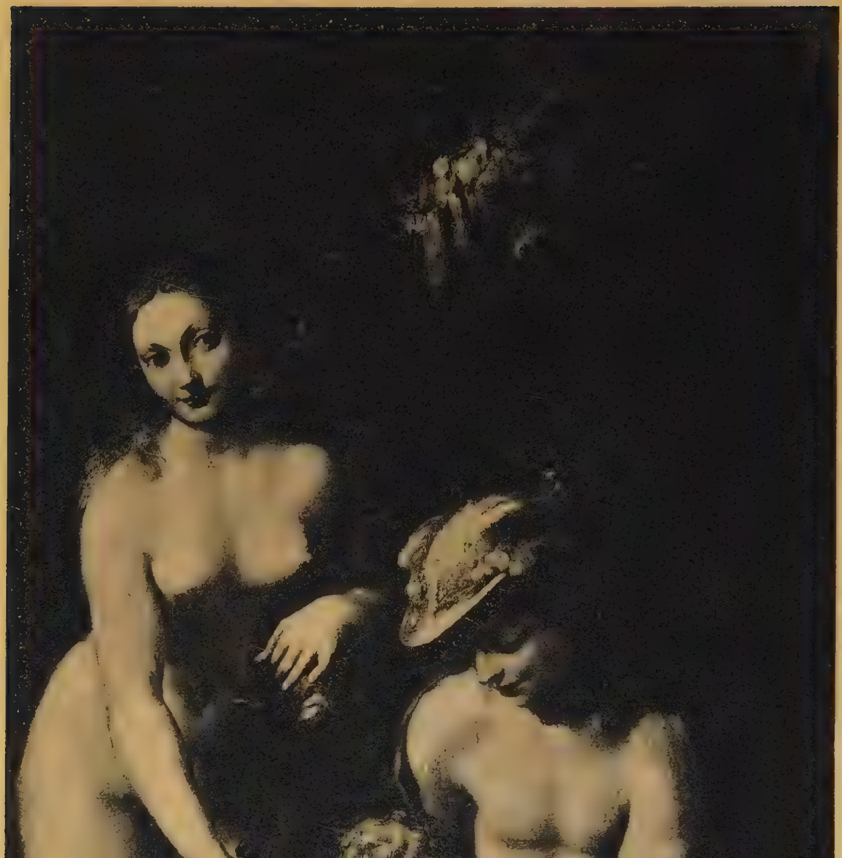
LXXXII

THE HOLY FAMILY AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

Orleans, Art Gallery

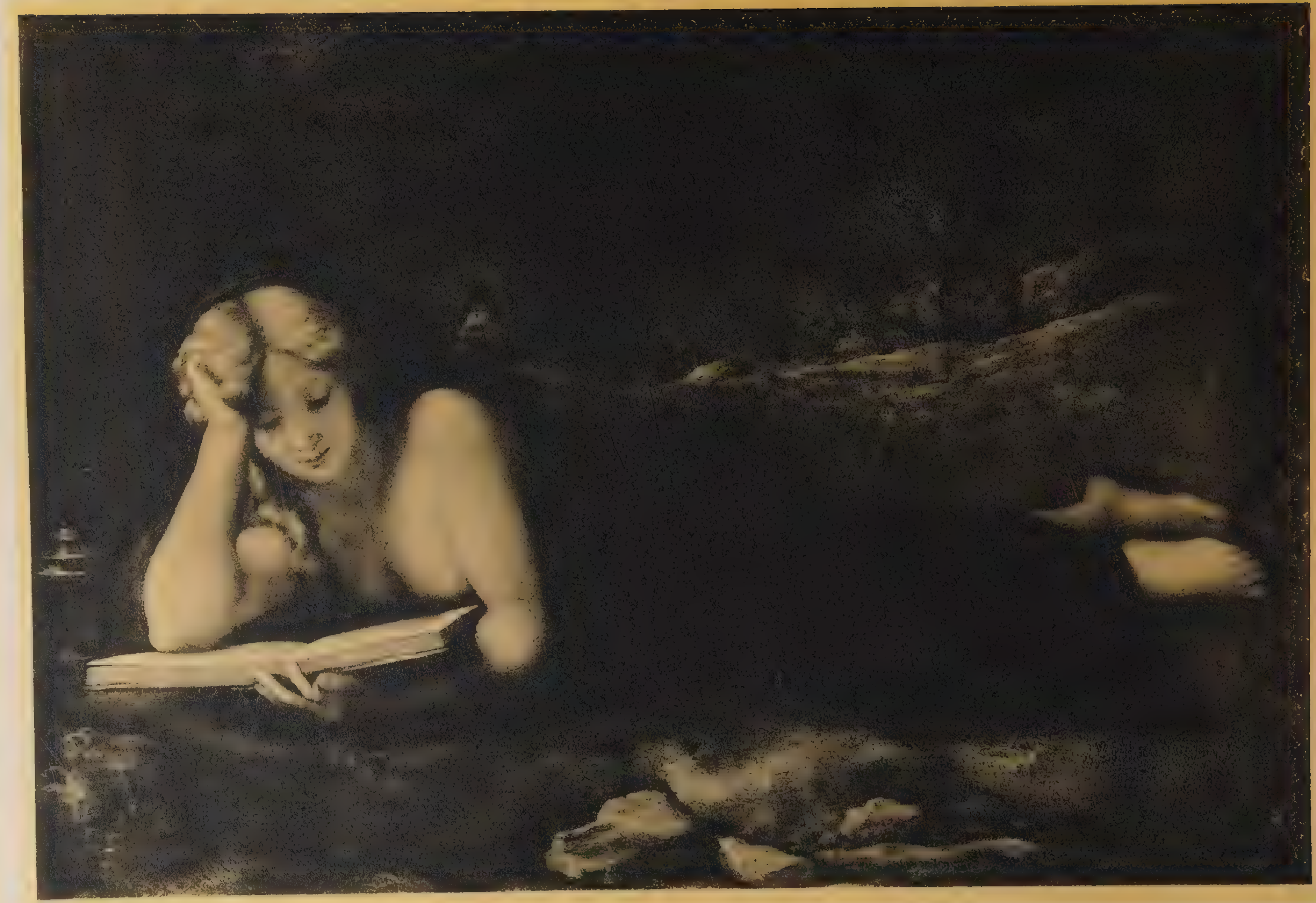


LXXXIII THE YOUNG MAN FLEEING FROM THE SEIZURE OF CHRIST. COPY AFTER CORREGGIO.
Parma, Art Gallery



LXXXIV THE SCHOOL OF LOVE (Photo. Anderson)

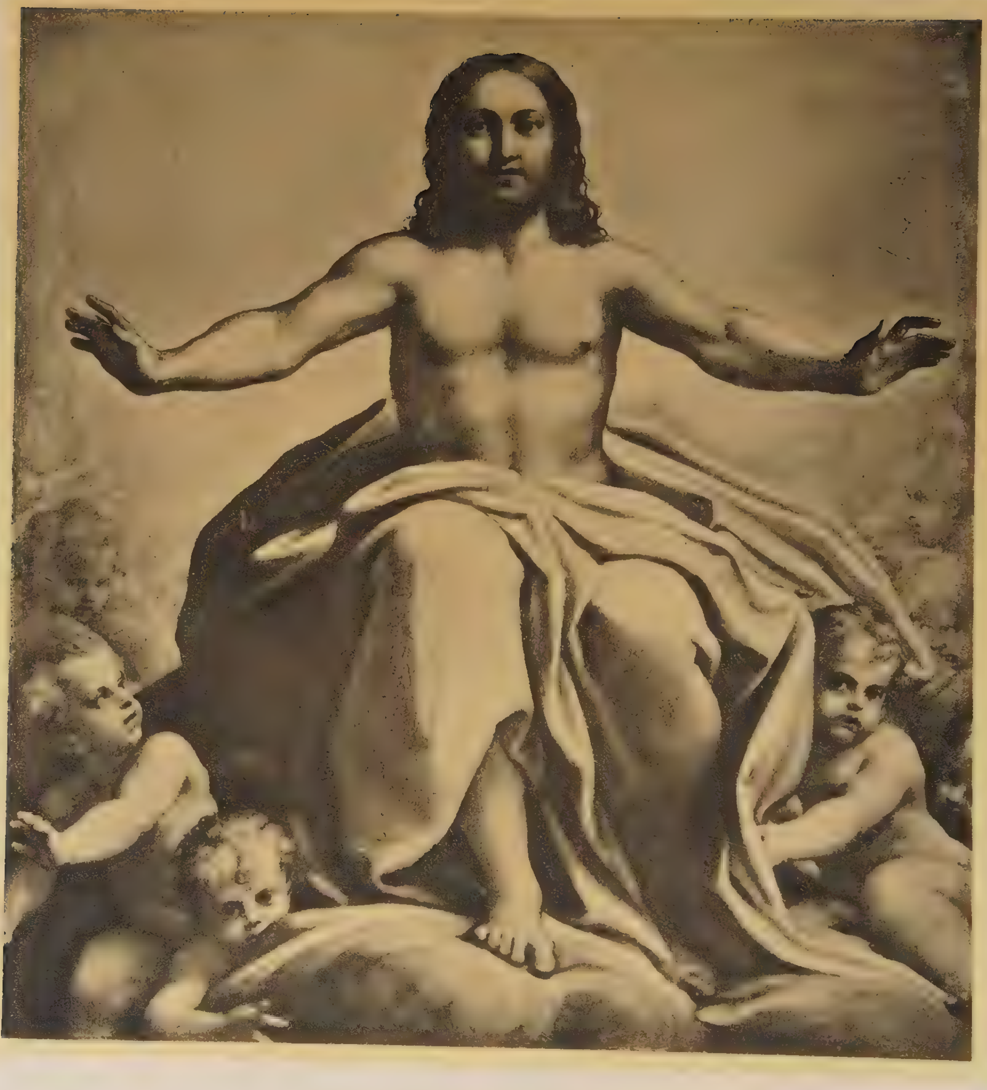
London, National Gallery



LXXXV

ST. MARY MAGDALENE. (COPY ?)
Dresden, Art Gallery

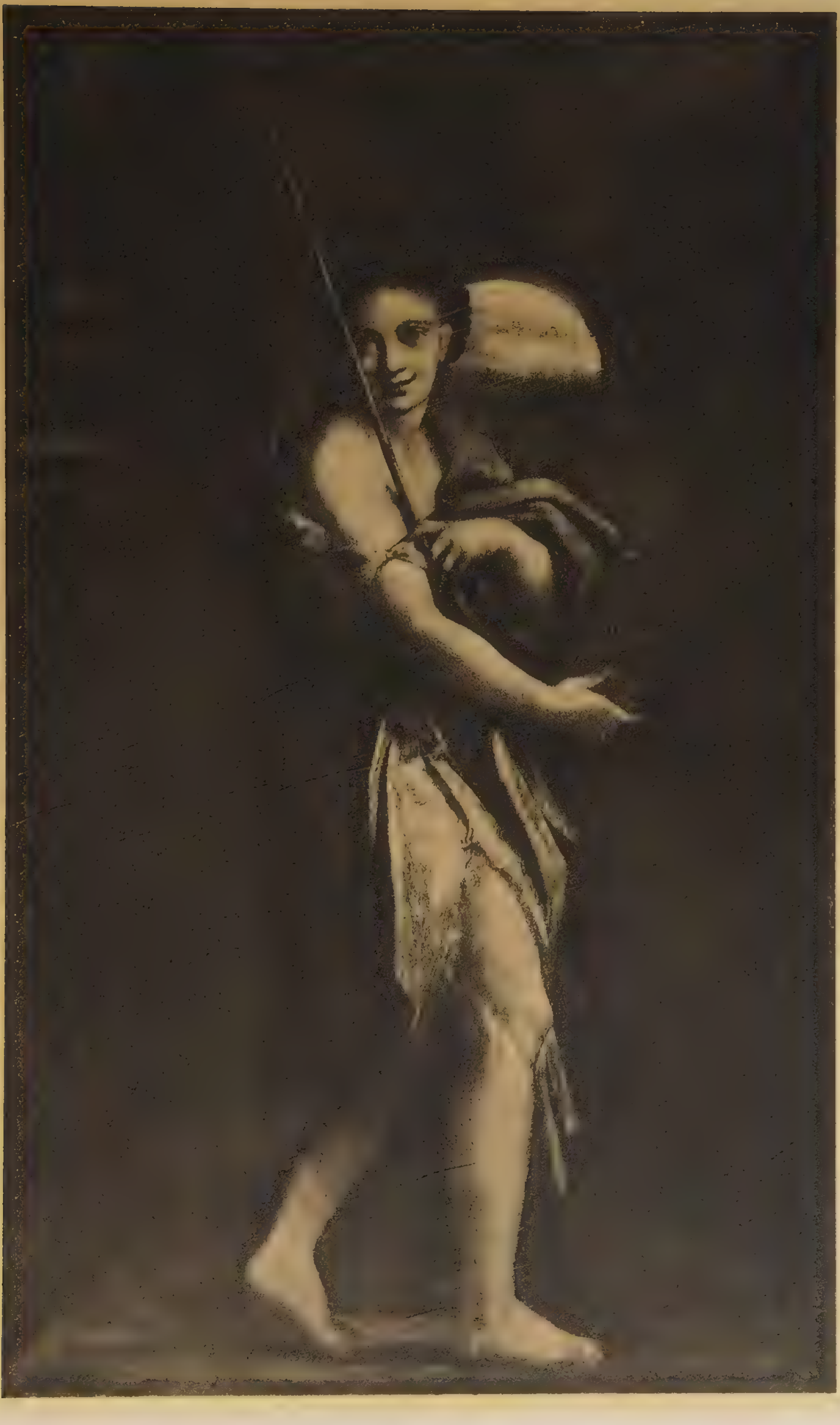
(Photo. Alinari)



LXXXVI THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST. COPY AFTER CORREGGIO (*Photo. Anderson*)

Central panel of the triptych formerly in the Oratory of S. Maria della Misericordia in Correggio

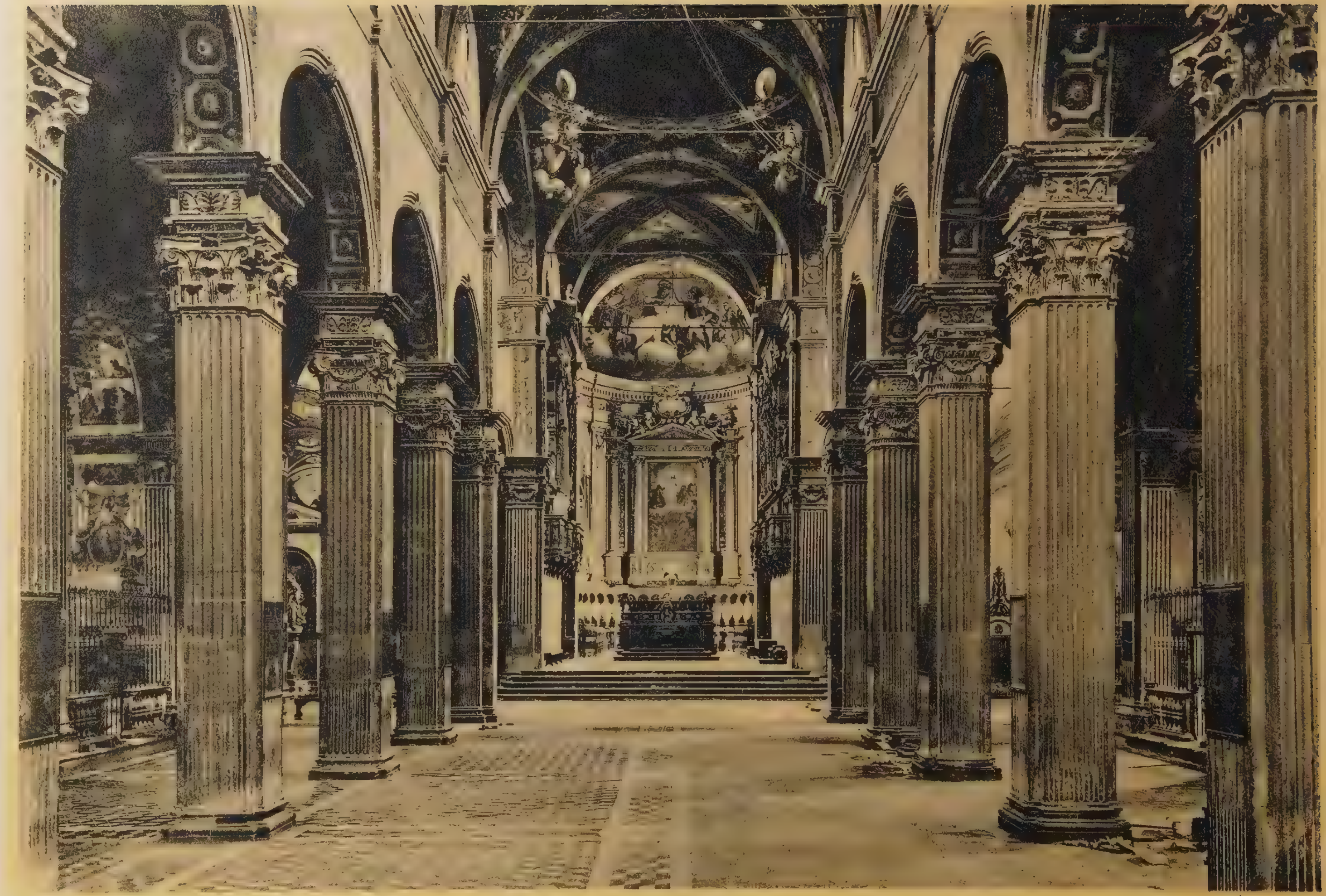
Rome, Vatican Gallery



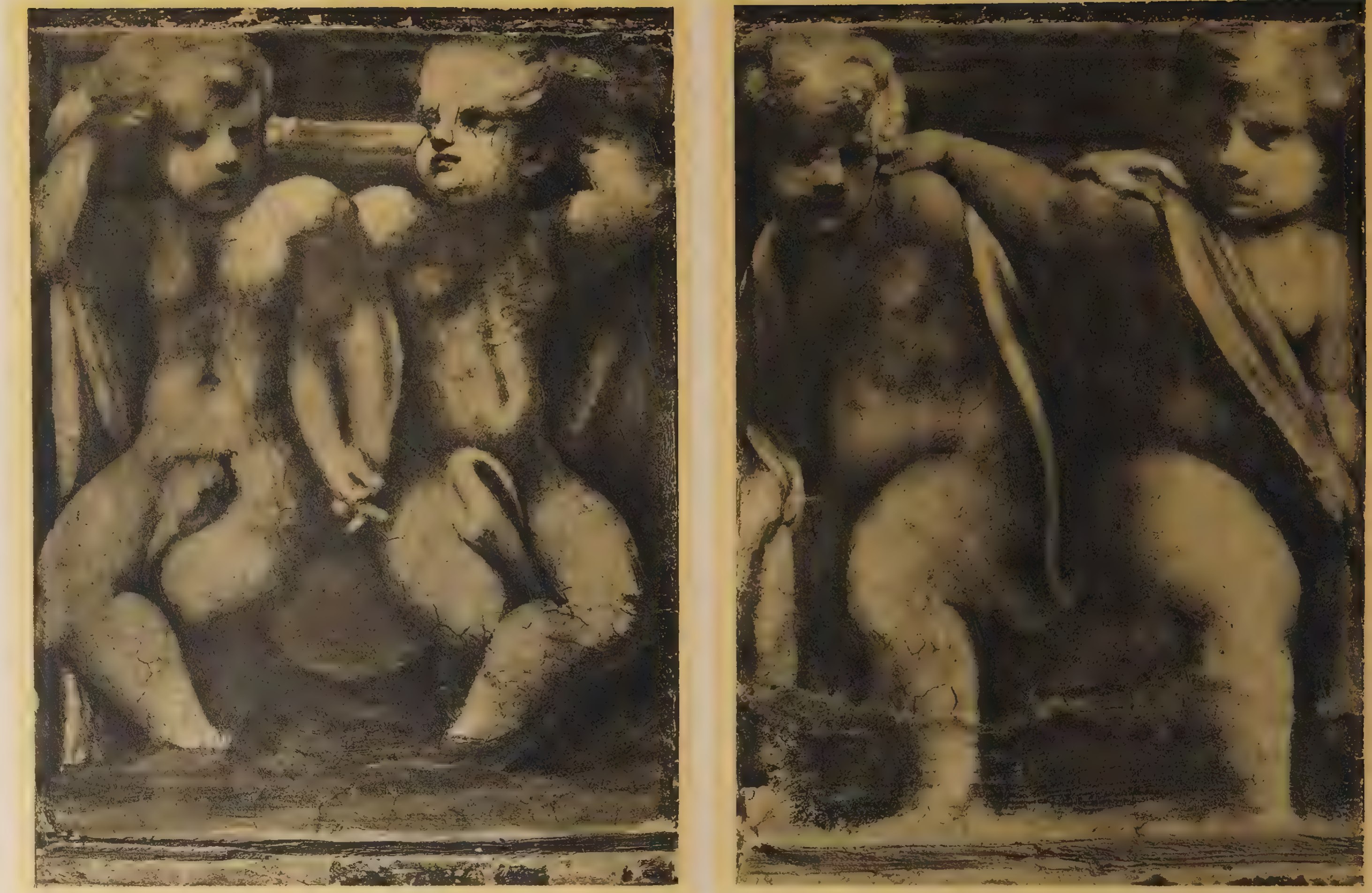
LXXXVII ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

Left panel of the triptych formerly in the Oratory of S. Maria della Misericordia in Caravaggio

London, Robinson Collection

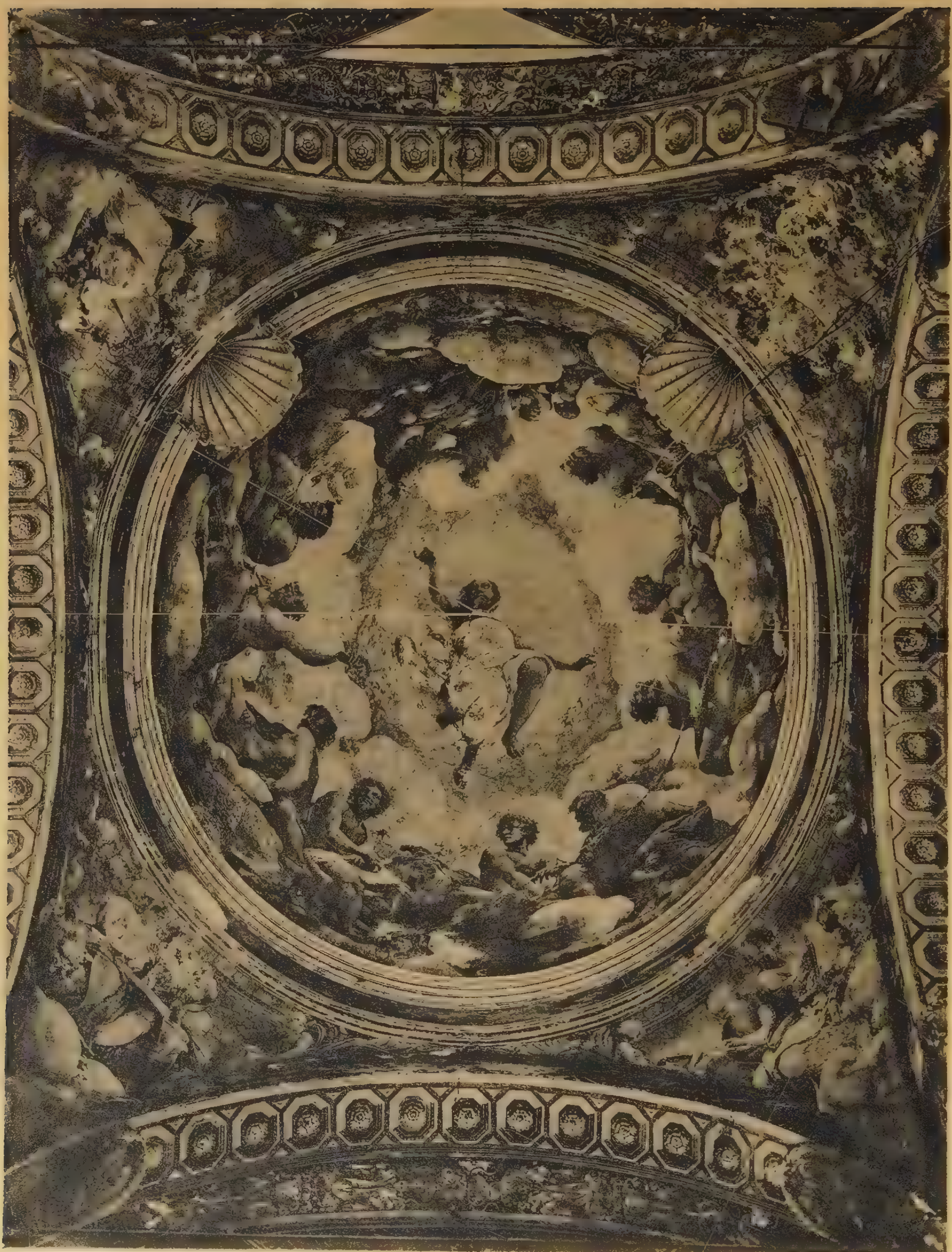


LXXXVIII INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA AT PARMA (*Photo. Alinari*)

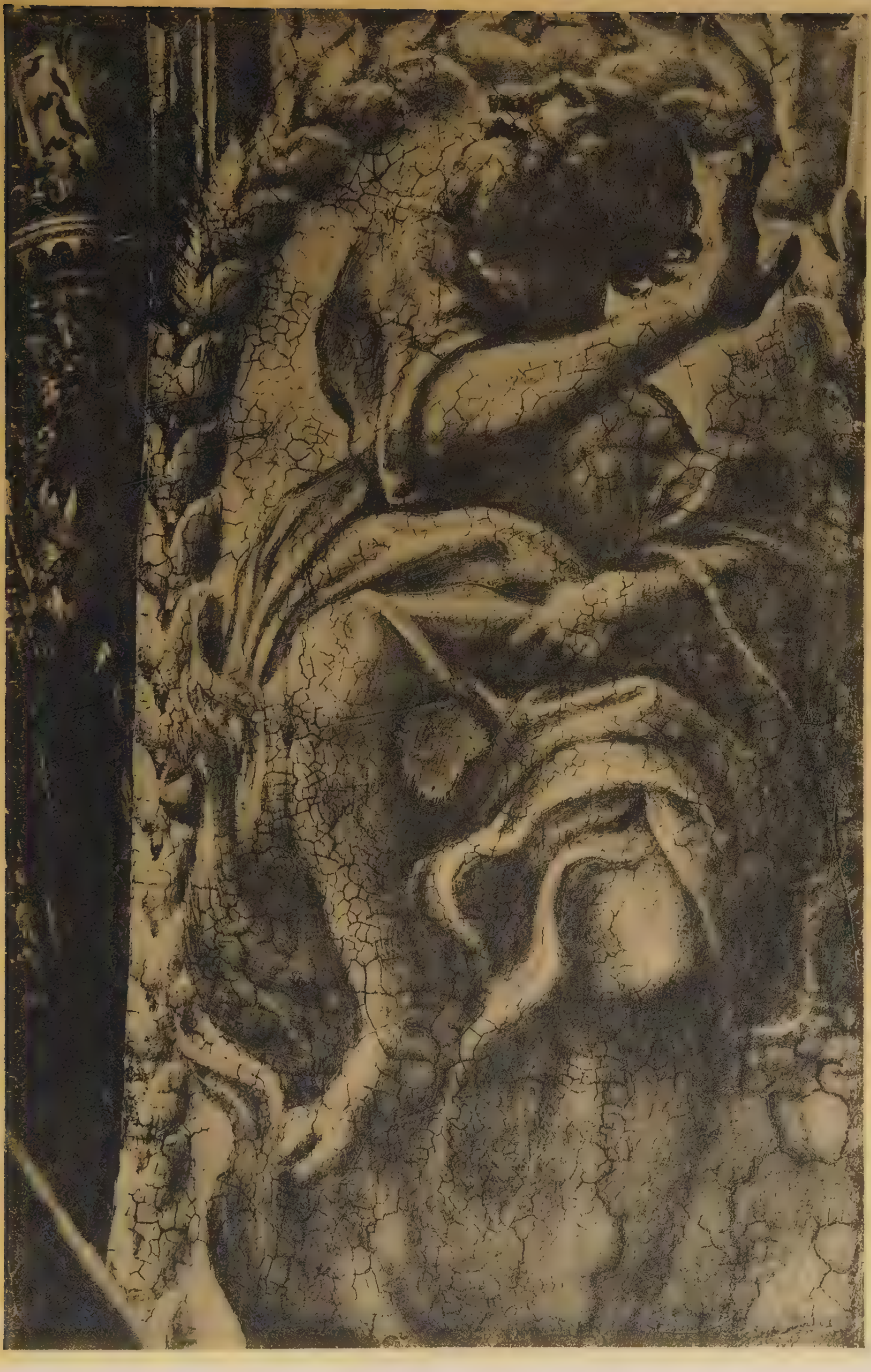


LXXXIX PUTTI BY FRANCESCO MARIA RONDANI (Photo. M. P. I.)

Parma, Pillars supporting the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

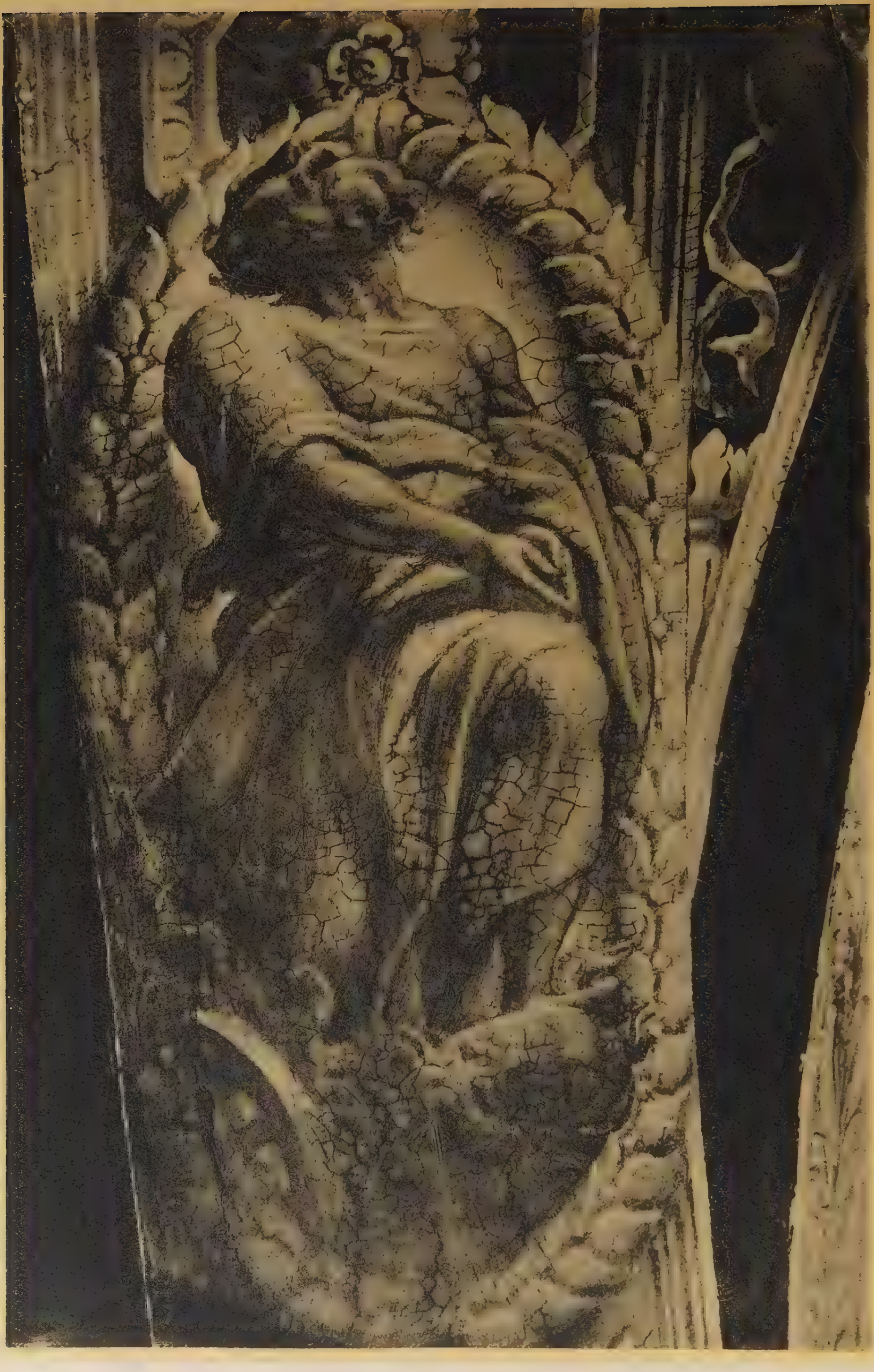


XC GENERAL VIEW, WITH THE PENDENTIVES AND SOFFITS OF THE ARCHES
of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma



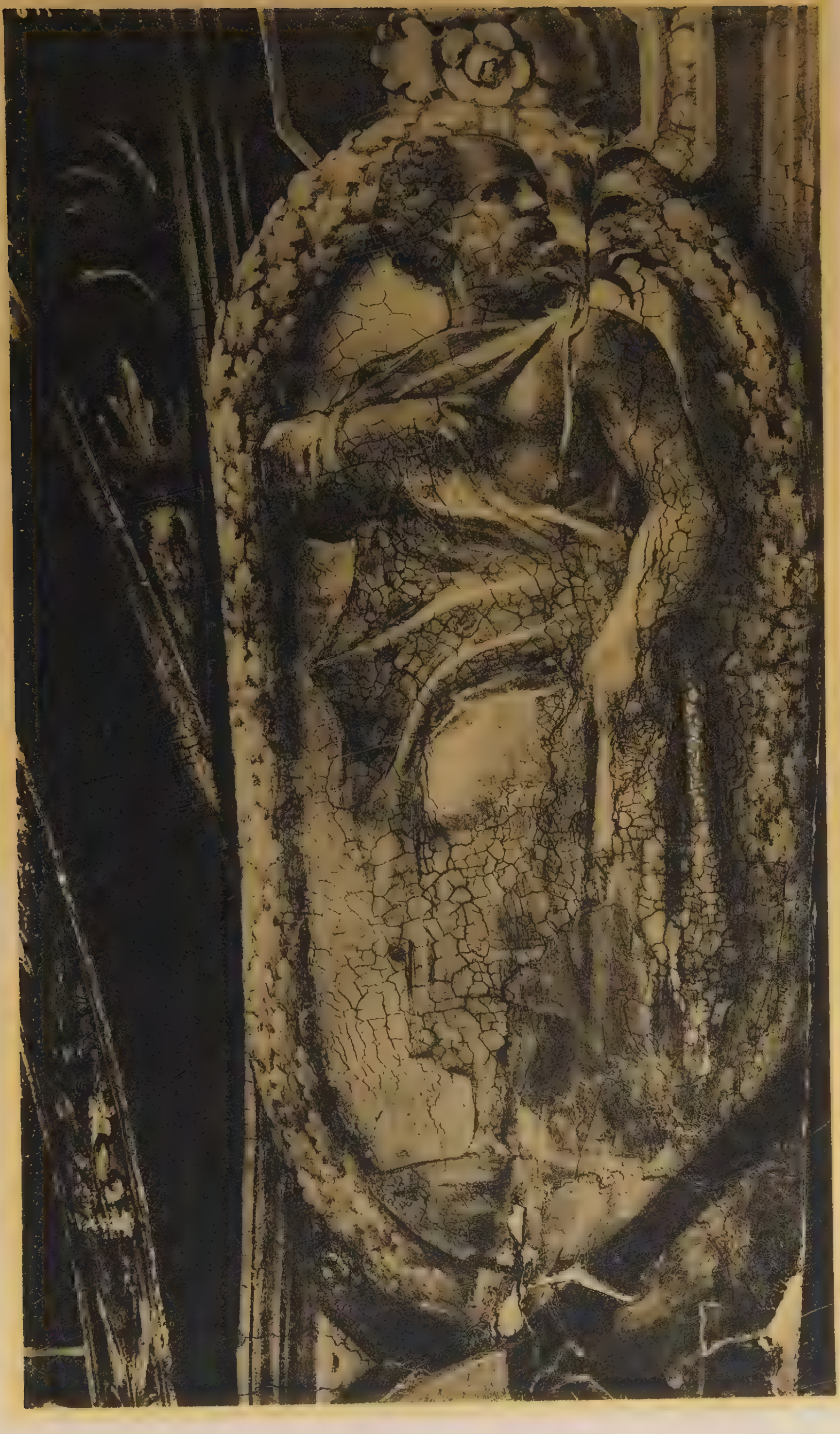
XCI DANIEL (Photo. Vaghi)

Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista



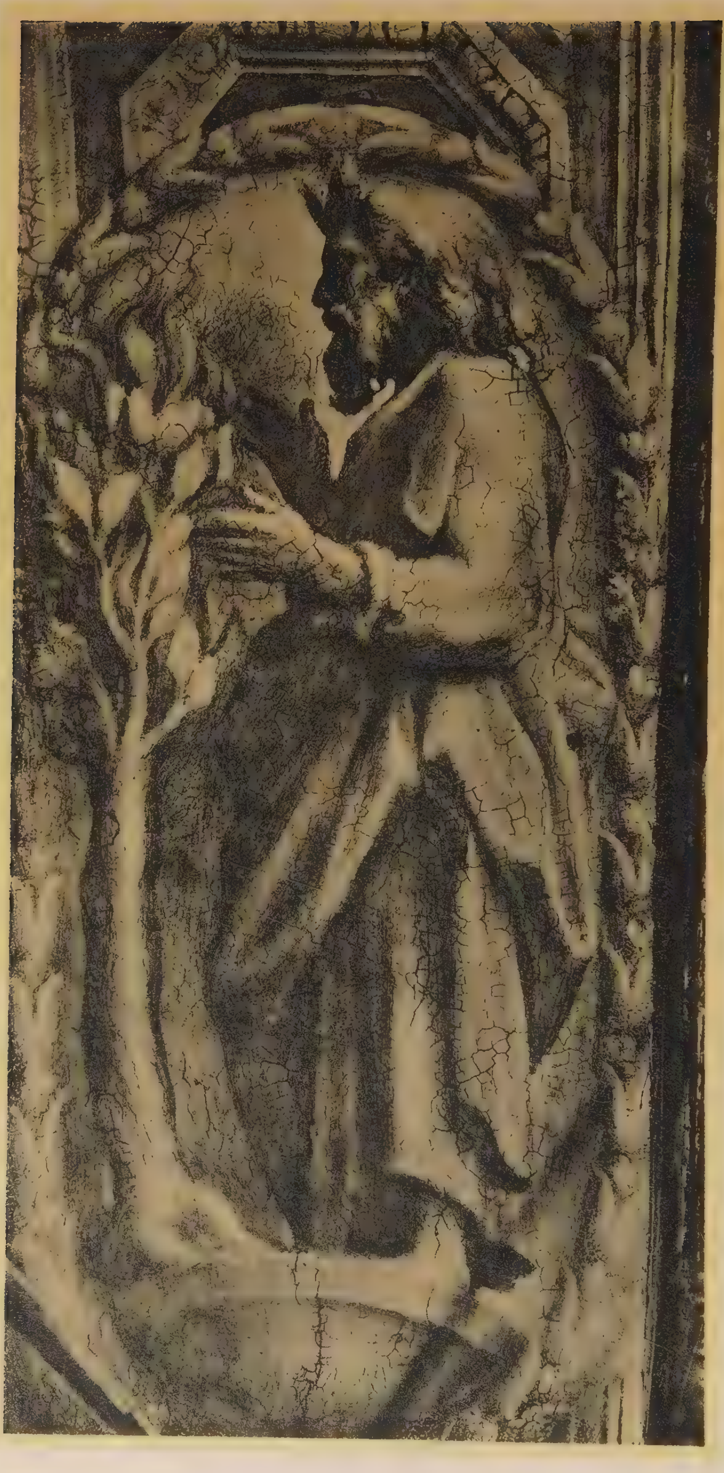
XCII ELIJAH (Photo. Vaghi)

Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

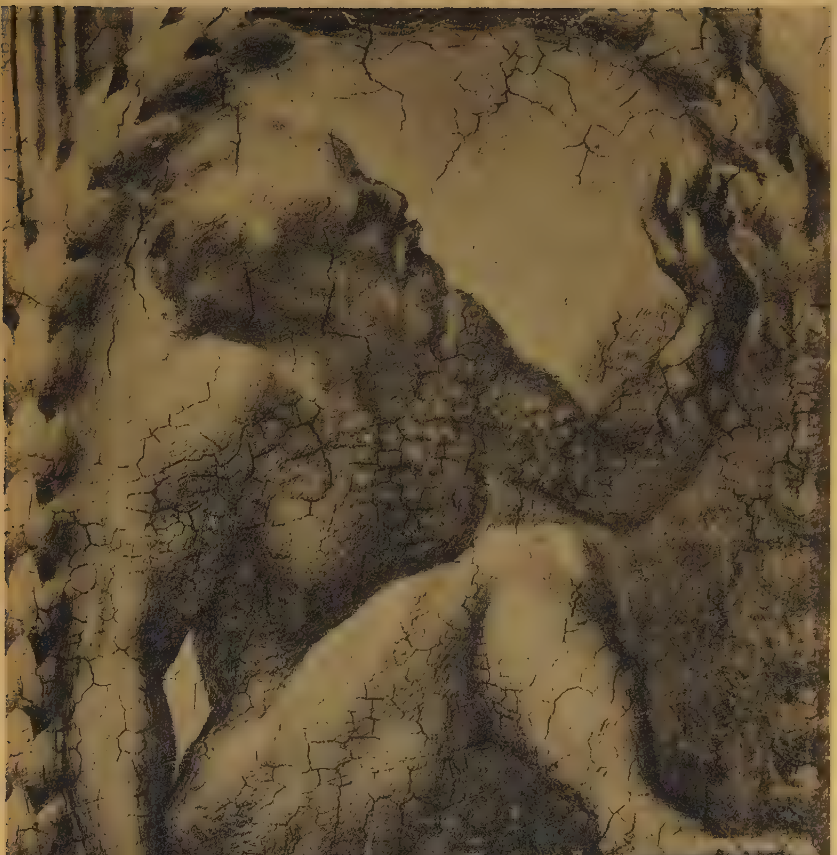


XCIII AARON (Photo Vaghi)

Parma. Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

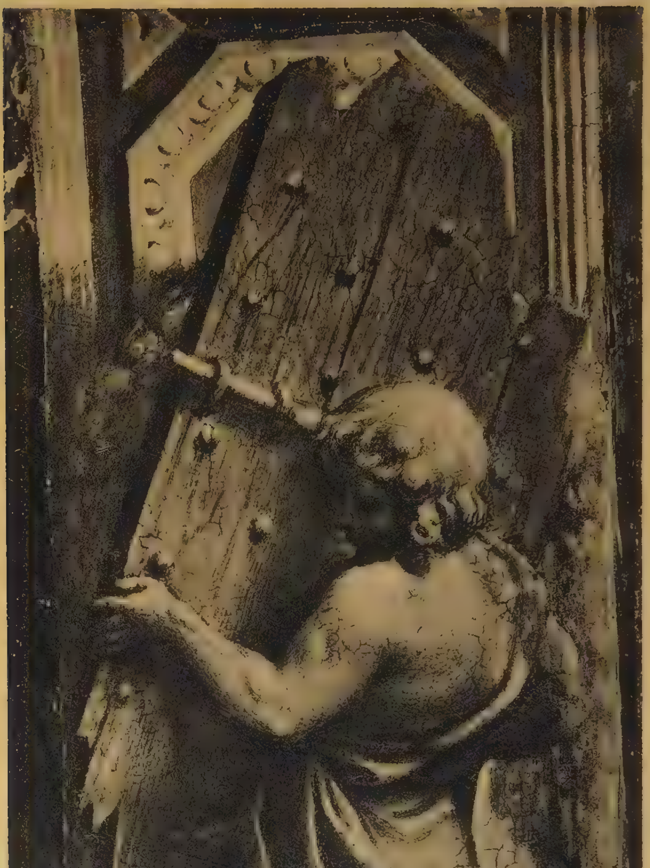


XCIV MOSES (Photo. Vaghi)
Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista



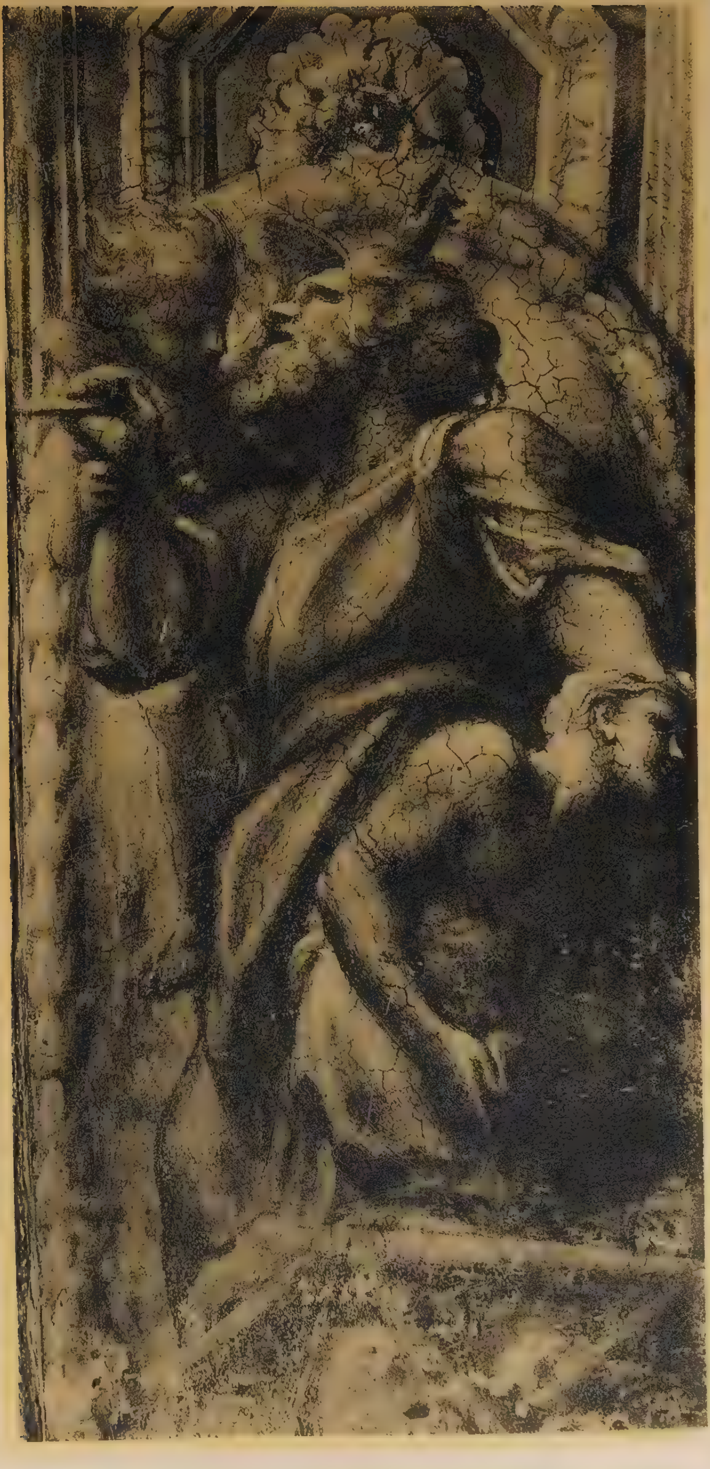
XCV JONAH (Photo. Vaghi)

Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista



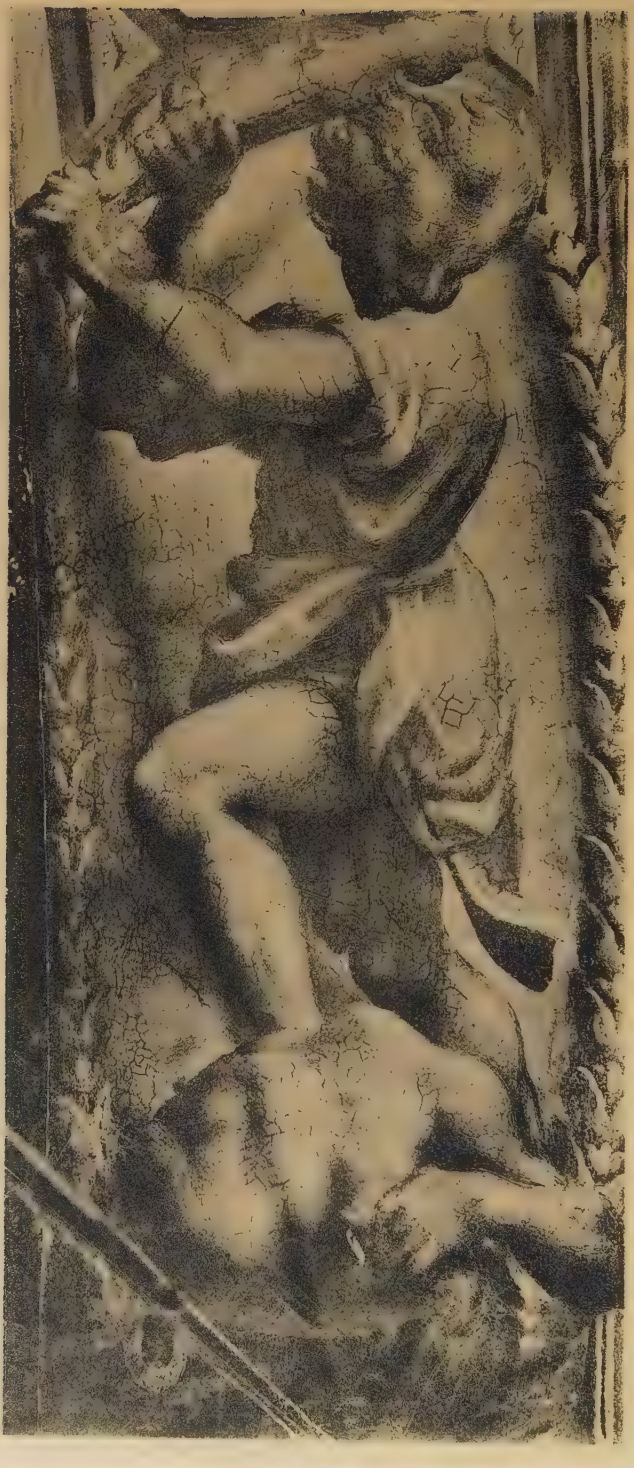
[illegible] SAMSON (Photo. Vaghi)

Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista



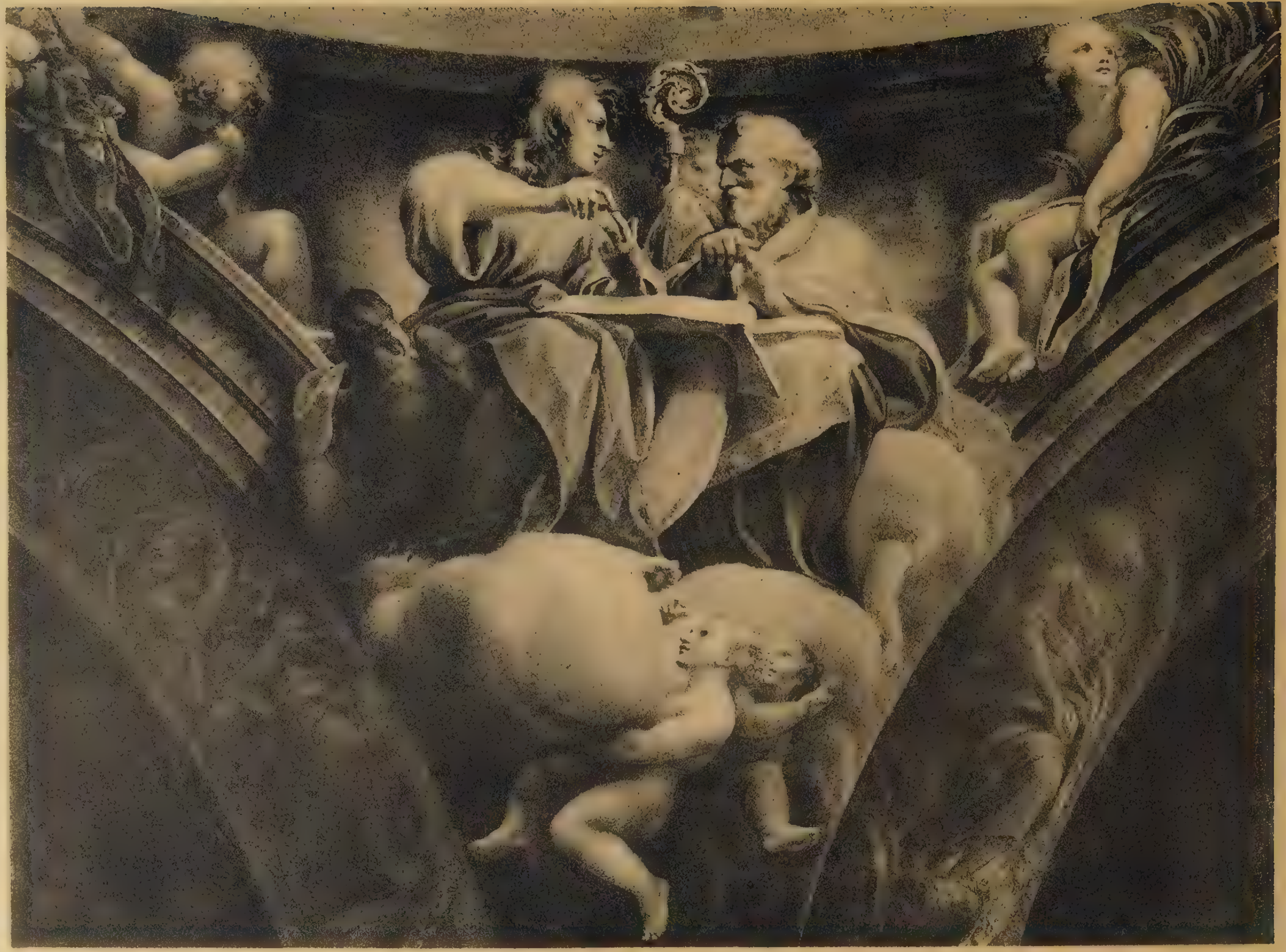
XCVII ABRAHAM OFFERING UP ISAAC (*Photo. Vaghi*)

Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

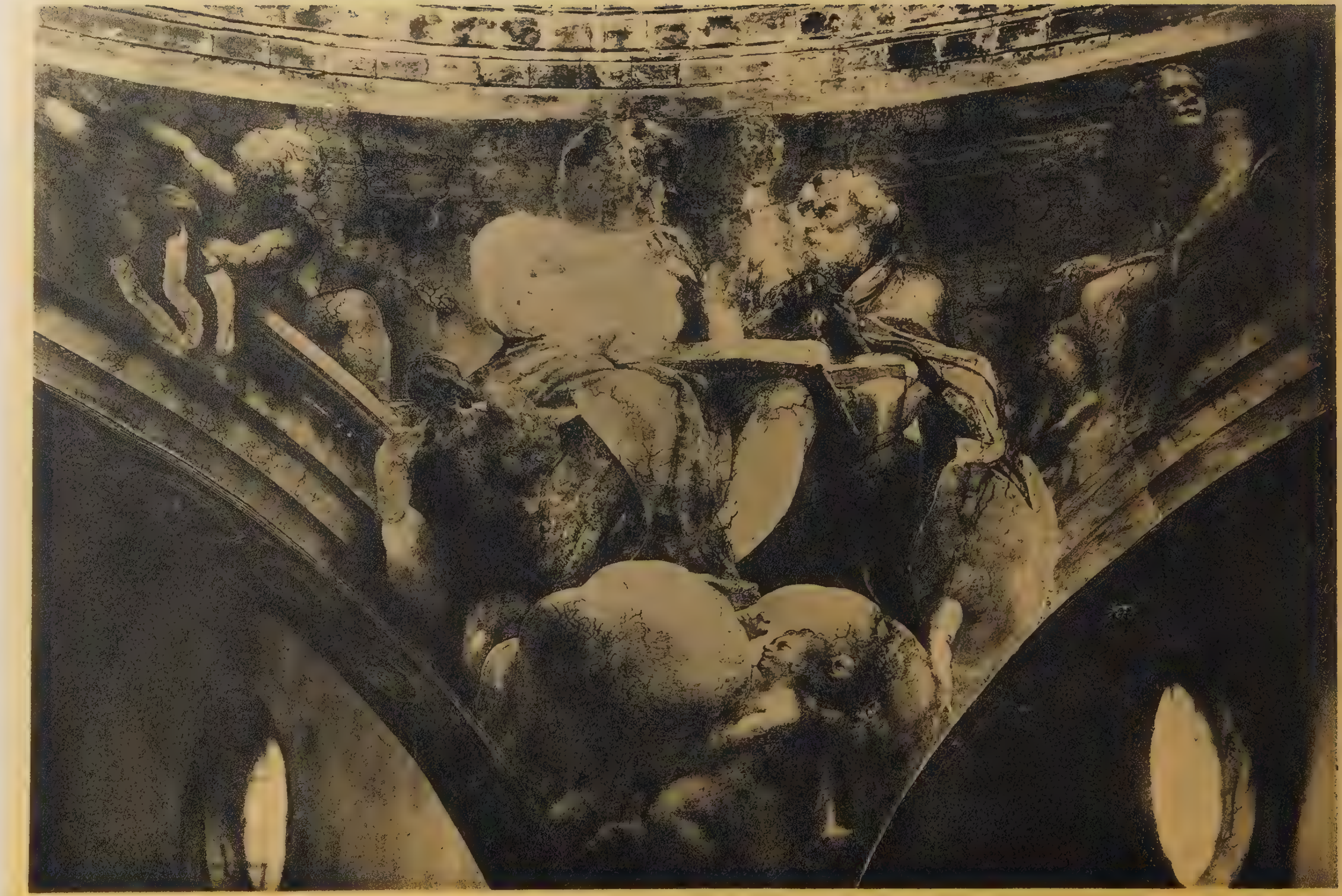


XCVIII CAIN KILLING ABEL (Photo. Vaghi)

Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista



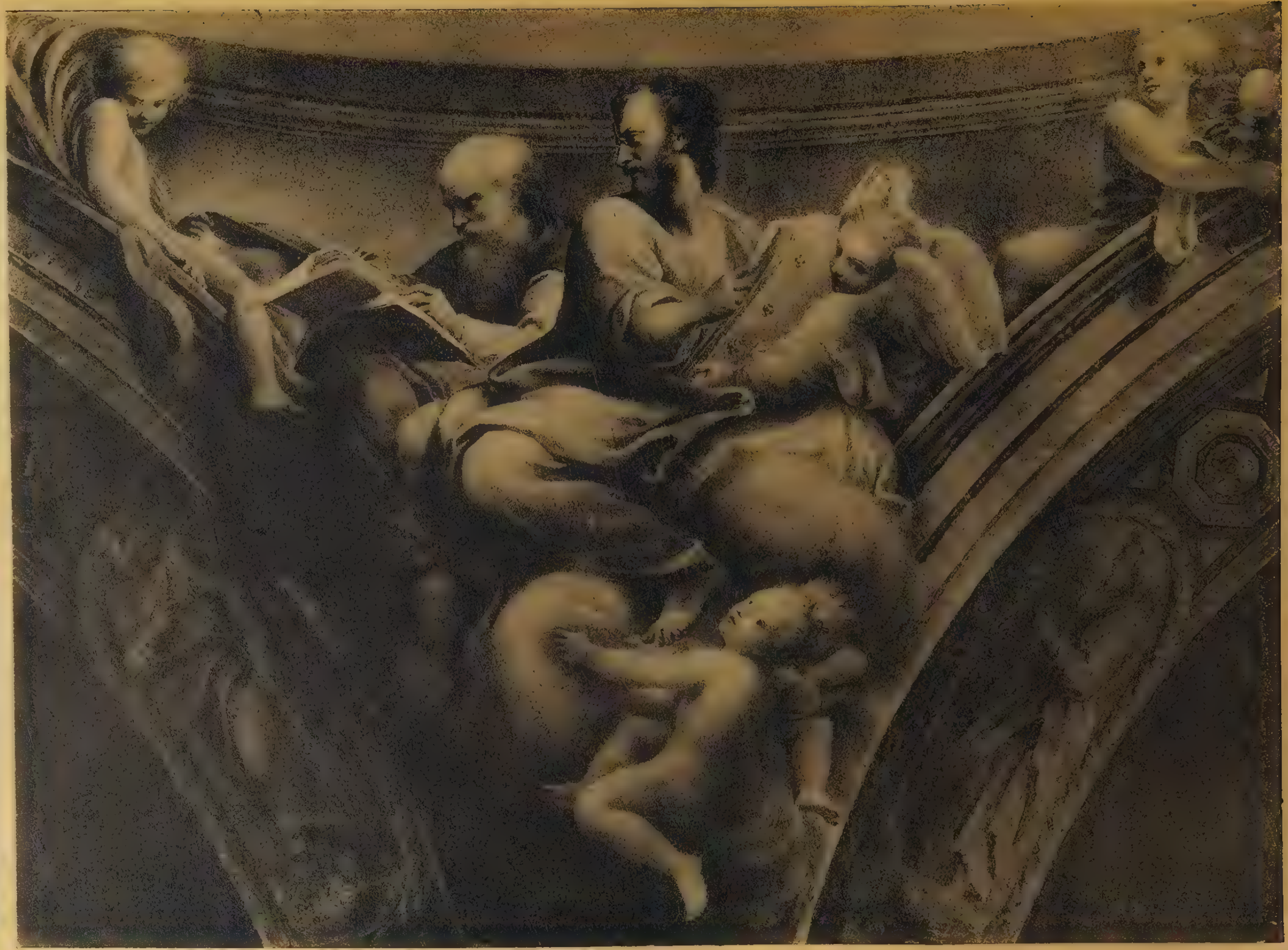
XCIX ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST AND ST. AUGUSTINE. COPY IN WATER-COLOURS BY PAOLO TOSCHI (*Photo. Anderson*)
of the N.E. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery



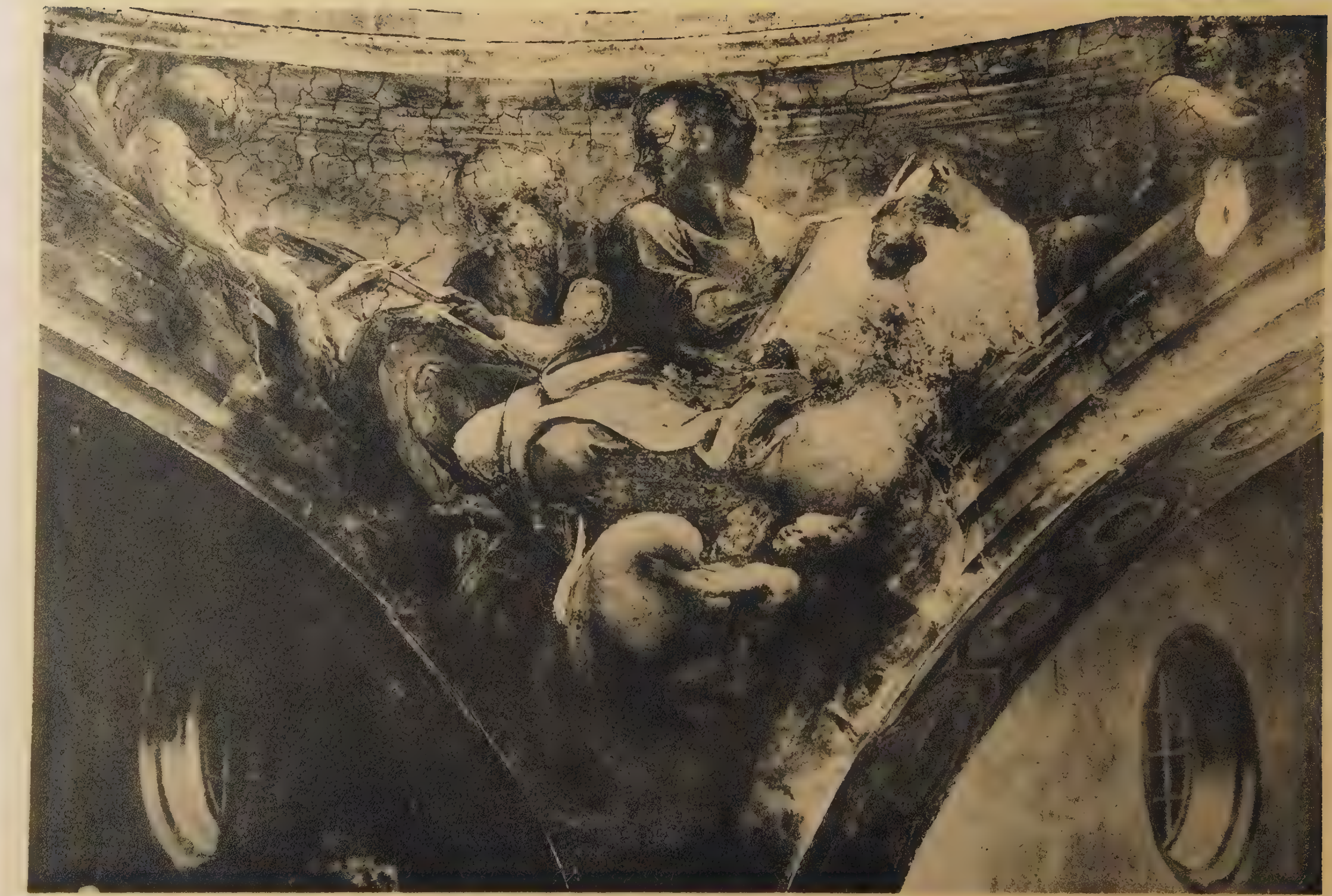
ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST AND ST. AUGUSTINE

Parma, N.E. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

(Photo. Anderson)



CI ST. MATTHEW AND ST. JEROME. Copy in water-colours by Paolo Toschi (*Photo. Anderson*)
of the S.E. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery

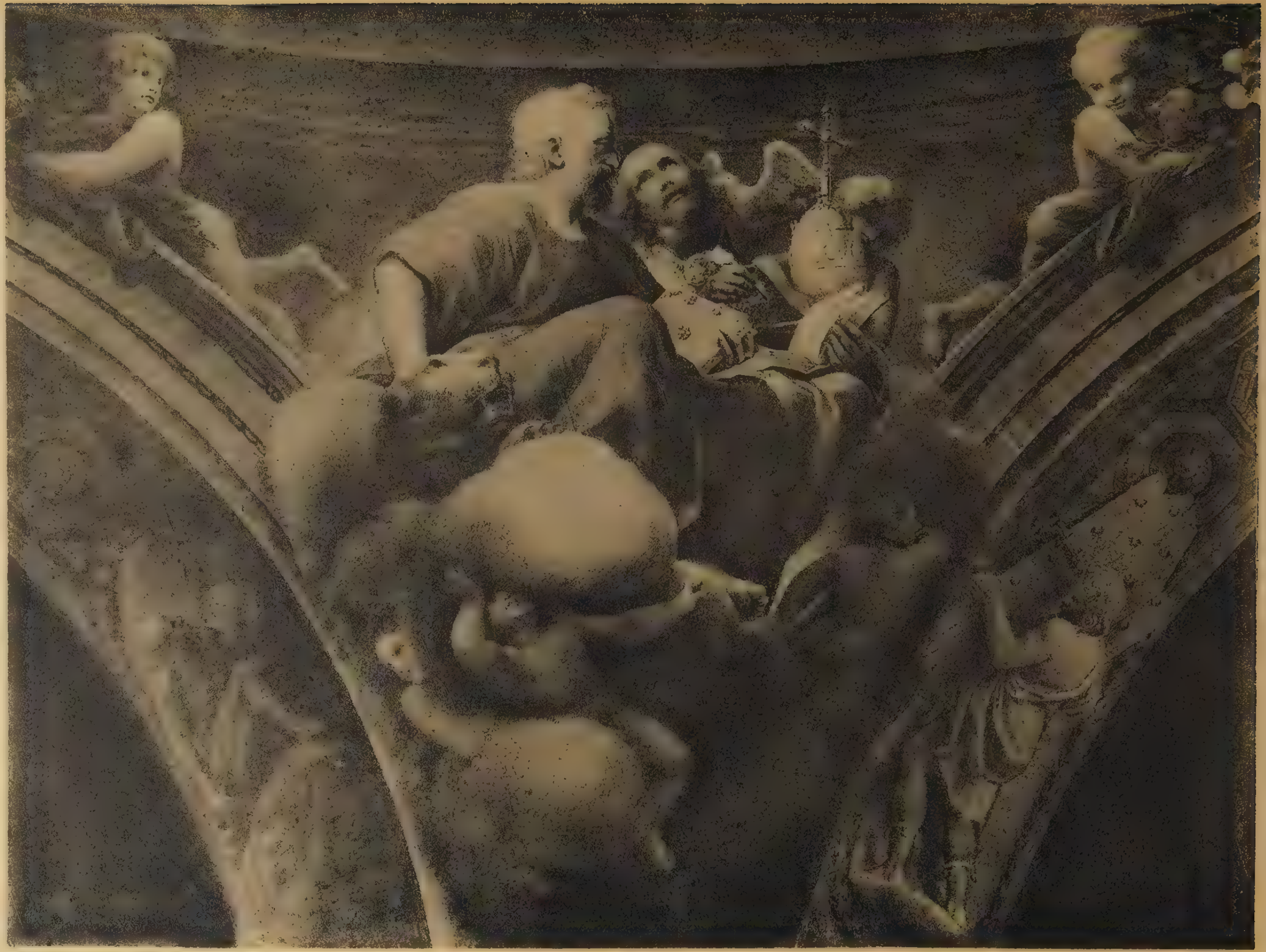


CII

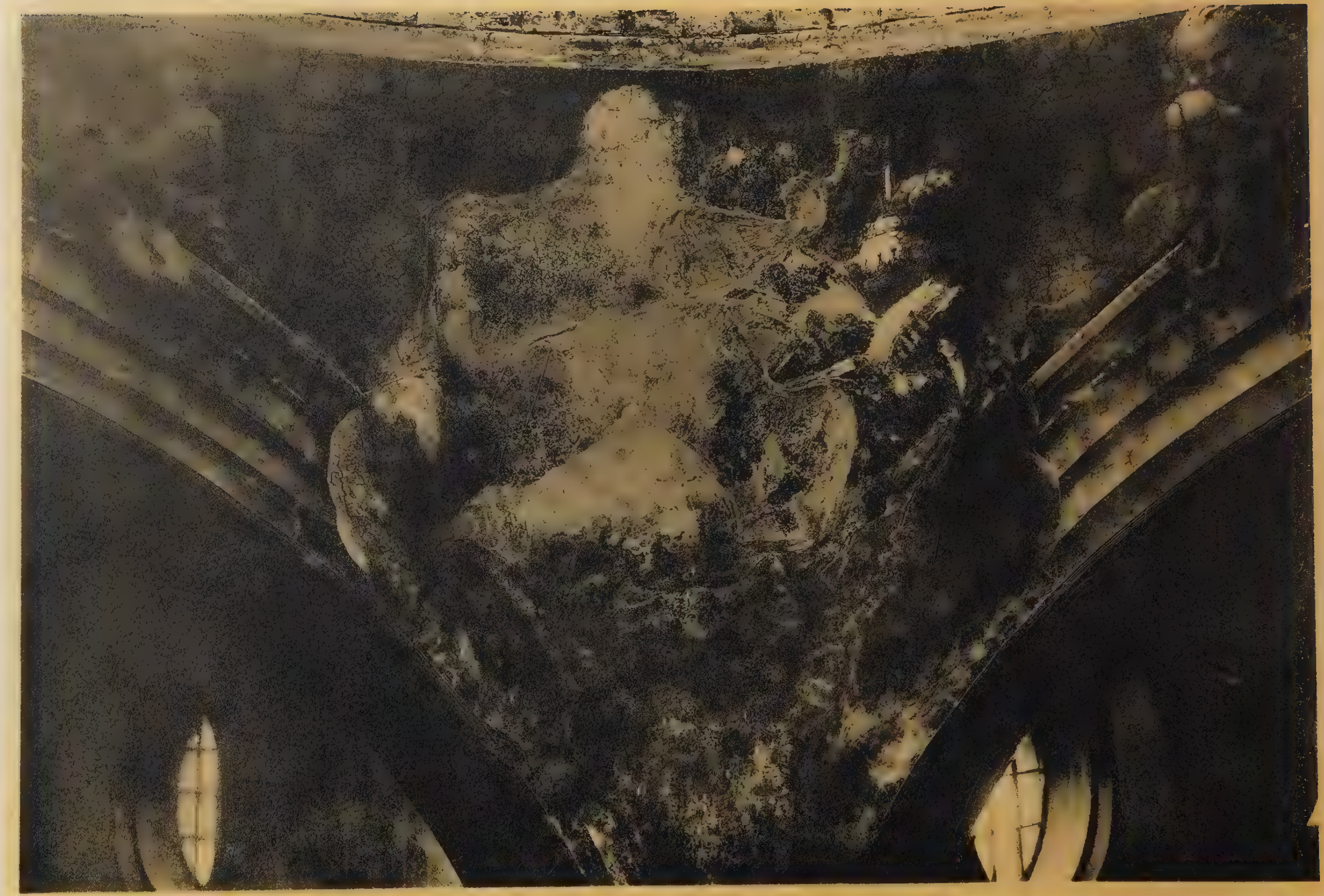
ST. MATTHEW AND ST. JEROME

Parma, S.E. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

(Photo. Vaghi)



CIII ST. MARK AND ST. GREGORY. COPY IN WATER-COLOURS BY PAOLO TOSCHI AND G. B. CALLEGARI (Photo. Anderson)
of the S.E. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery

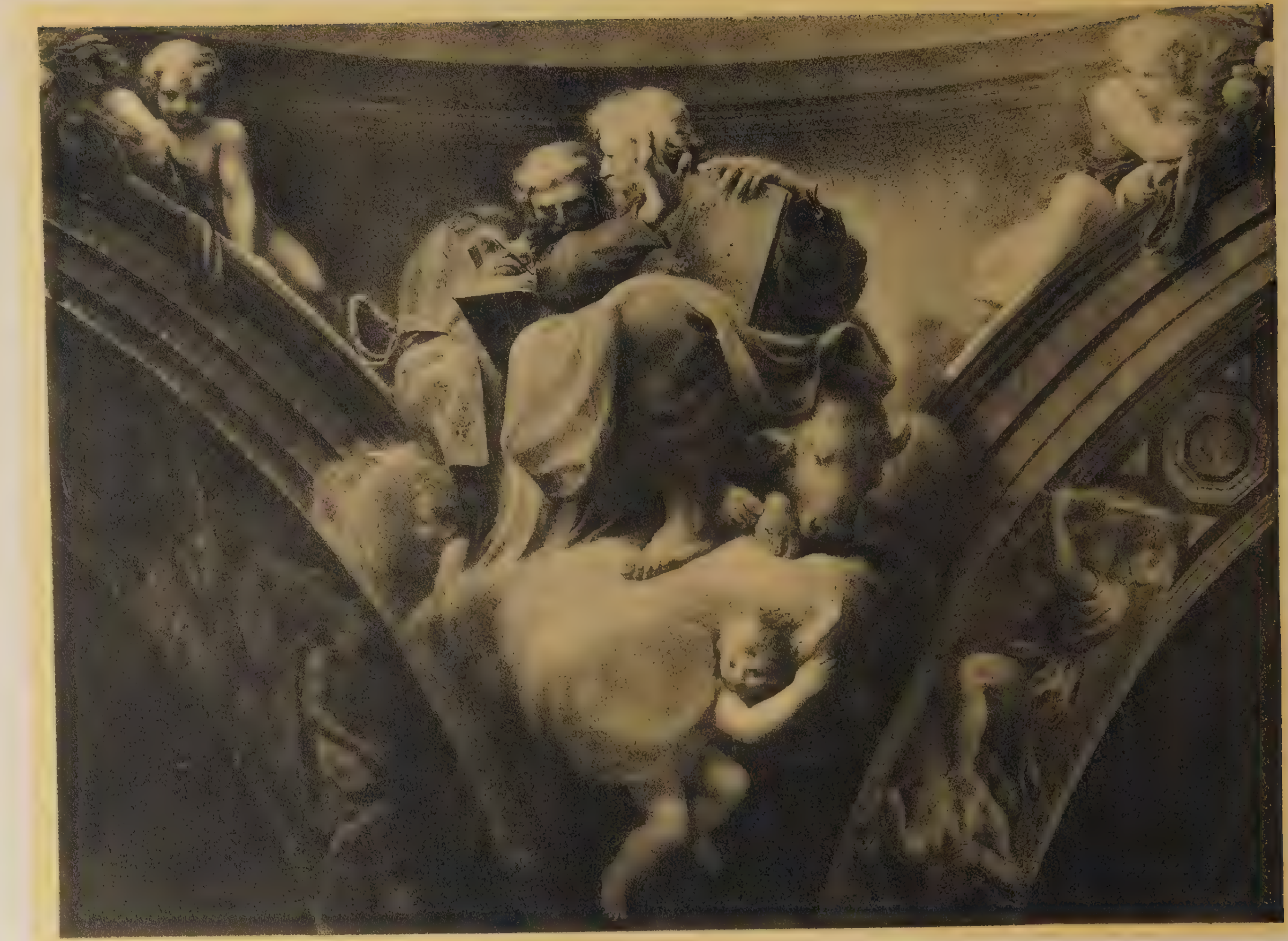


CIV

ST. MARK AND ST. GREGORY

Parma. S.W. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

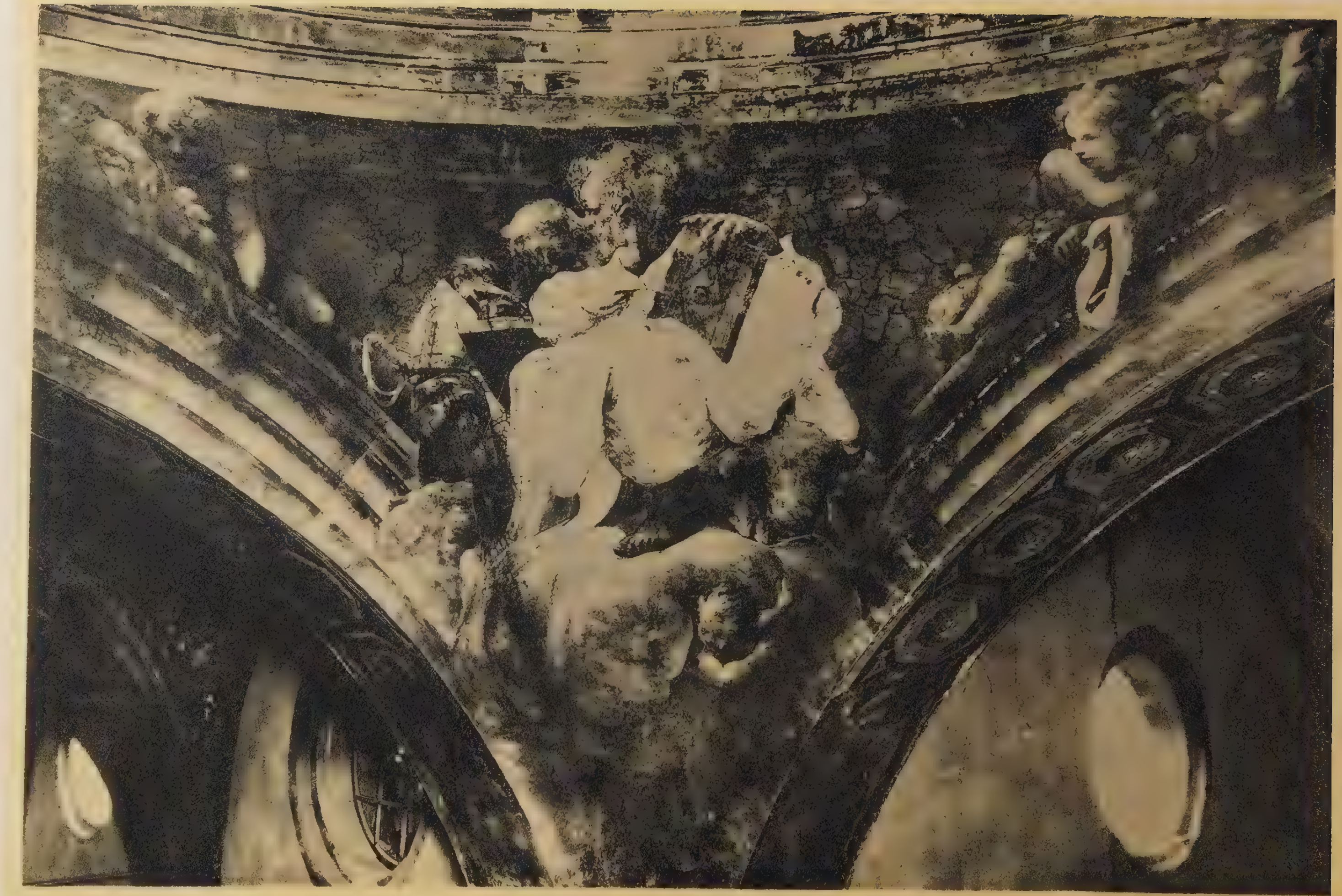
(Photo. Vaghi)



CV

ST. LUKE AND ST. AMBROSE. COPY IN WATER-COLOURS BY PAOLO TOSCHI AND CARLO RAIMONDI *of the N.W. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery*

(Photo. Anderson)

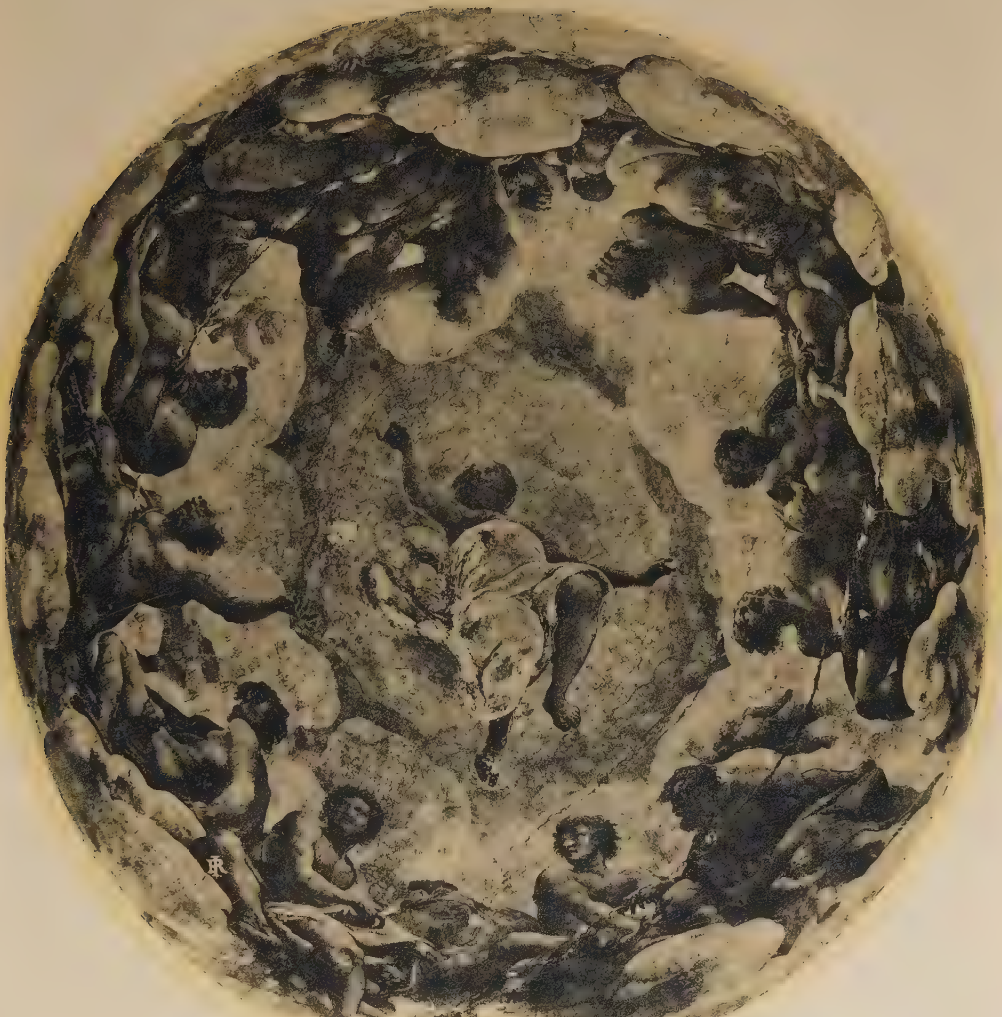


CVI

ST. LUKE AND ST. AMBROSE

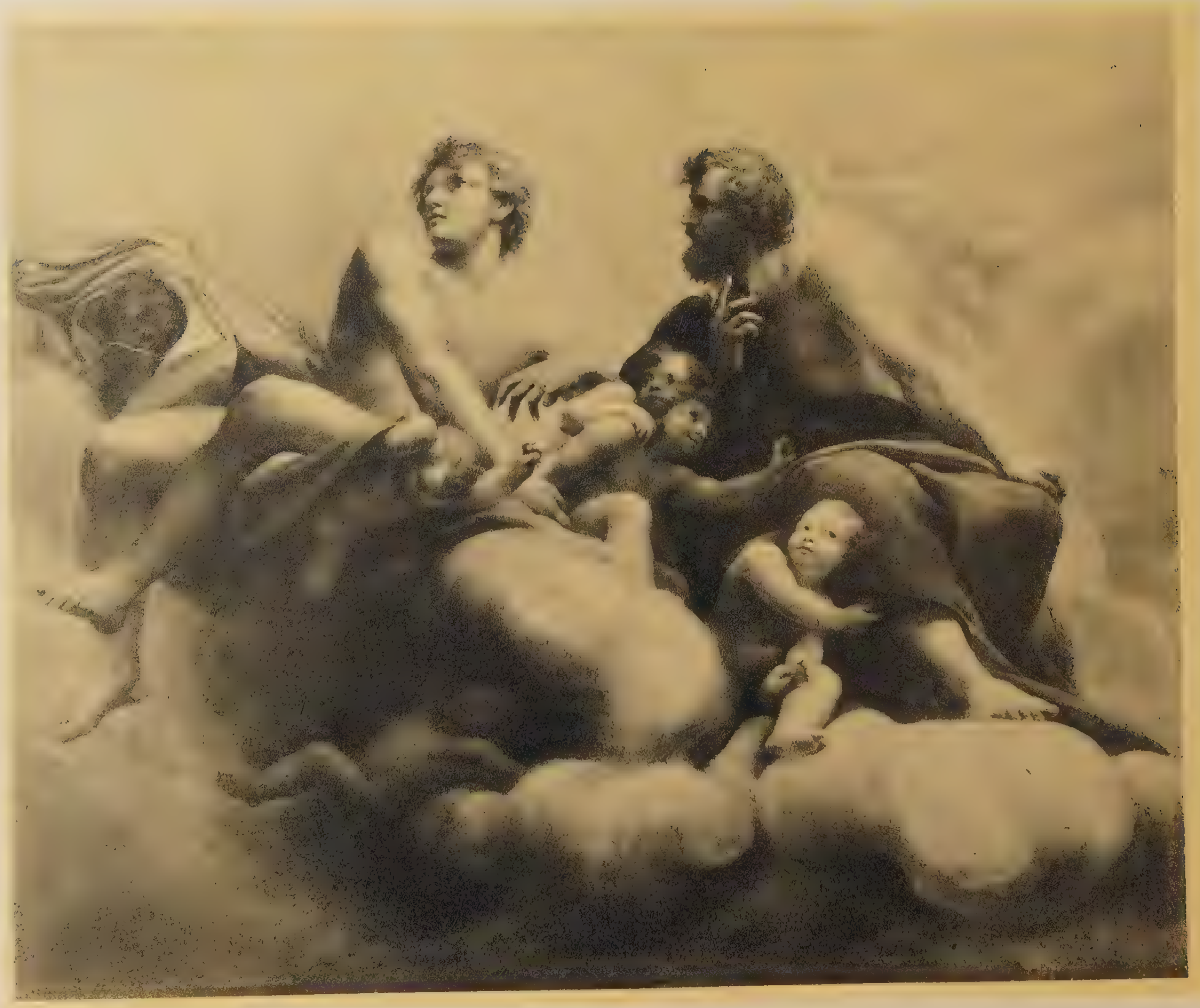
Parma, N.W. pendentive of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

(Photo. Vaghi)



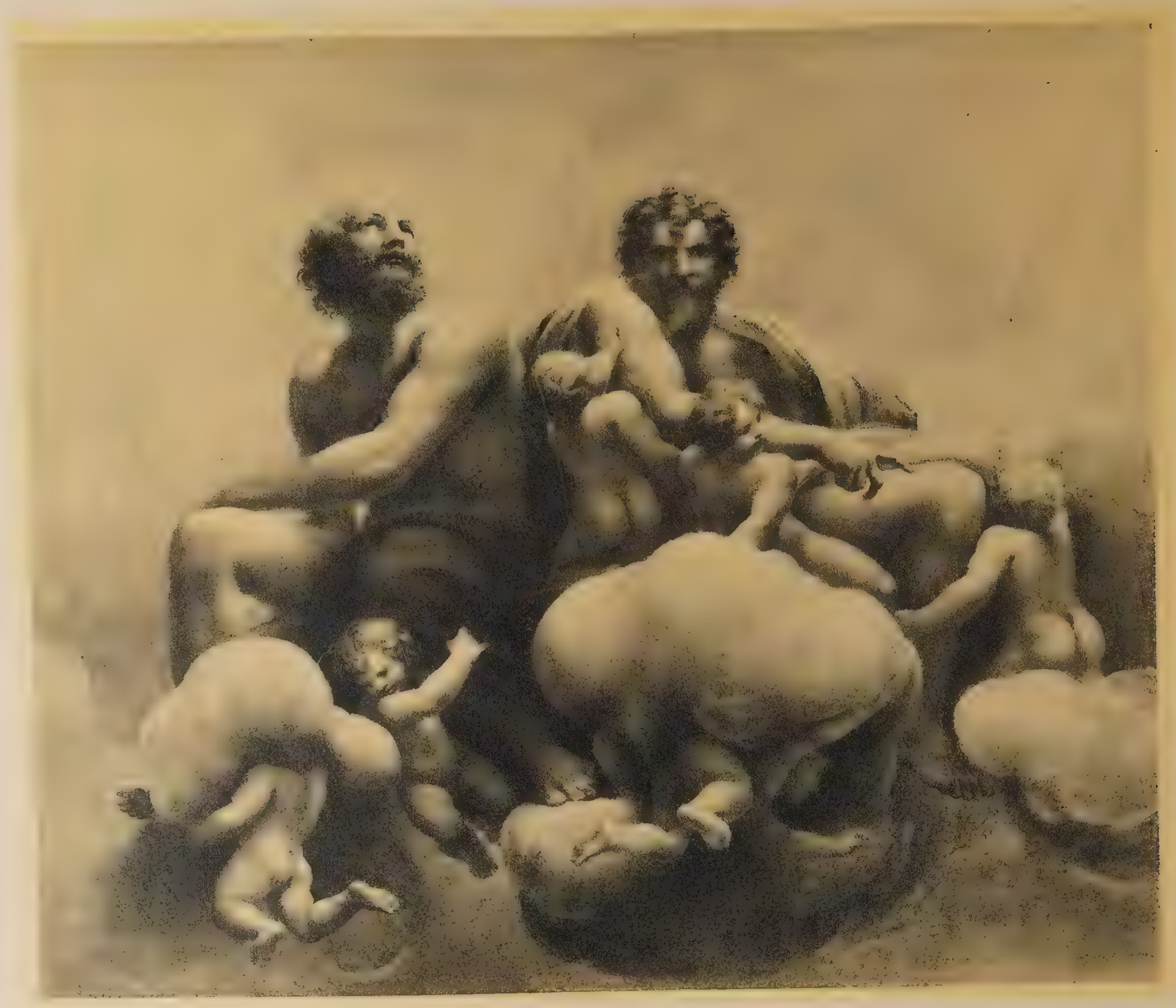
CVII THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST SURROUNDED BY THE APOSTLES *(Photo. Anderson)*

Parma, Centre of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista



(Photo. Anderson)

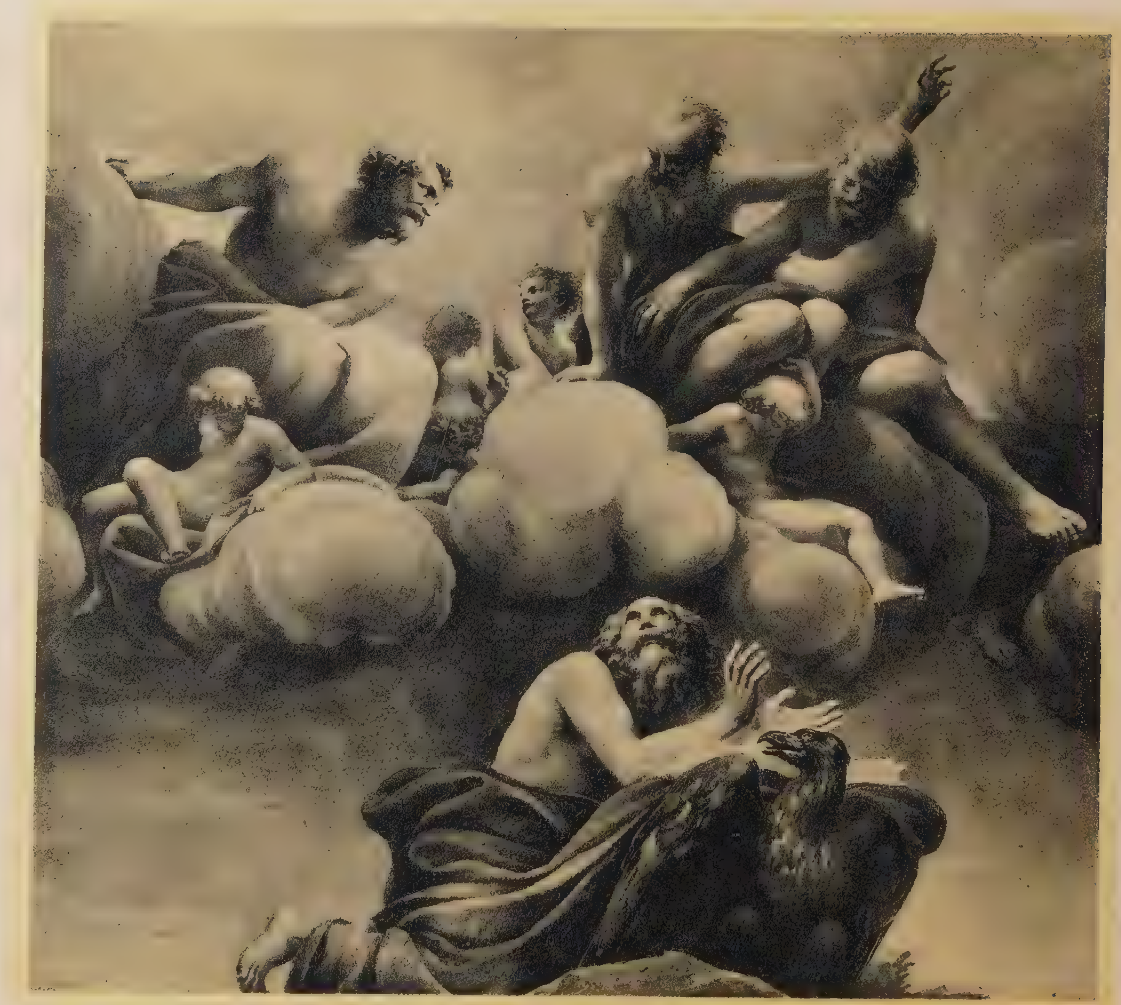
CVIII THE APOSTLES SS. JAMES THE LESS AND THOMAS. COPY IN WATER-COLOURS BY CARLO RAIMONDI AND PAOLO TOSCHI
from the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery



CIX

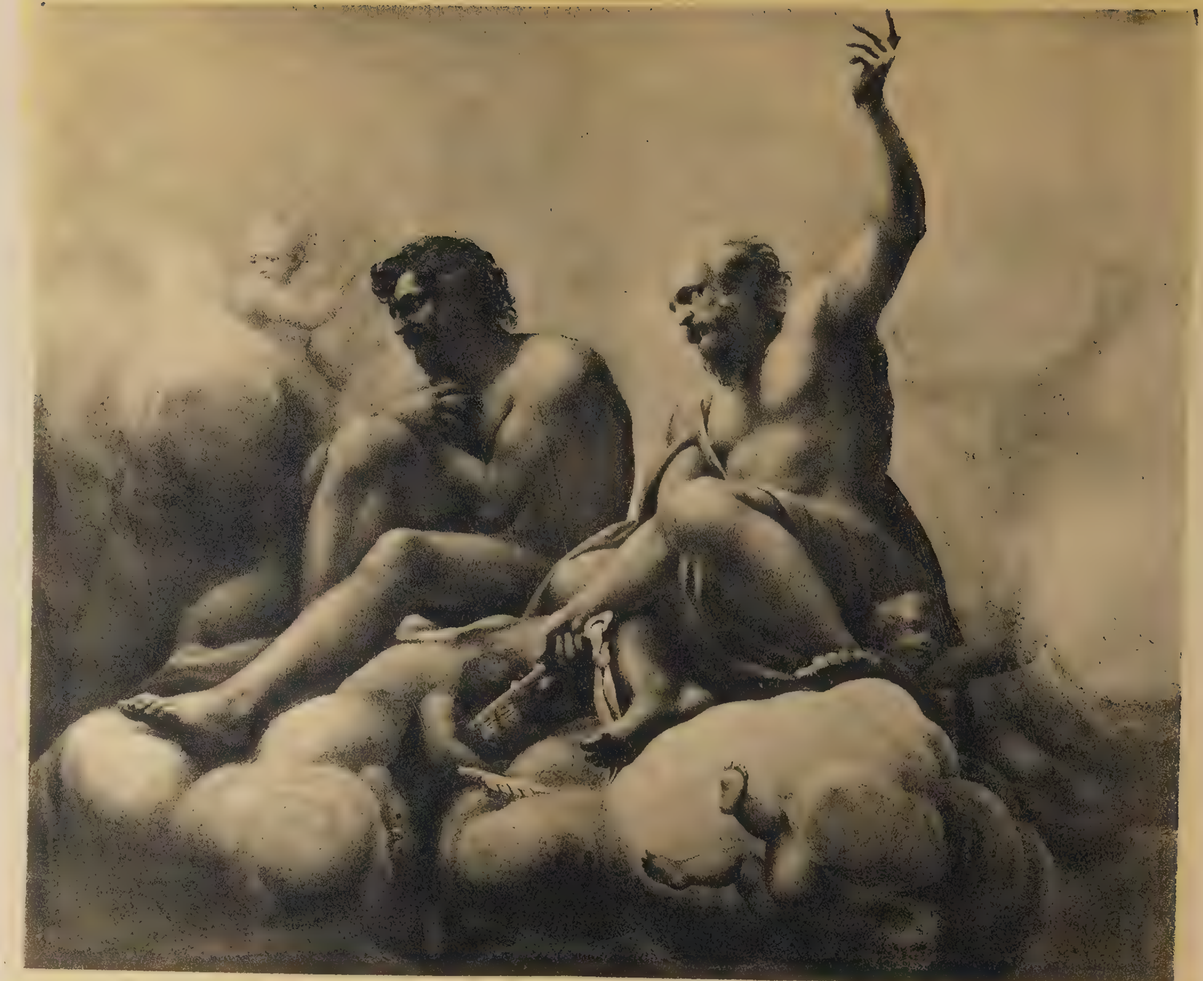
THE APOSTLES SS. ANDREW AND JAMES THE GREAT
COPY IN WATER-COLOURS BY CARLO RAIMONDI AND PAOLO TOSCHI
from the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery

(Photo. Anderson)



(Photo. Anderson)

CX ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST ON PATMOS AND THE APOSTLES SS. SIMON, BARTHOLOMEW, AND MATTHEW. Copy by Carlo Raimondi and Paolo Toschi
from the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery



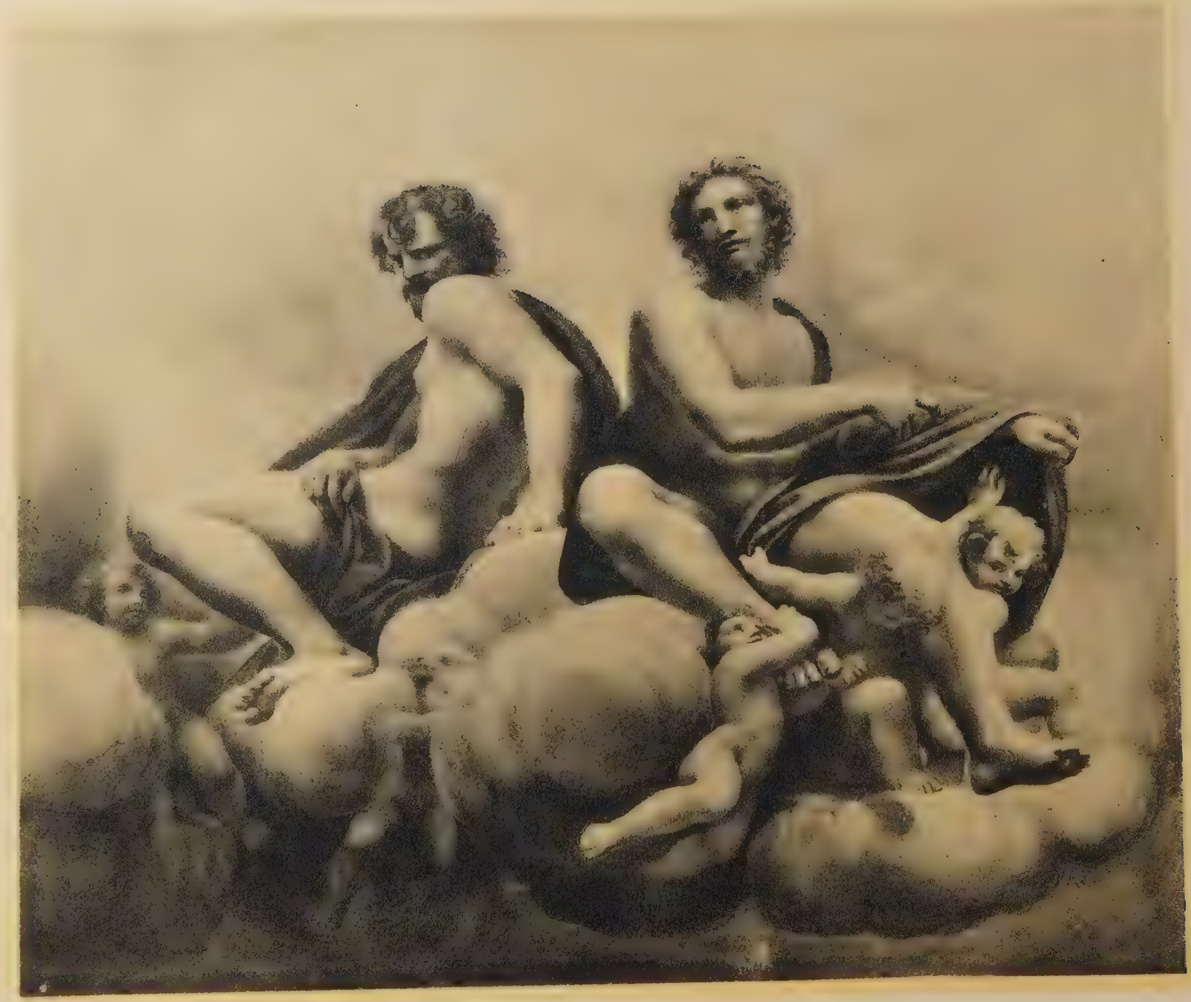
CXI

THE APOSTLES SS. PETER AND PAUL

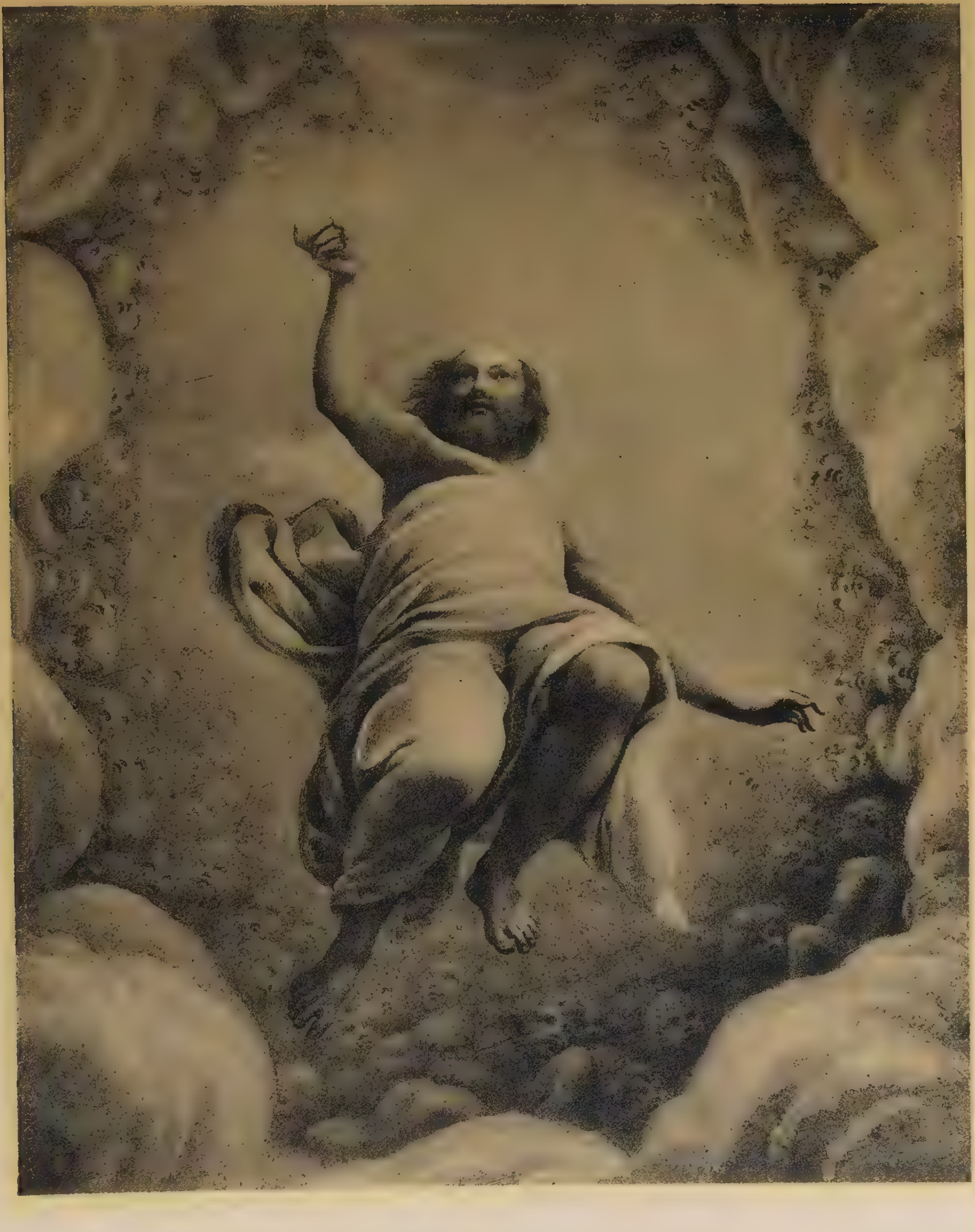
COPY IN WATER-COLOURS BY LUDOVICO BIGOLA, CARLO RAIMONDI, AND PAOLO TOSCHI

from the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery

(Photo. Anderson)



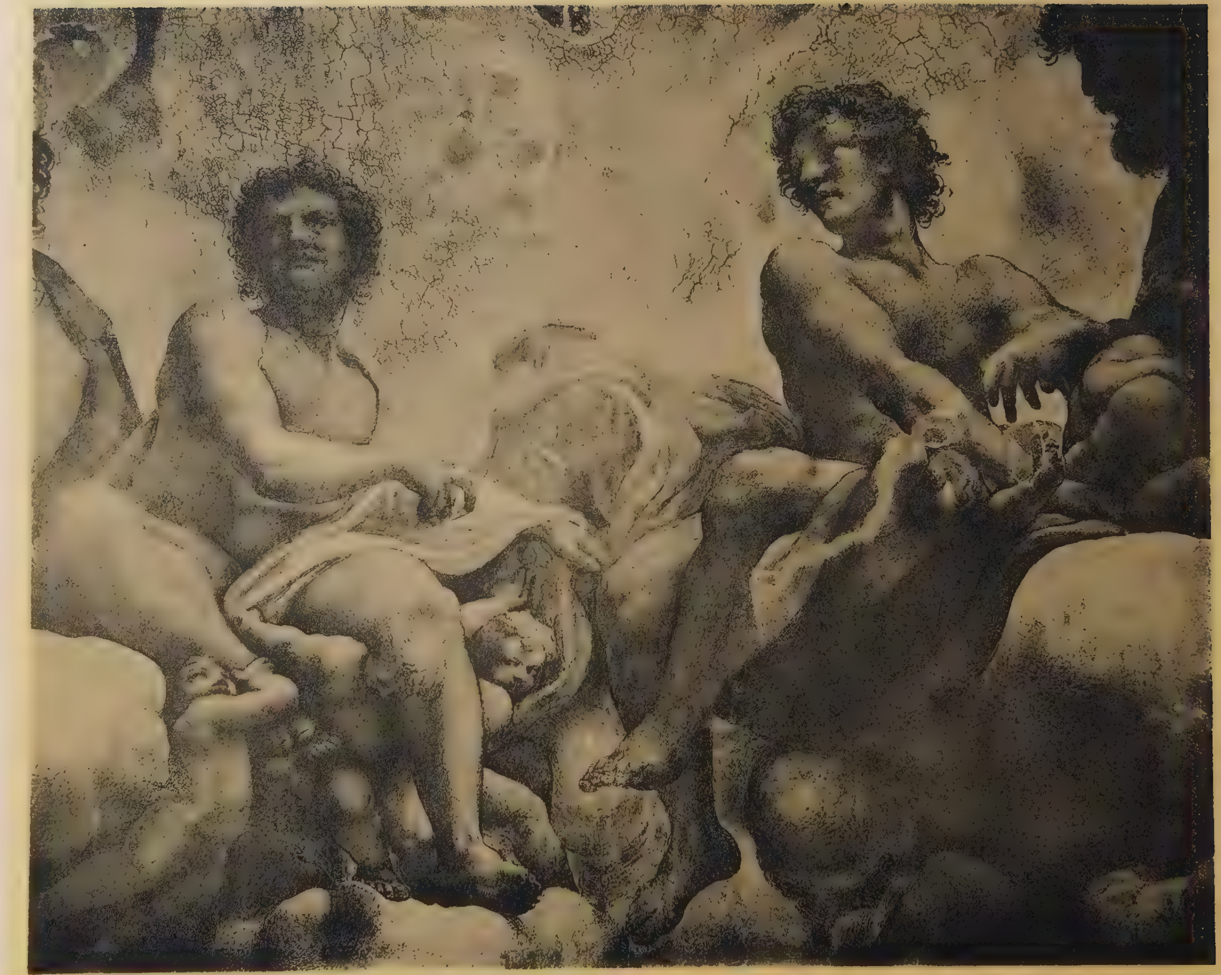
CXII THE APOSTLES SS. PHILIP AND THADDÆUS. Copy in water-colours by Paolo Toschi (*Photo. Anderson*)
from the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery



CXIII THE SAVIOUR IN GLORY (Photo. Anderson)

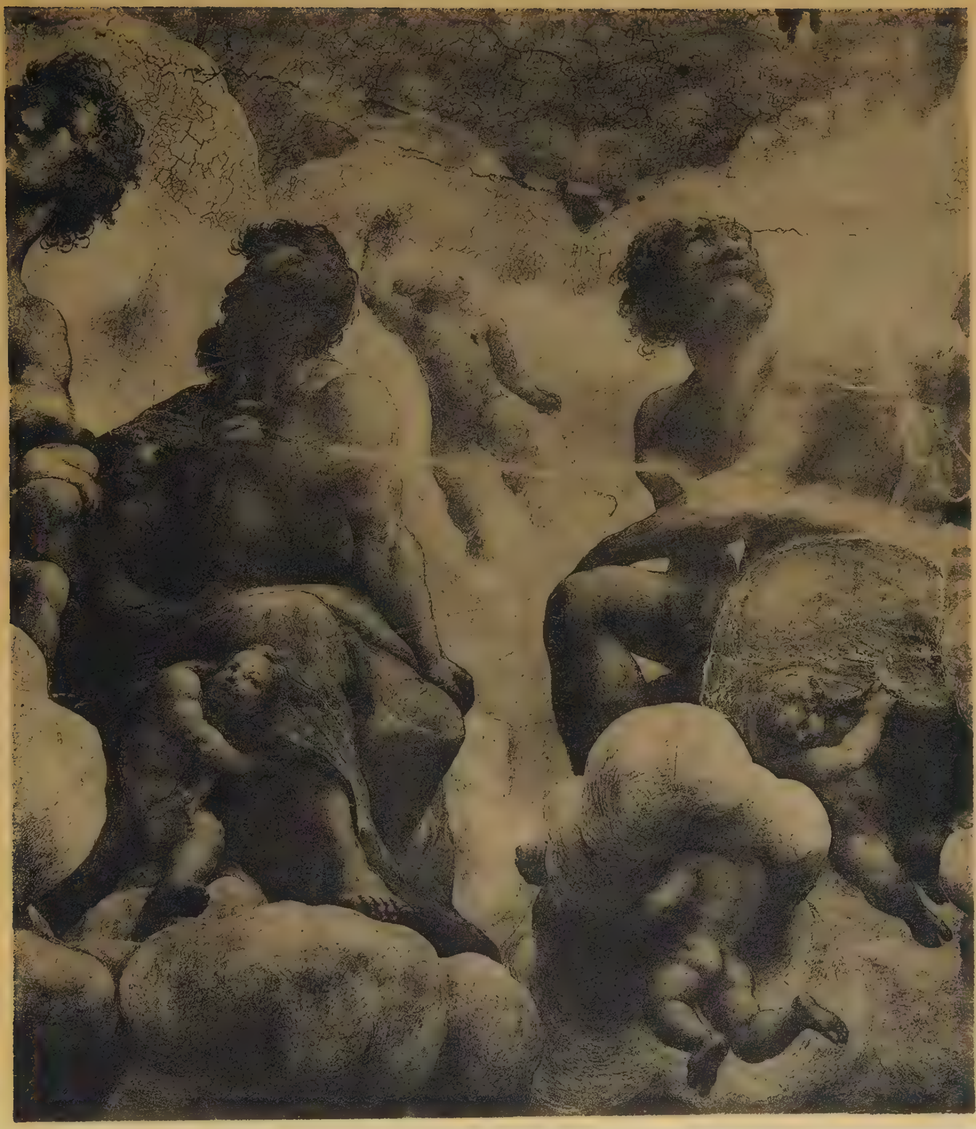
COPY IN WATER-COLOURS BY PAOLO TOSCHI AND CARLO RAIMONDI

of the centre of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. Parma, Art Gallery

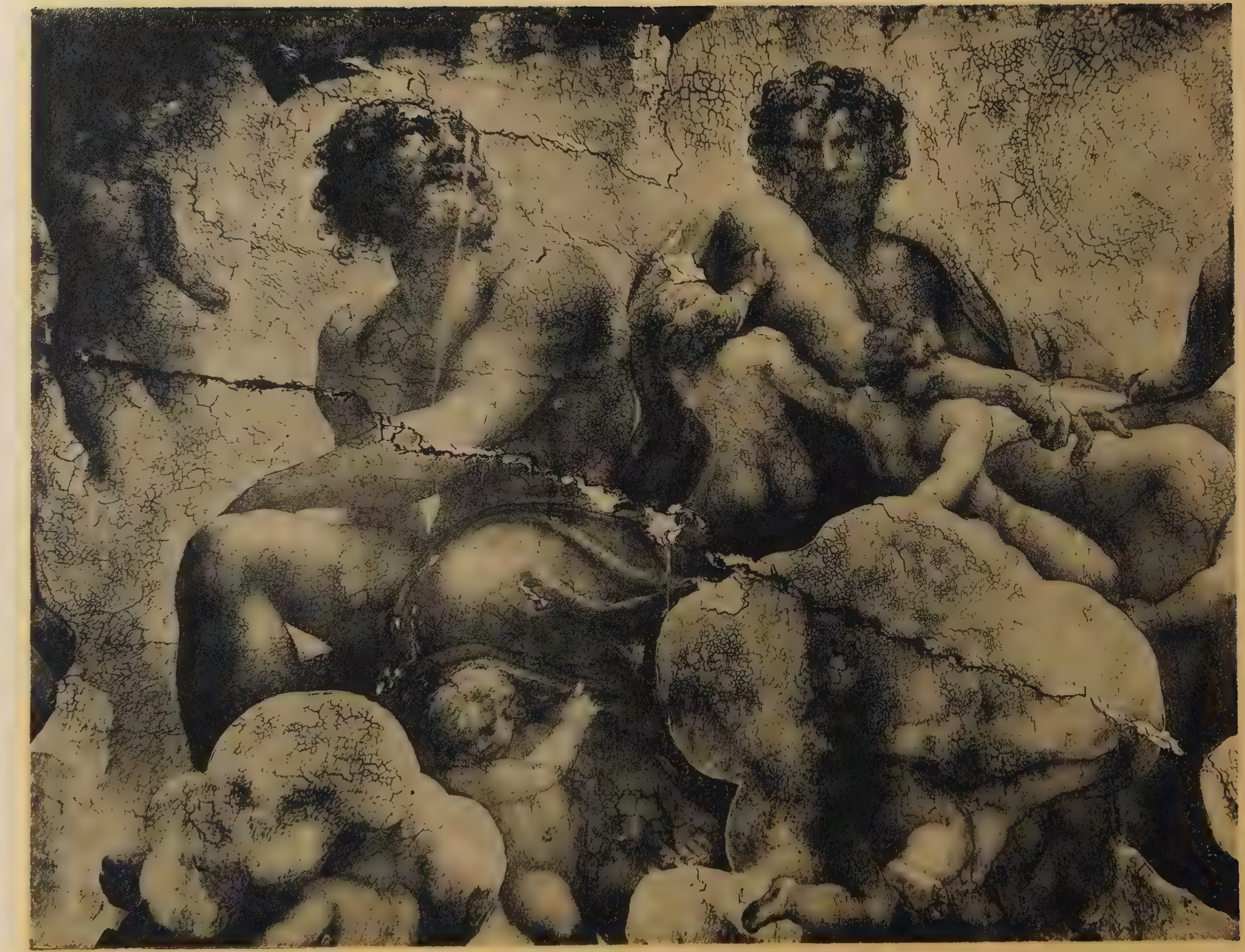


CXIV THE APOSTLES SS. THADDÆUS AND JAMES THE LESS (Photo. M. P. I.)

Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

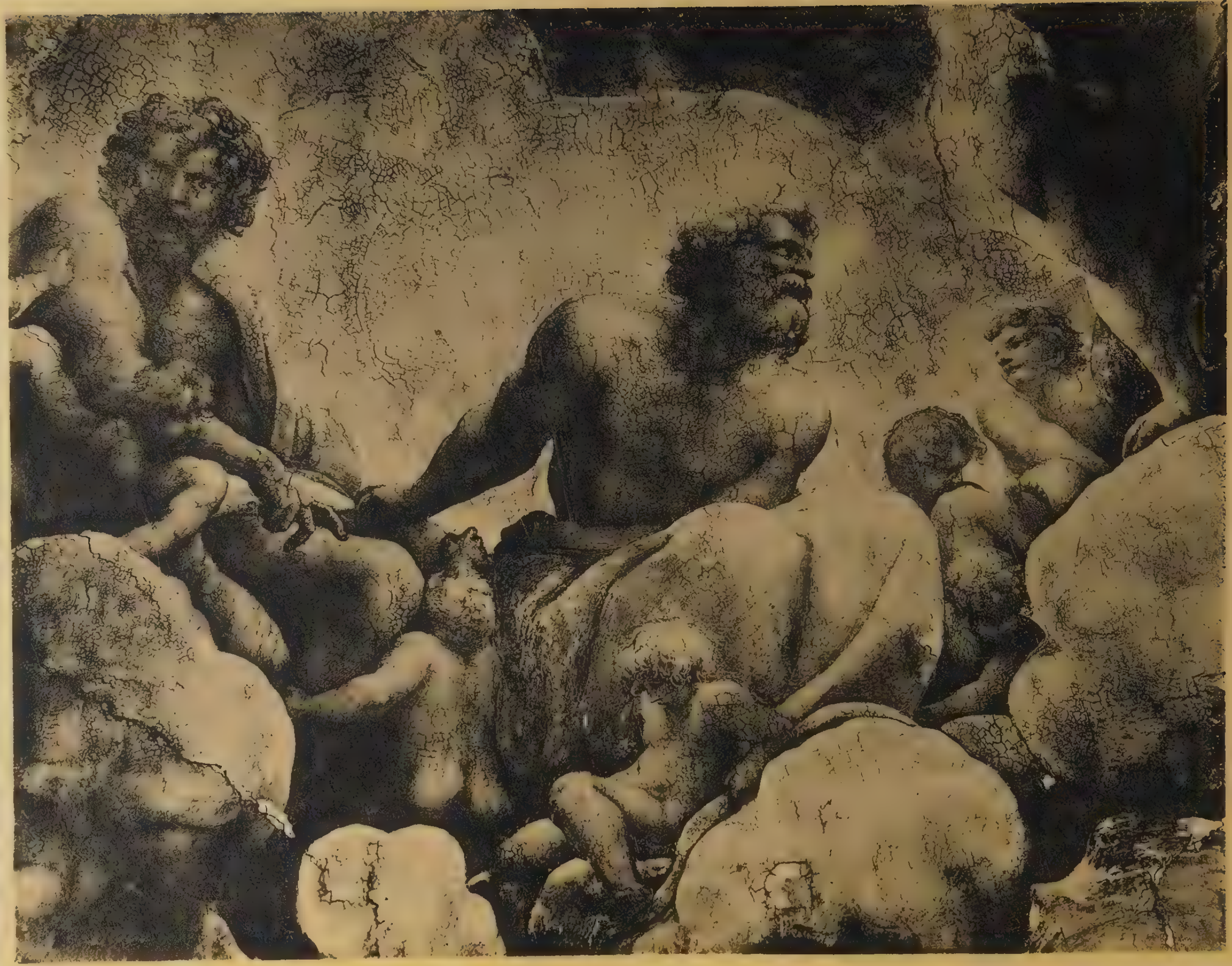


CXV THE APOSTLES SS. JAMES THE LESS, THOMAS, AND ANDREW *(Photo. M. P. I.)*
Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista



(XV) THE APOSTLES SS. ANDREW AND JAMES THE GREAT (Photo. M. P. I.)

Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

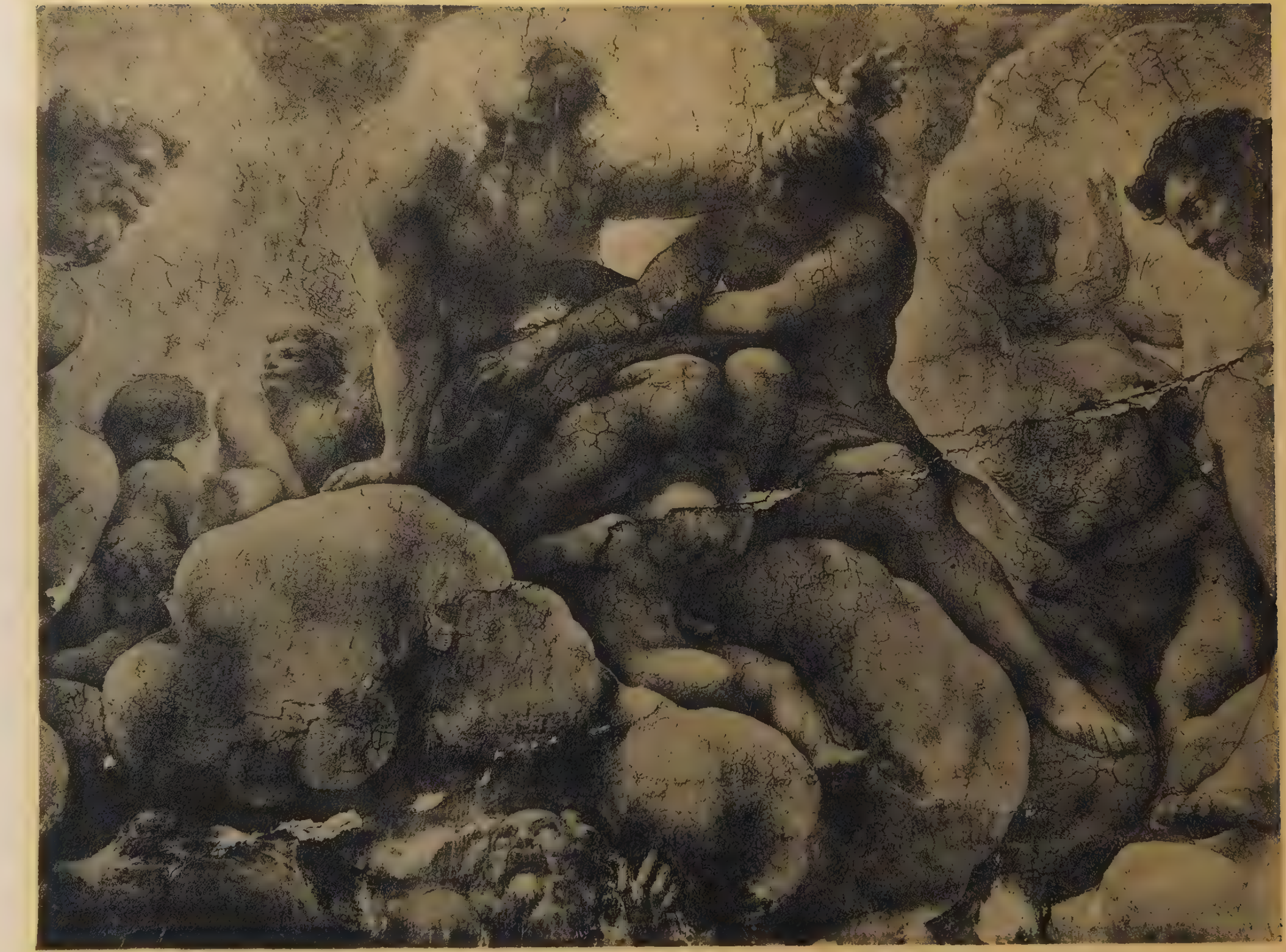


CXVII

THE APOSTLES SS. JAMES THE GREAT AND SIMON

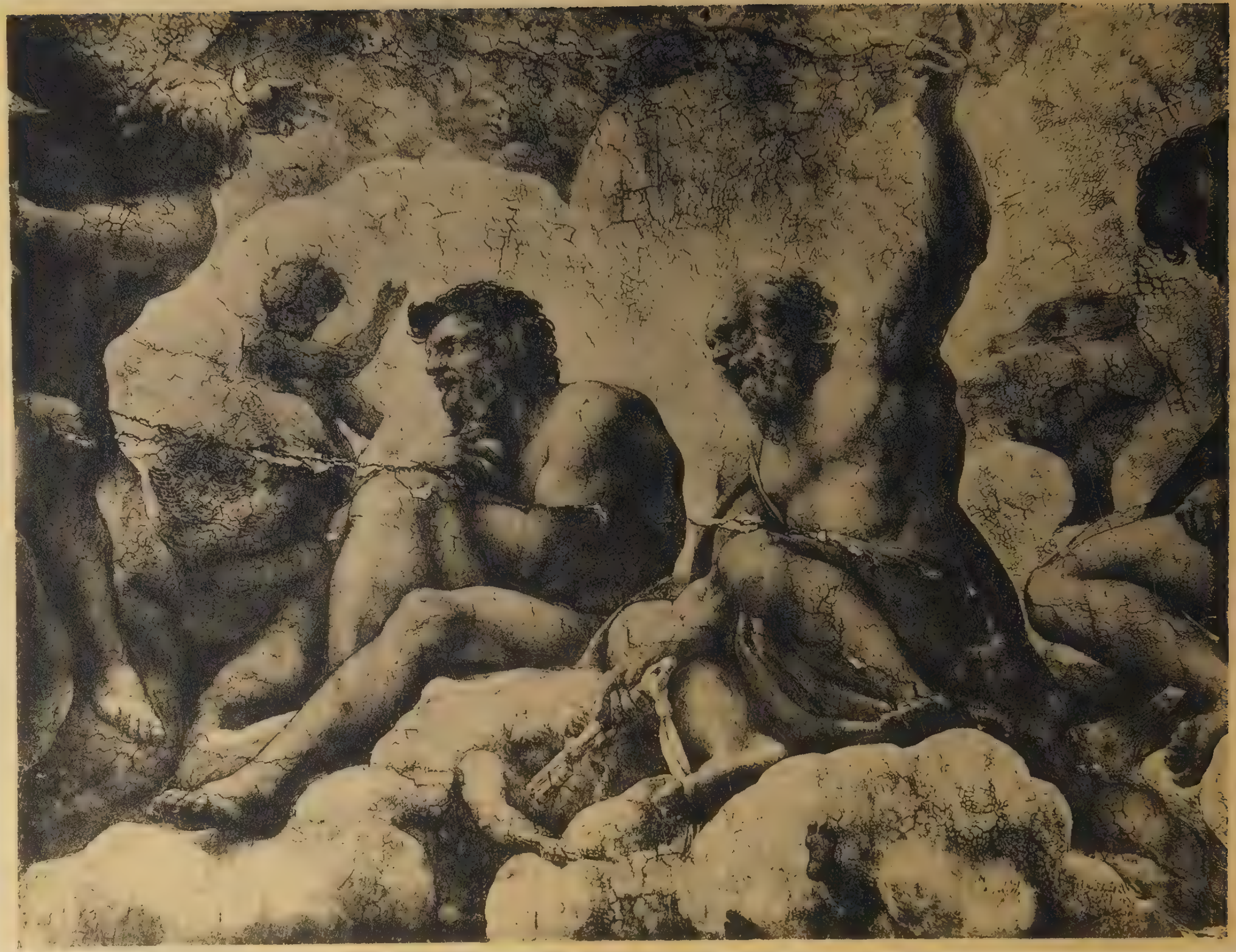
Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

(Photo. M. P. I.)



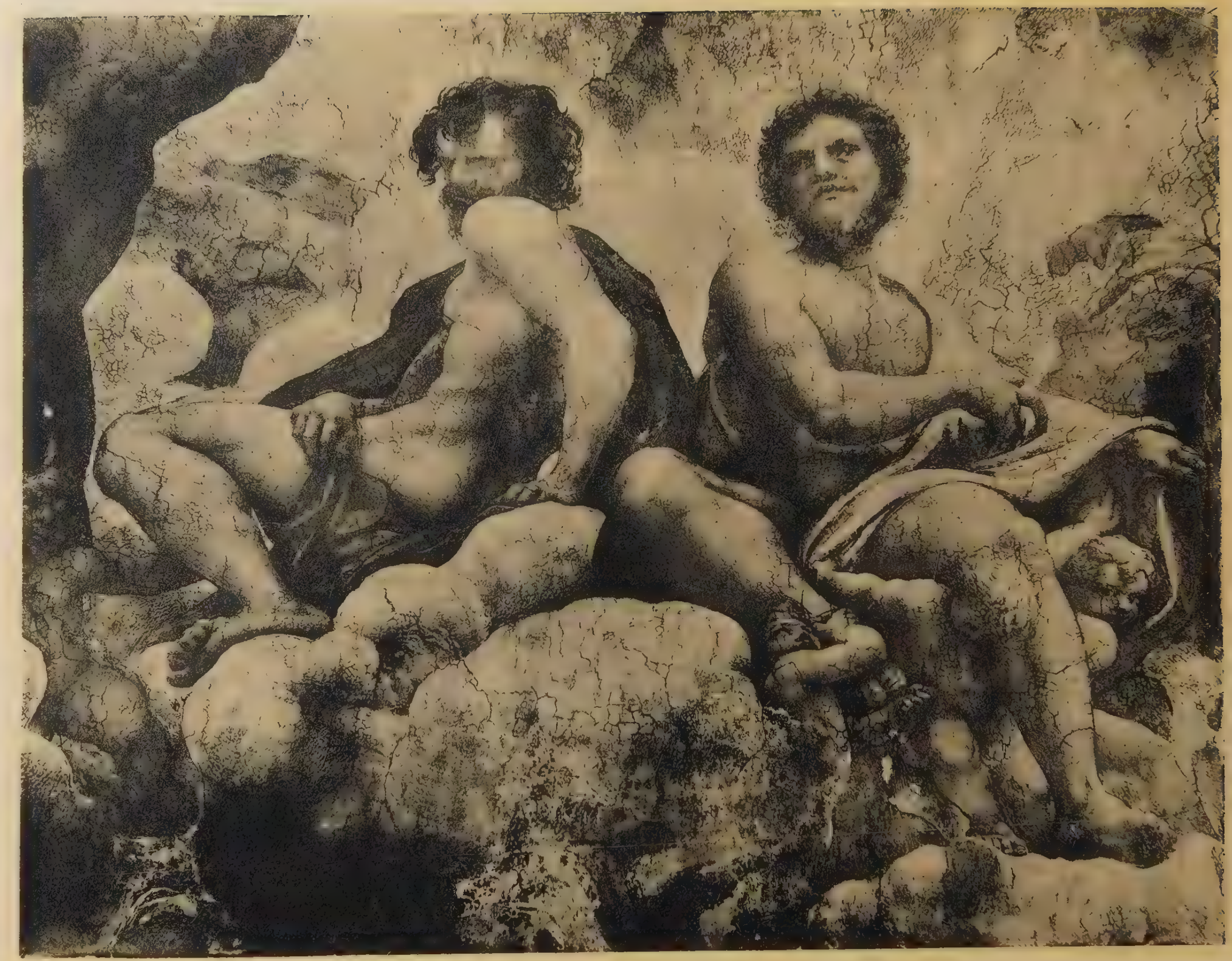
CXVIII THE APOSTLES SS. BARTHOLOMEW AND MATTHEW (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista



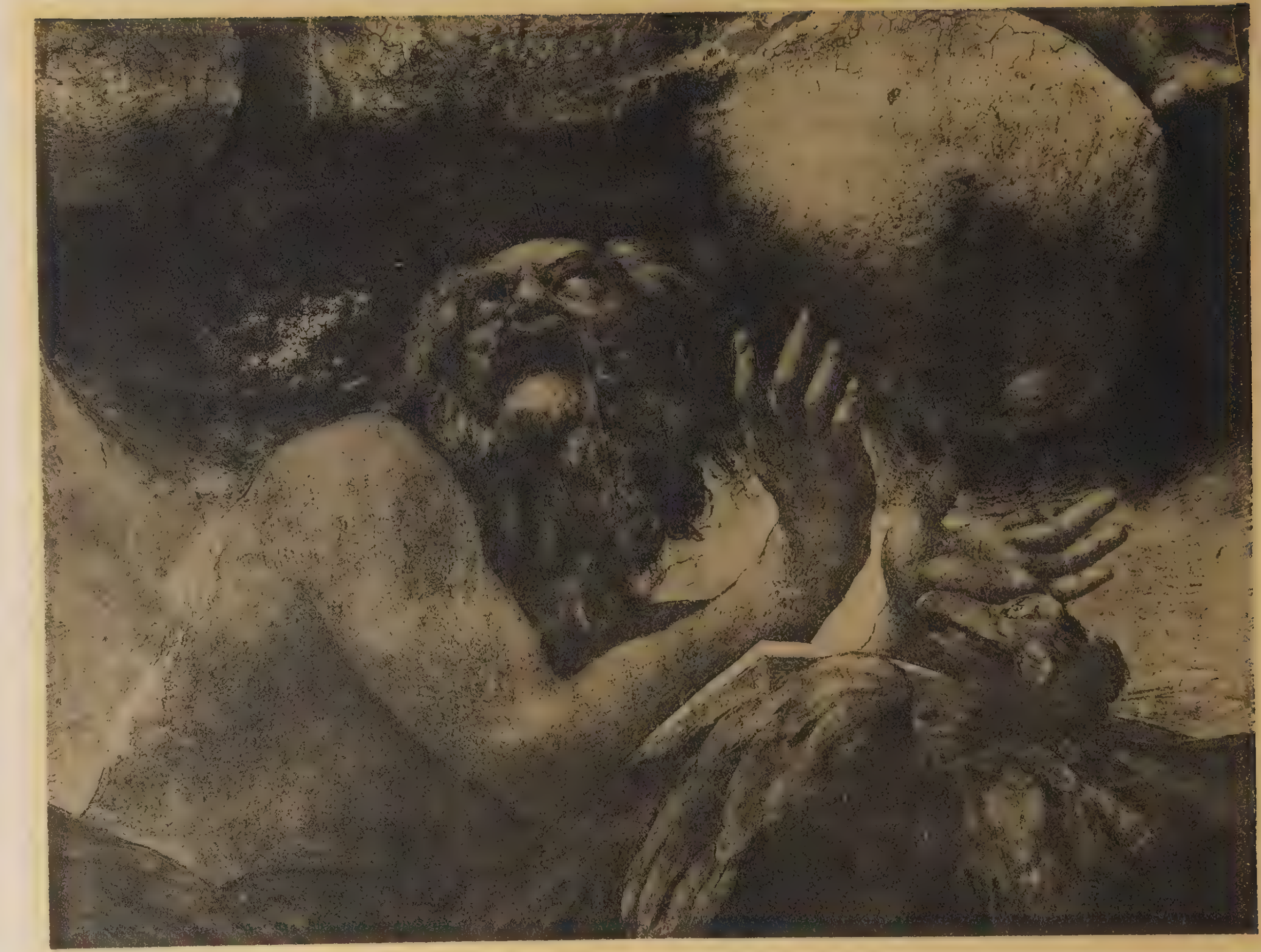
CXIX THE APOSTLES SS. PETER AND PAUL (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista



CXX THE APOSTLES SS. PHILIP AND THADDÆUS (Photo. Anderson)

Parma. Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

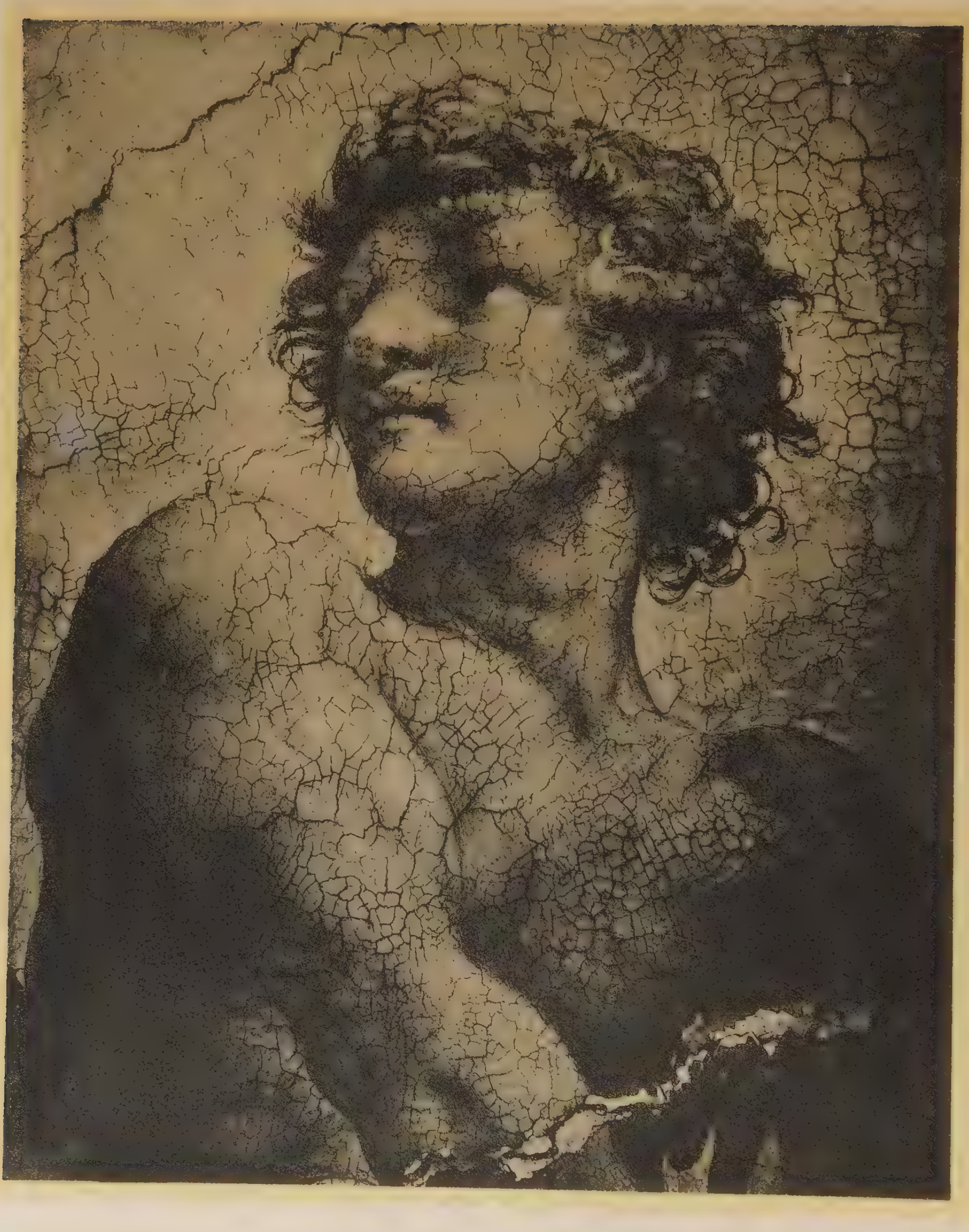


CXXI

ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

Parma, Cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

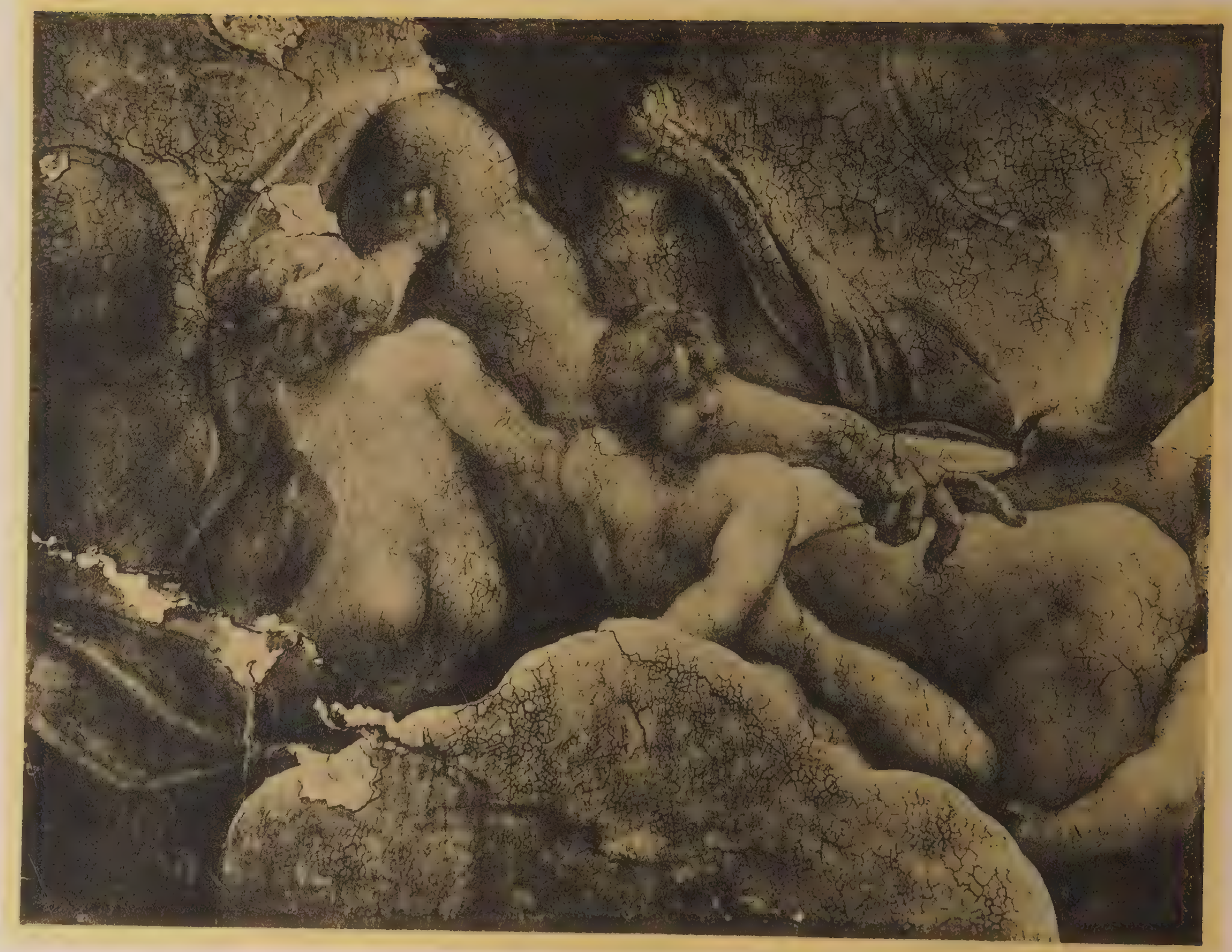
(Photo. M. P. I.)



CXXII

THE APOSTLE ST. JAMES THE LESS
Parma, Detail of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

(Photo. Anderson)

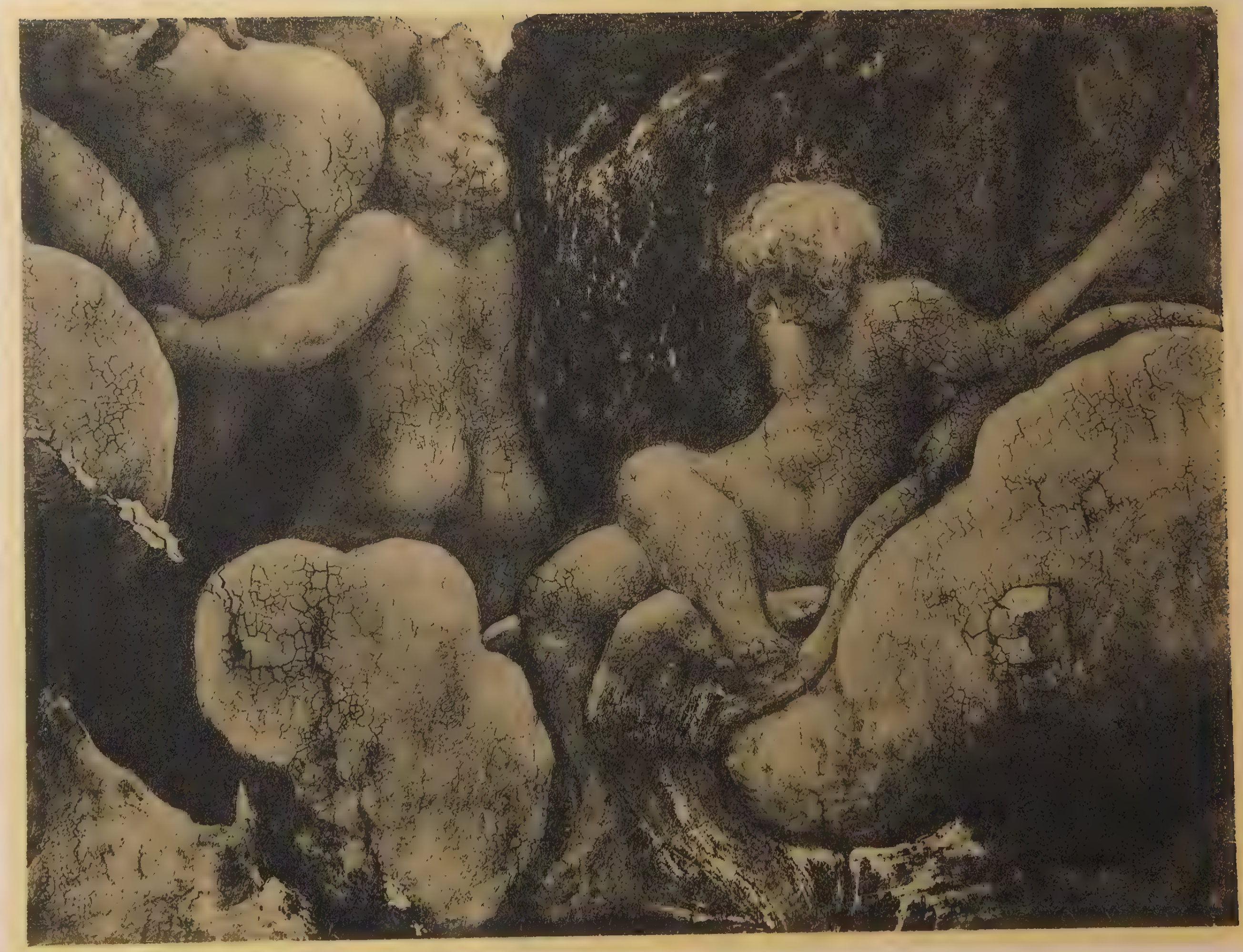


CXXIII

PUTTI

Parma, Detail of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

(Photo. Anderson)

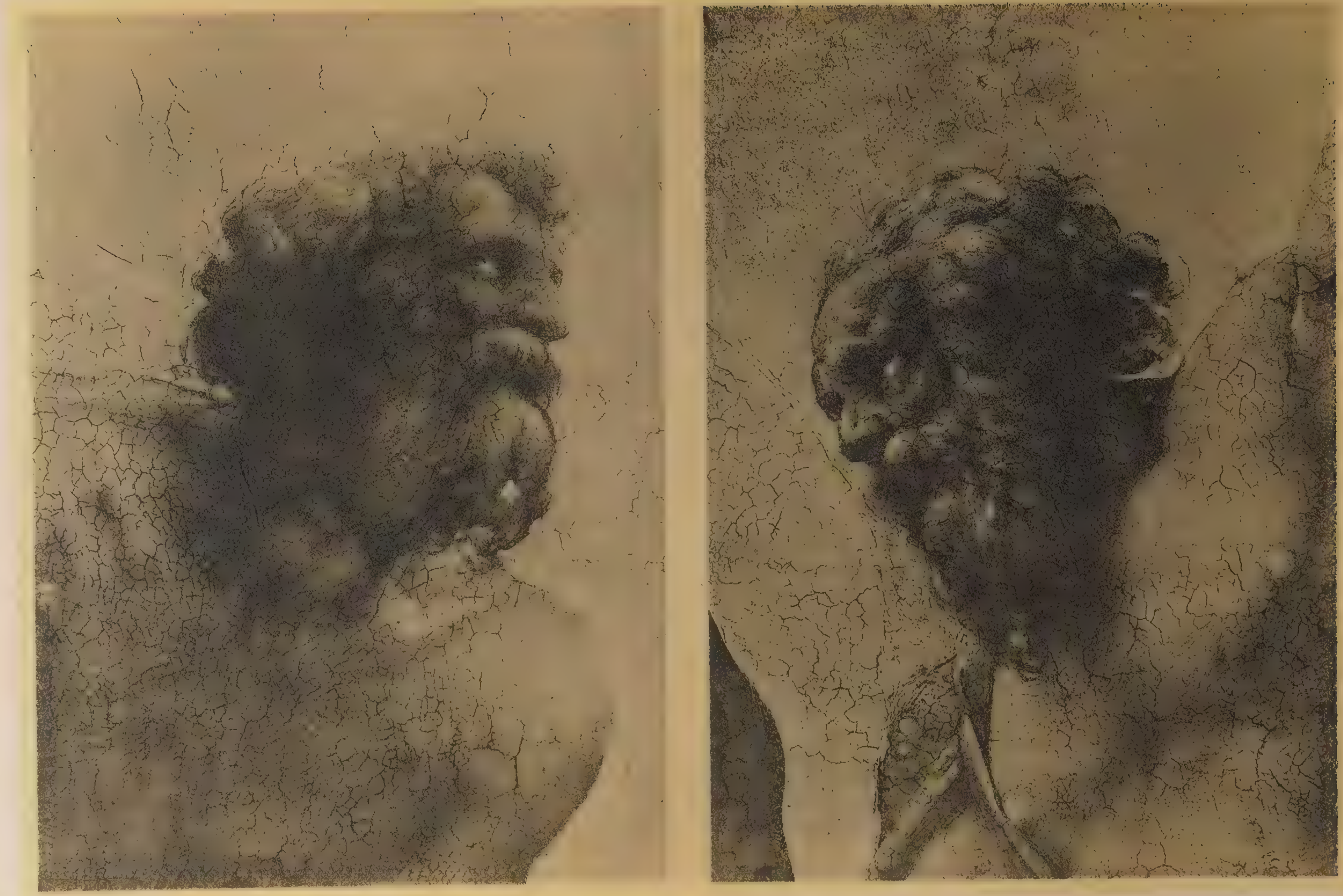


CXXIV

PUTTI

Parma, Detail of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

(Photo. Anderson)

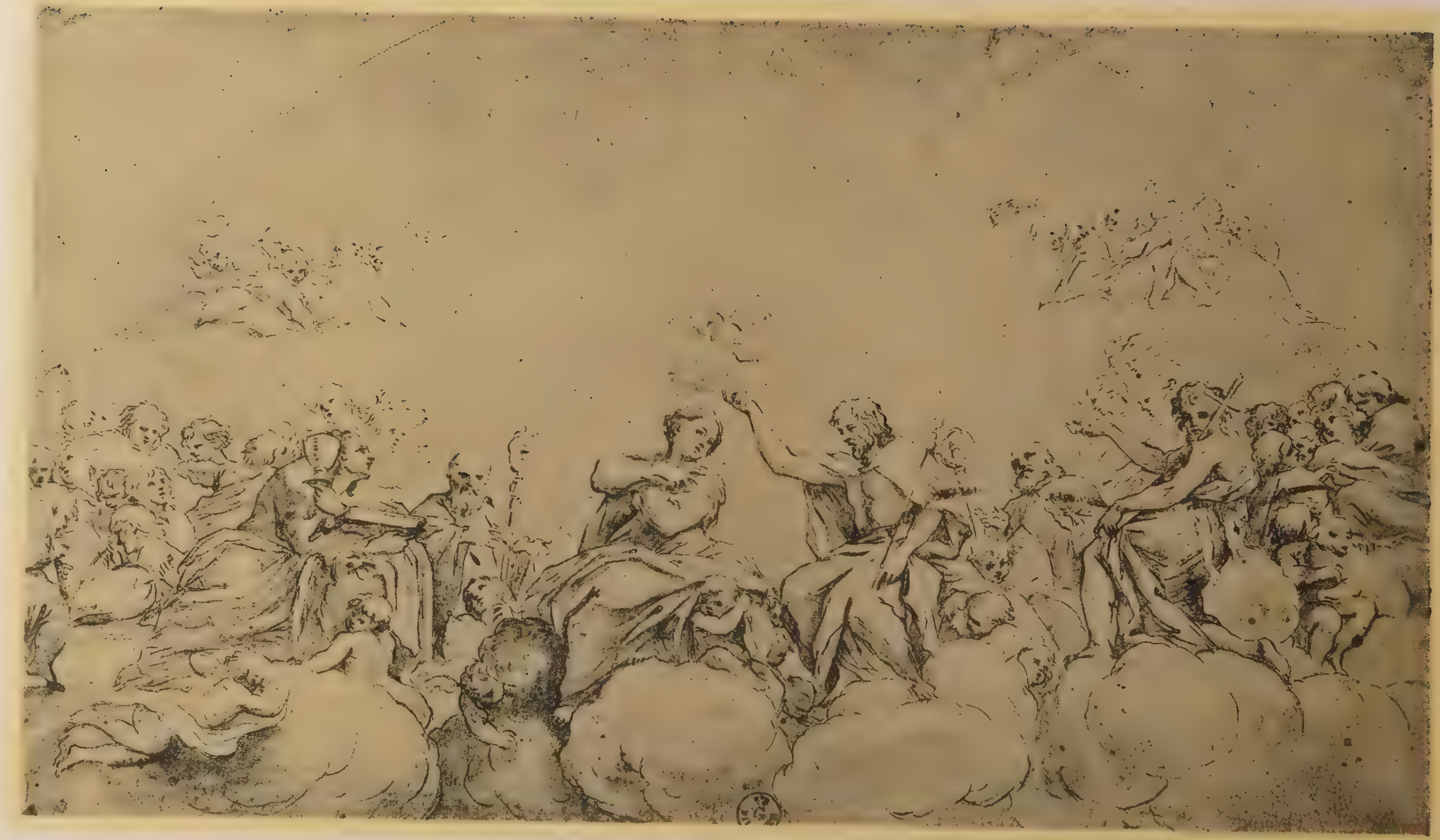


CXXV

THE APOSTLES ST. SIMON AND ST. PETER

Parma, Detail of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista

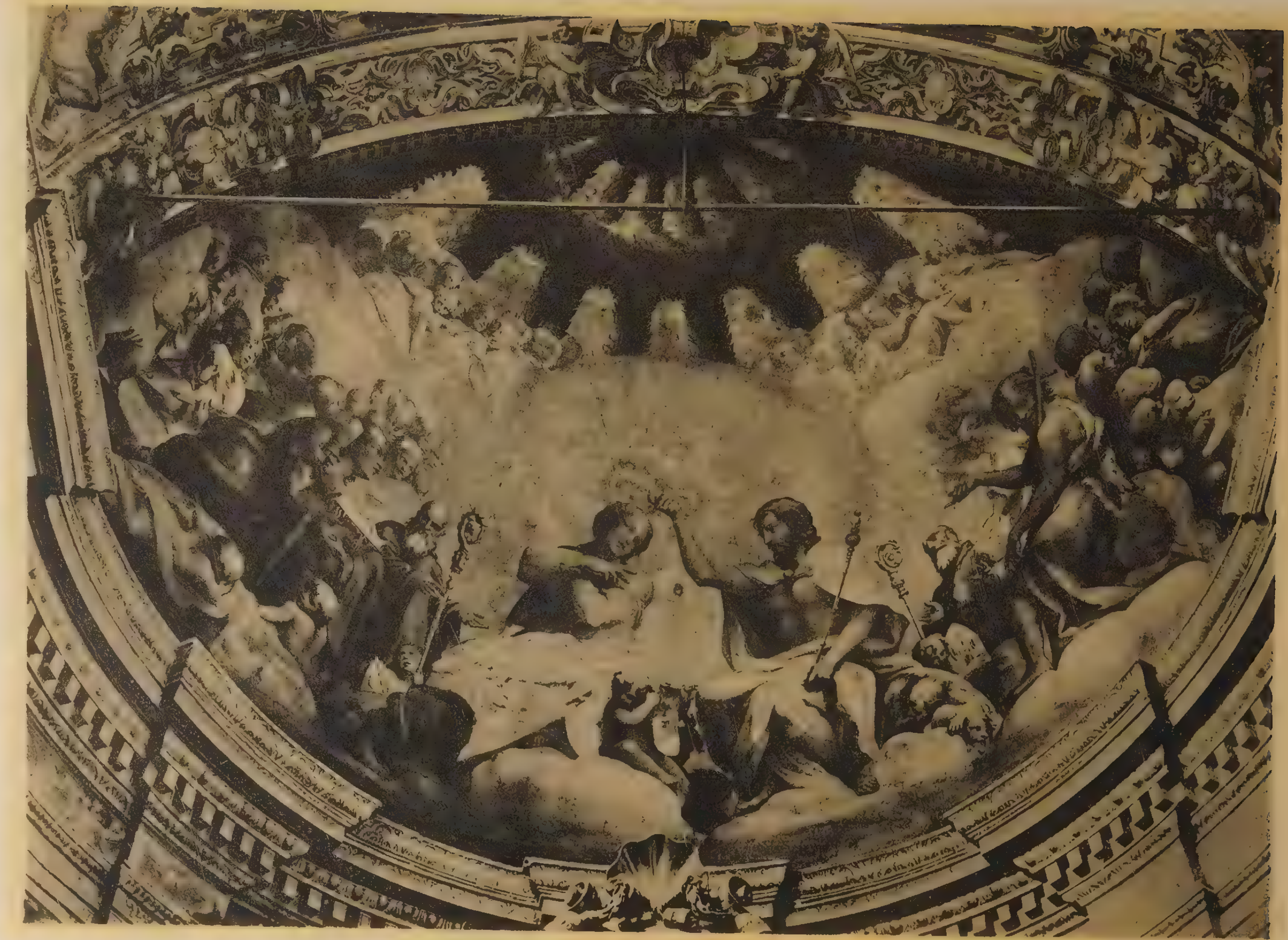
(Photo. Anderson)



CXXVI

THE CORONATION OF THE MADONNA. Copy after Correggio
of the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma

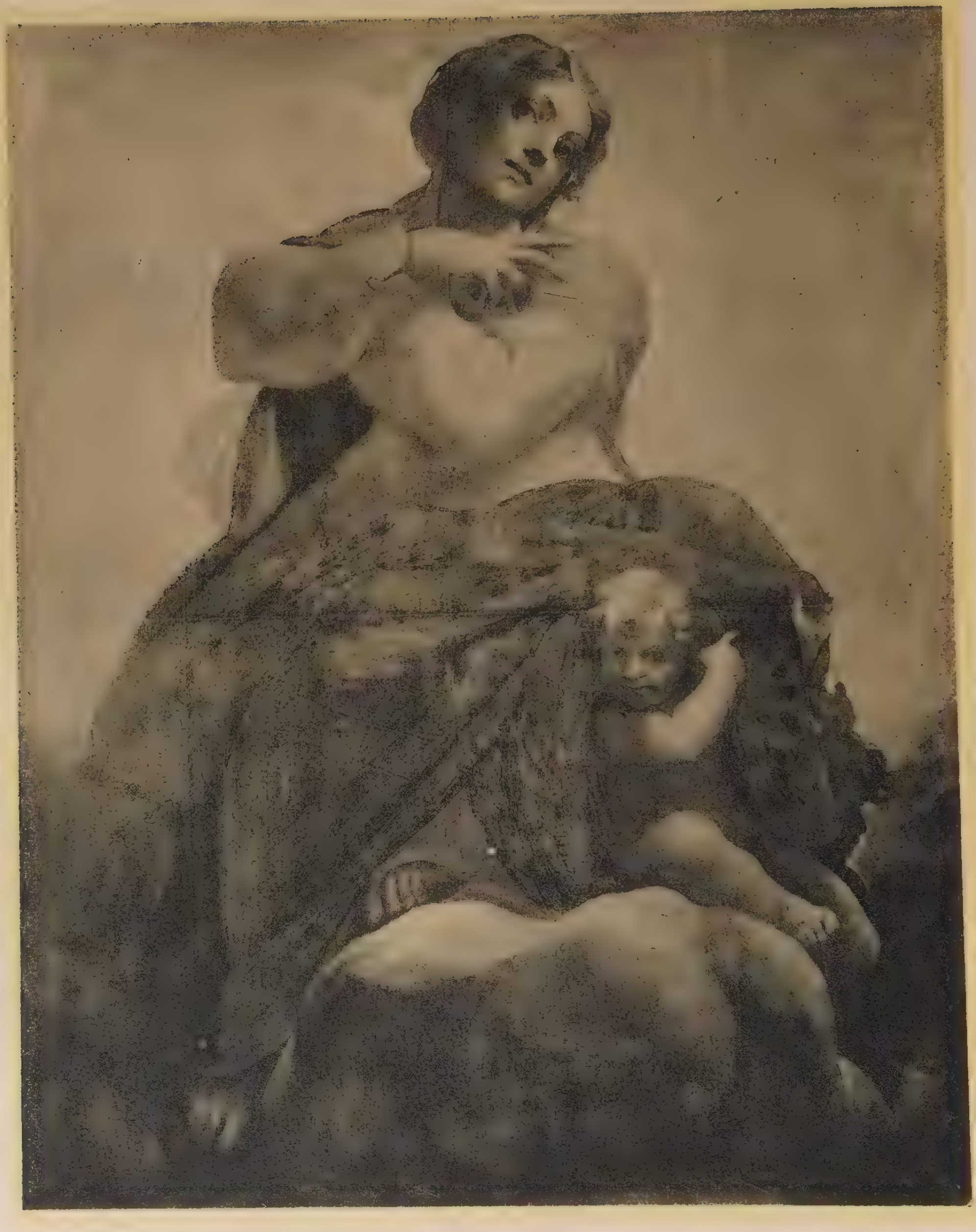
(Photo. Royal Conservatory, Florence)



CXXVII

THE CORONATION OF THE MADONNA. COPY AFTER CORREGGIO, BY CESARE ARETUSI
of the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma

(Photo. Vaghi)



CXXVIII

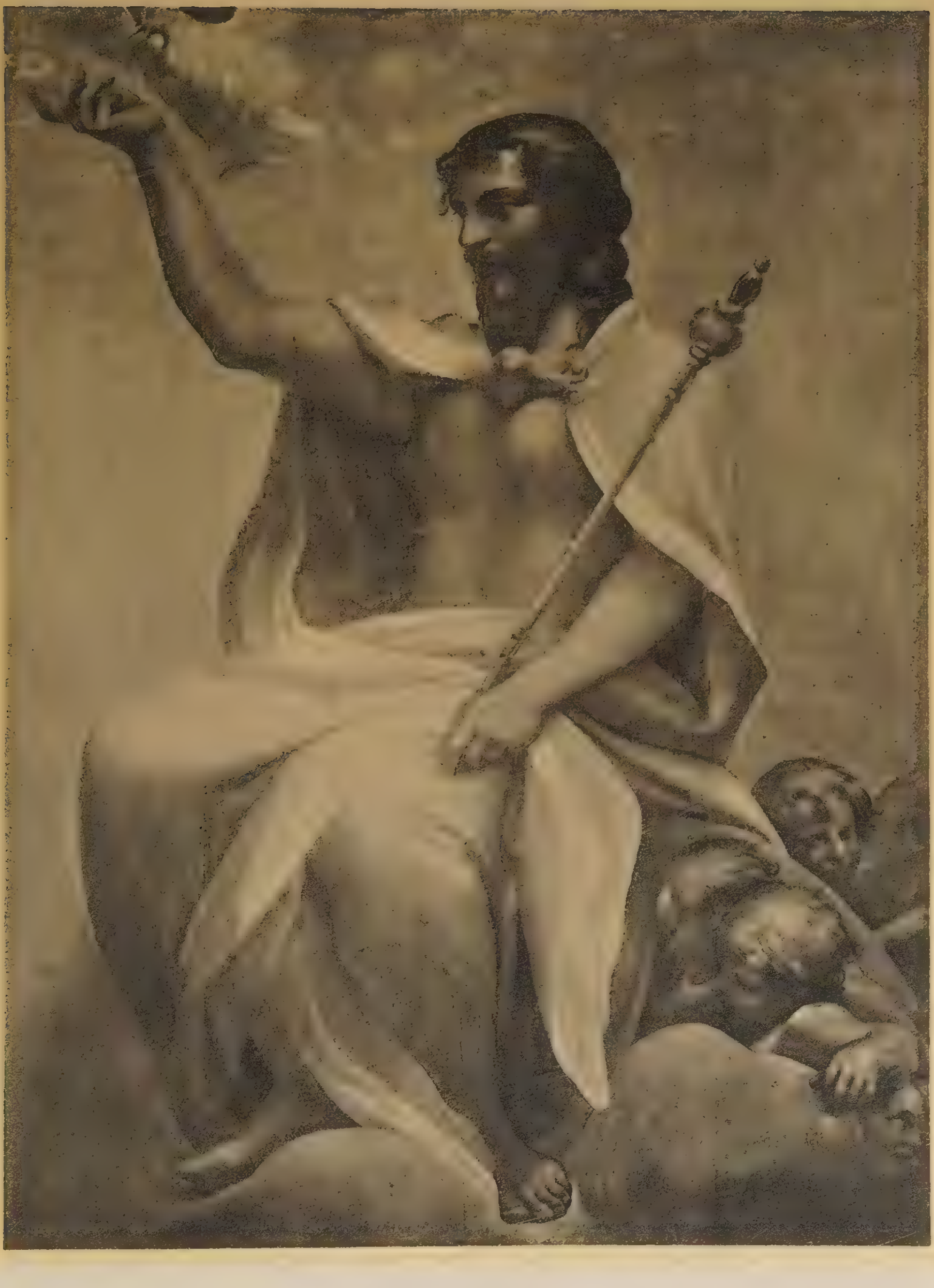
THE CORONATION OF THE MADONNA

Formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma

DETAIL. COPY BY AGOSTINO AND ANNIBALE CARRACCI

Naples, National Museum

(Photo. Royal Superintendent of Excavations, Naples)



CXXIX

THE REDEEMER

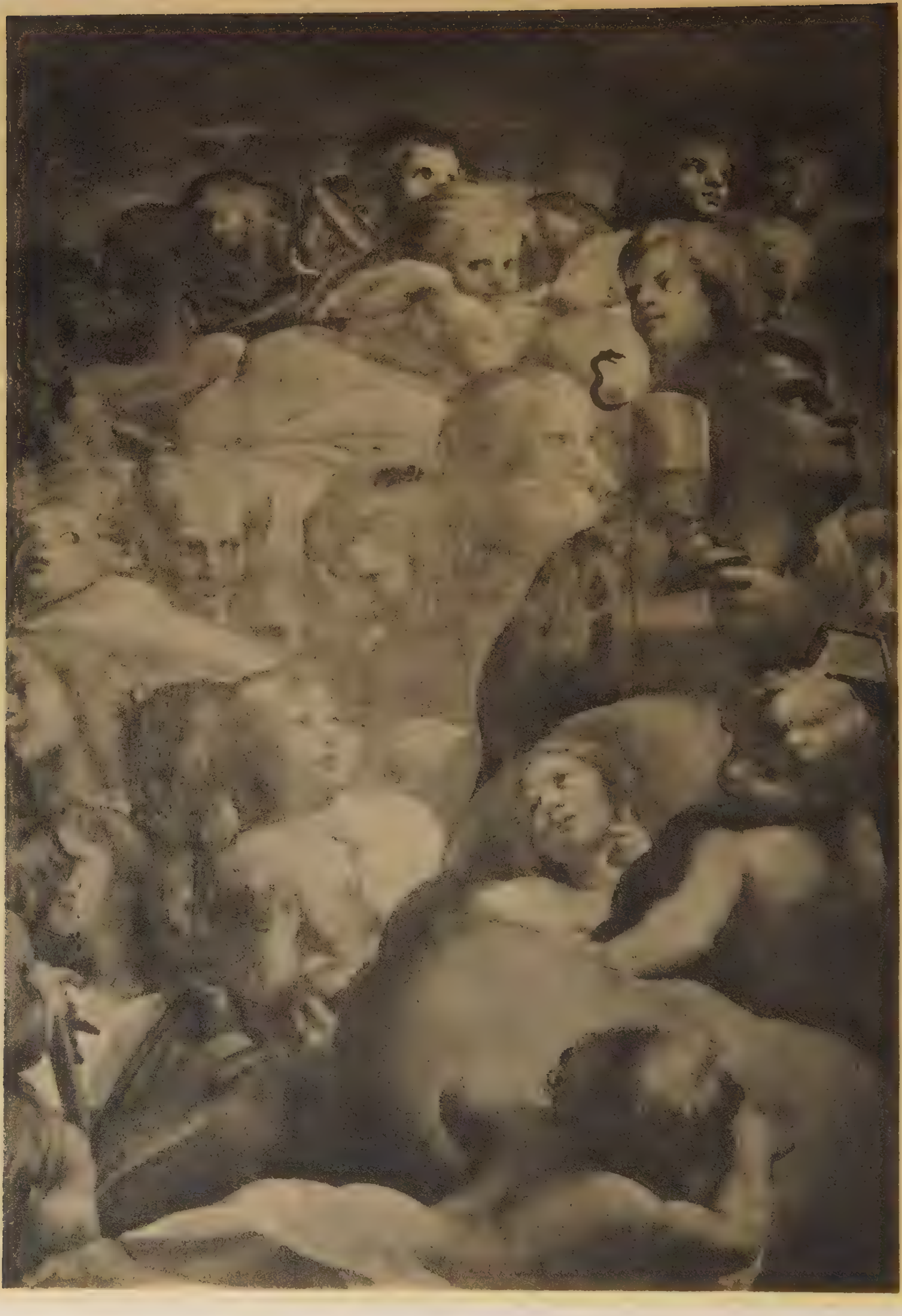
Formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma

Detail of the Coronation of the Madonna

COPY BY AGOSTINO AND ANNIBALE CARRACCI.

Naples, National Museum

(Photo. Royal Superintendent of Excavations, Naples)



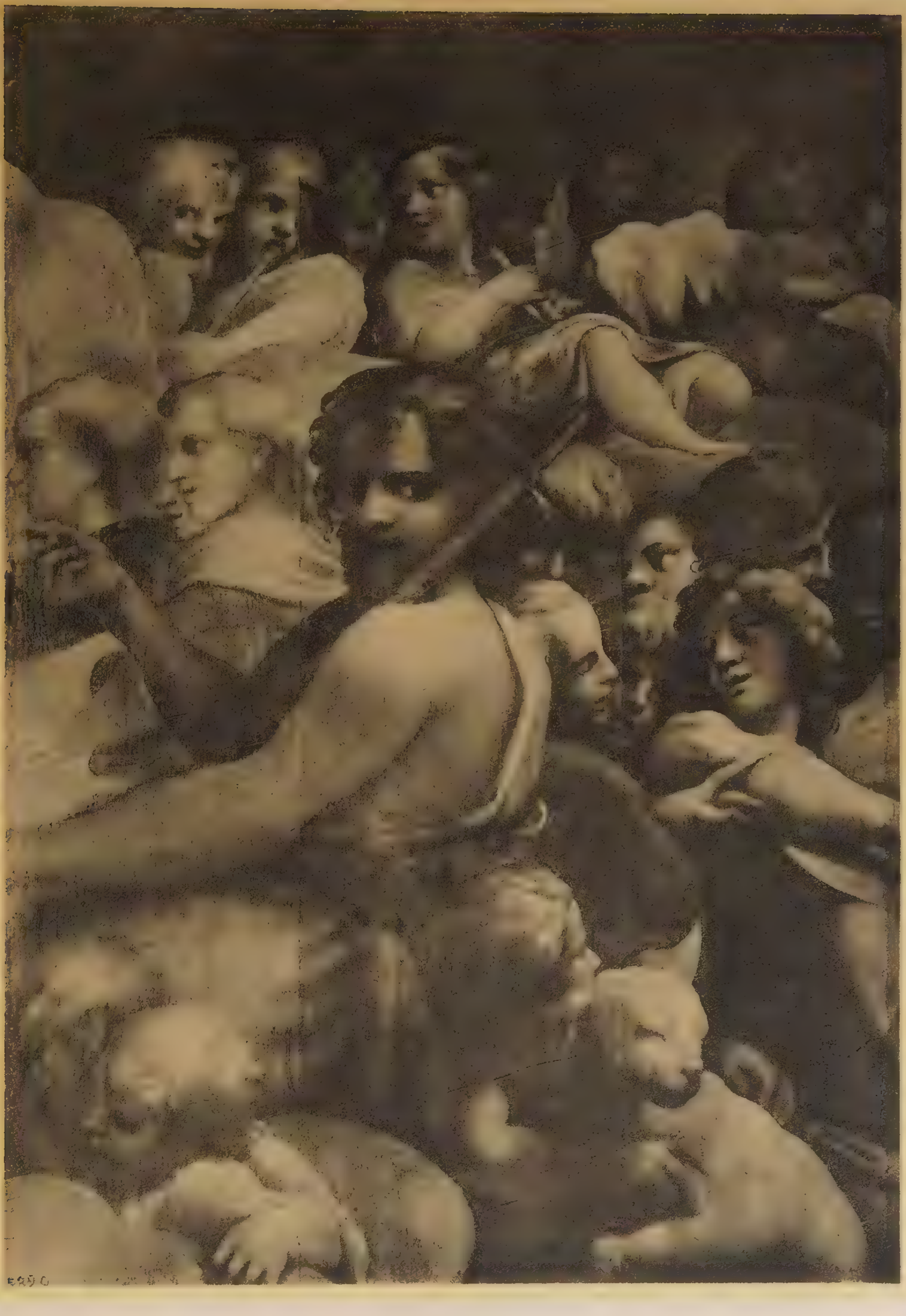
CXXX ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST AND ANGELS *(Photo. Royal Superintendent of Excavations, Naples)*

Formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma

Detail of the Coronation of the Madonna.

COPY BY AGOSTINO AND ANNIBALE CARRACCI

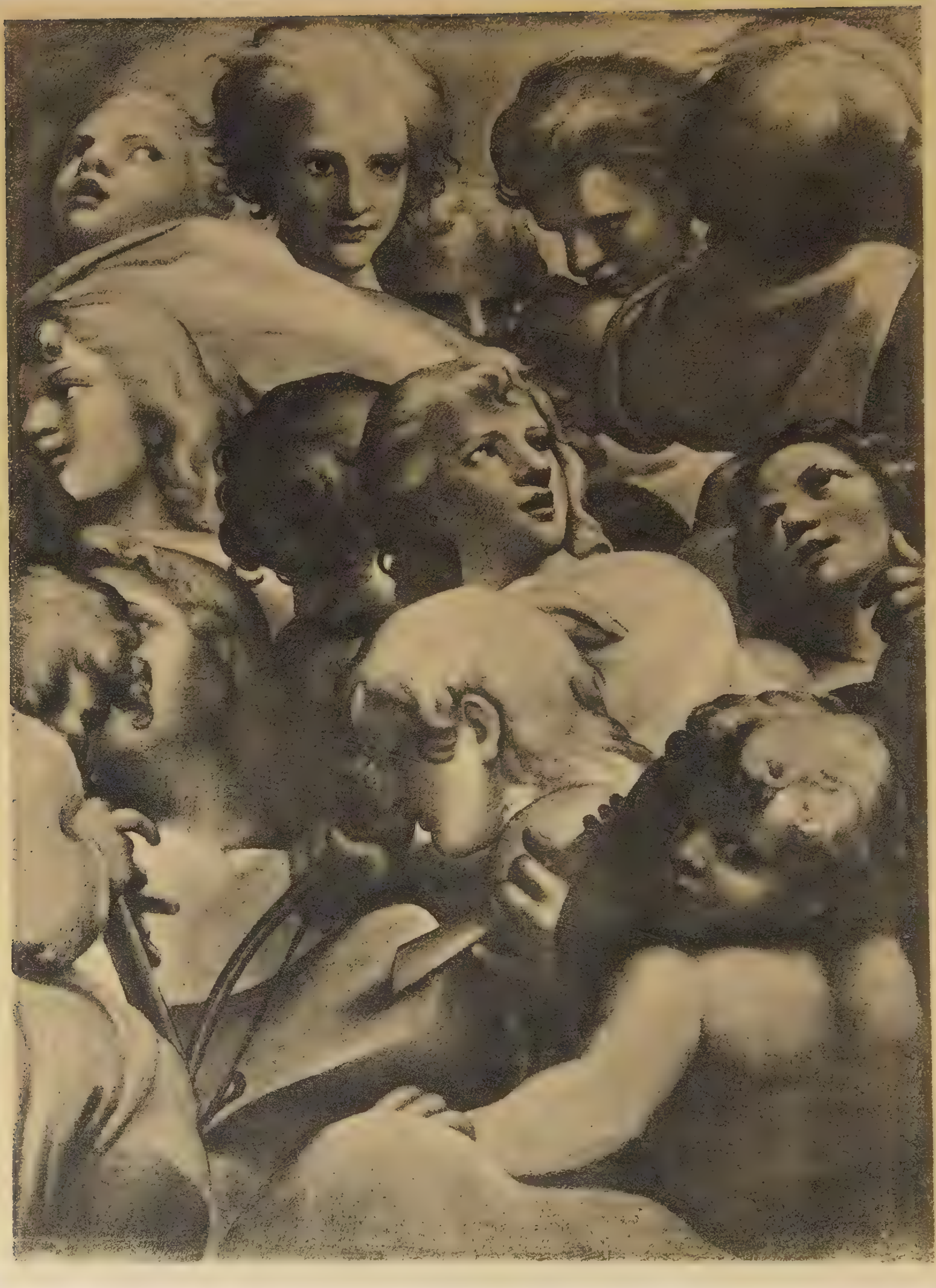
Naples, National Museum



CXXXI

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND ANGELS
Formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma
Detail of the Coronation of the Madonna
COPY BY AGOSTINO AND ANNIBALE CARRACCI
Naples, National Museum

(Photo. Royal Superintendent of Excavations, Naples)



CXXXII

ANGELS

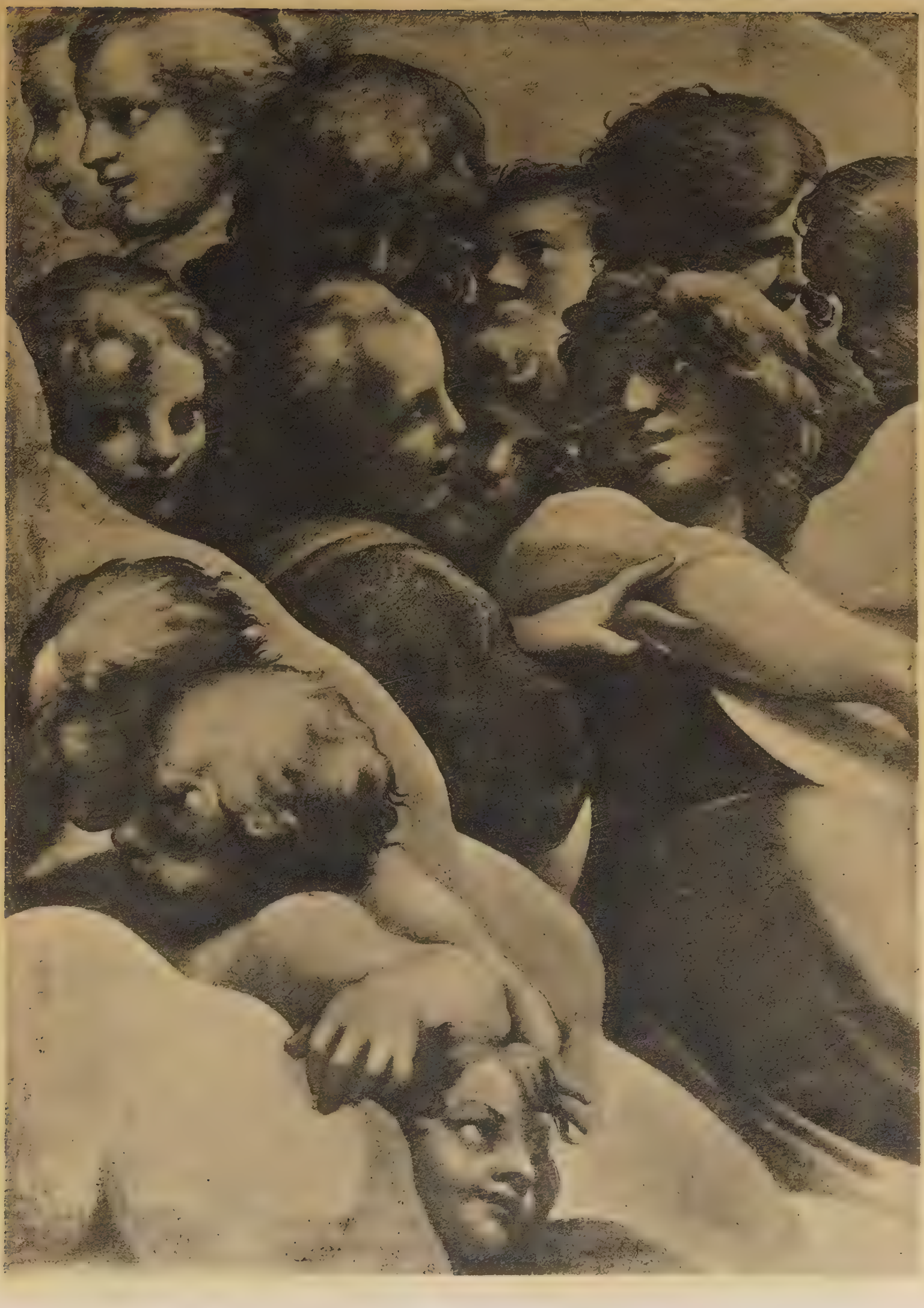
Formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma

Detail of the Coronation of the Madonna

COPY BY ANNIBALE CARRACCI

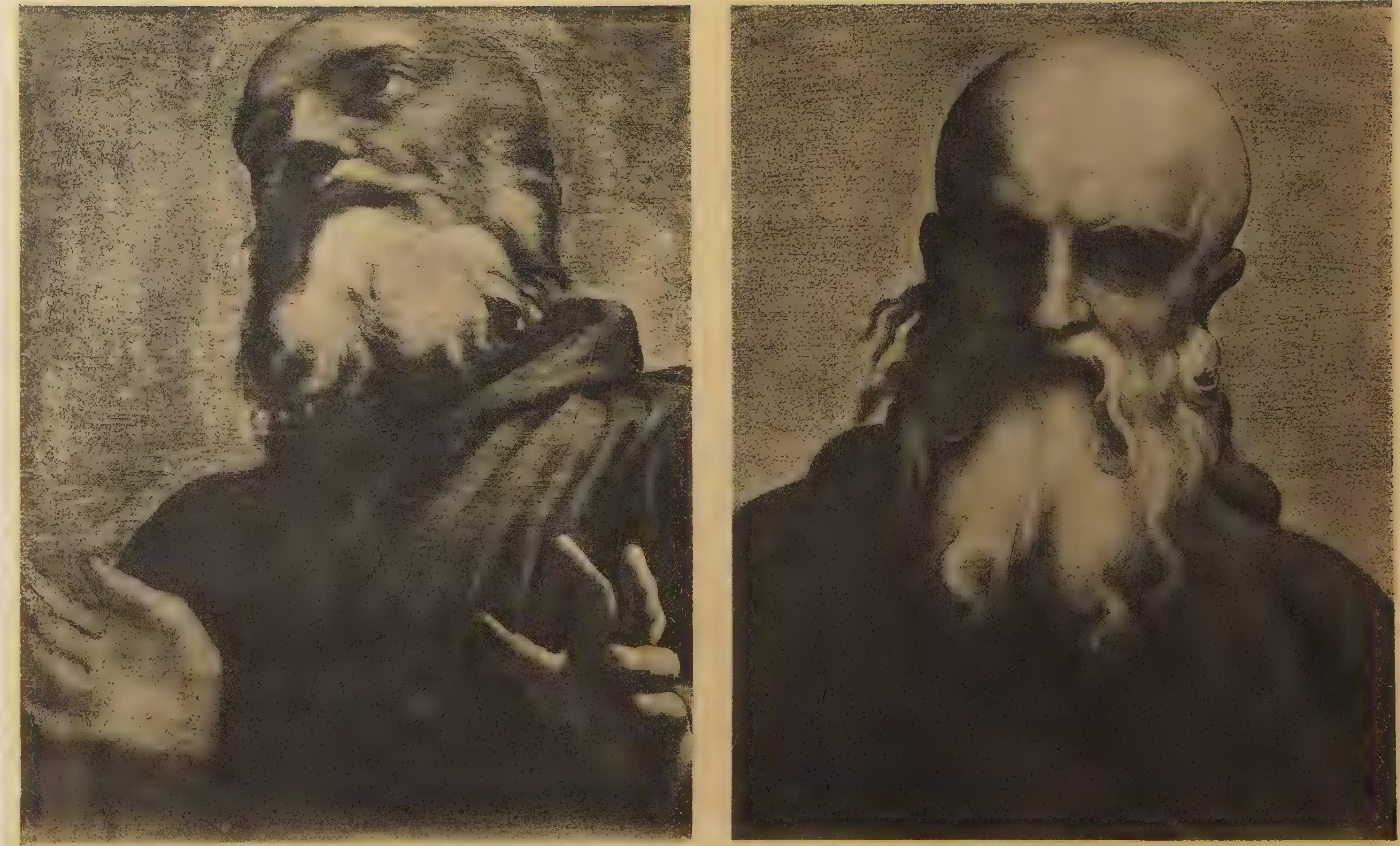
Naples, National Museum

(Photo. Royal Superintendent of Excavations, Naples)



CXXXIII ANGELS (Photo. M. P. I.)

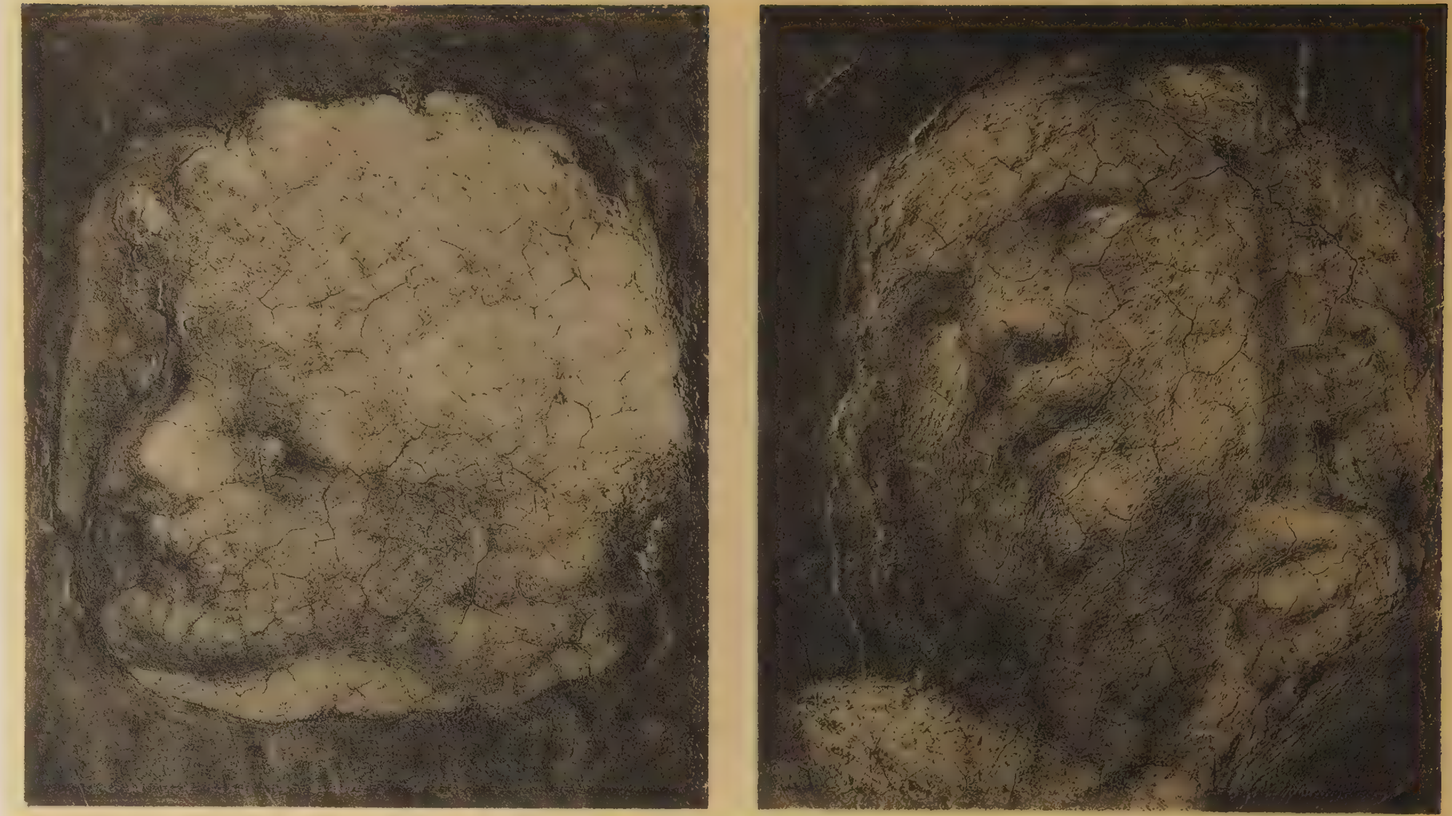
Formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma
Detail of the Coronation of the Madonna
COPY BY ANNIBALE CARRACCI
Parma, Art Gallery



CXXXIV

ST. BENEDICT AND ST. MAURUS
Formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma.
COPIES BY ANNIBALE CARRACCI
Detail. Parma, Art Gallery

(Photo. M. P. I.)

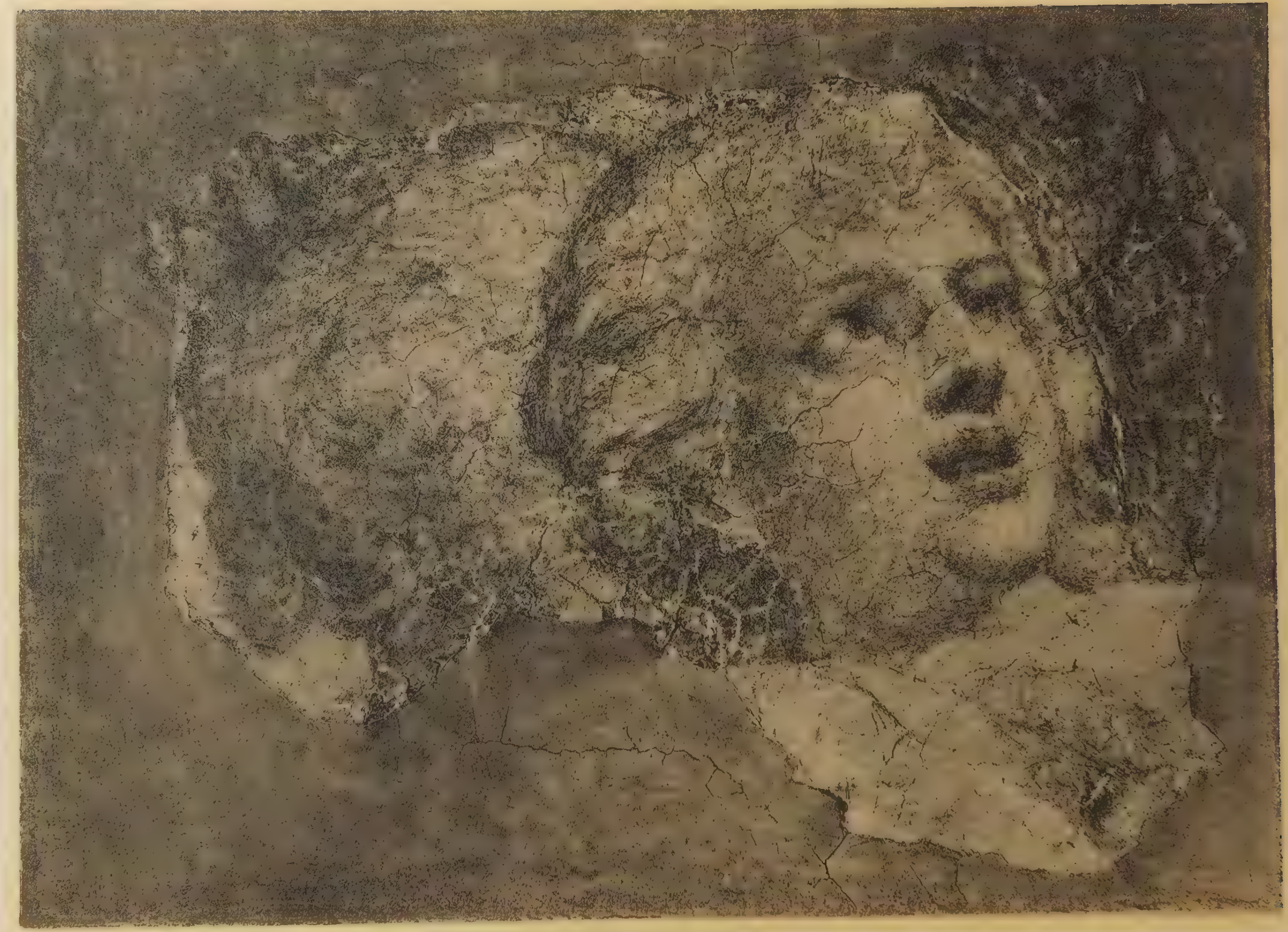


CXXXV

HEADS OF ANGELS

(Photo. Dixon)

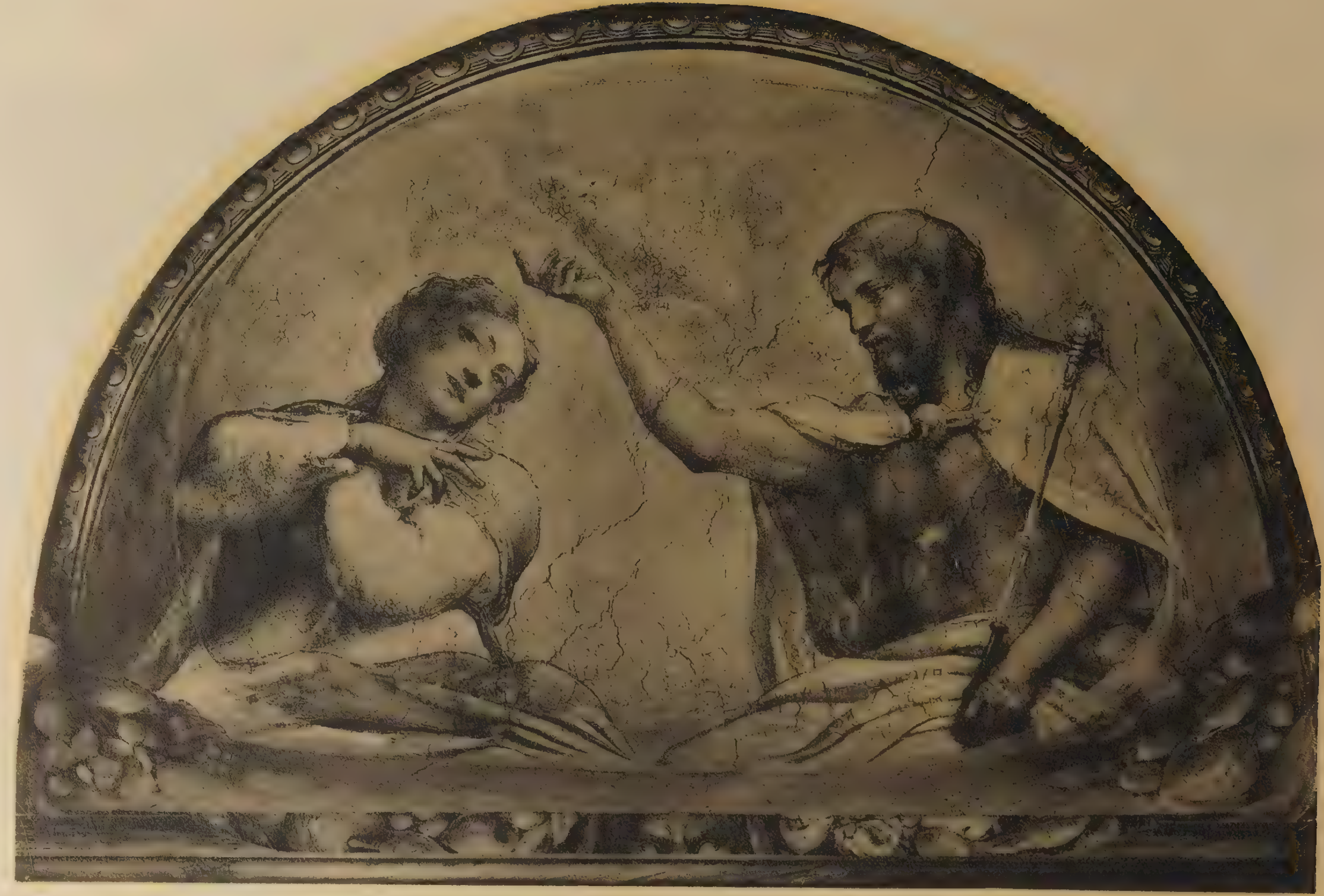
Fragments of the fresco formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma.
London, National Gallery



CXXXVI HEADS OF ANGELS (Photo. Dixon)

Fragment of the fresco formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma

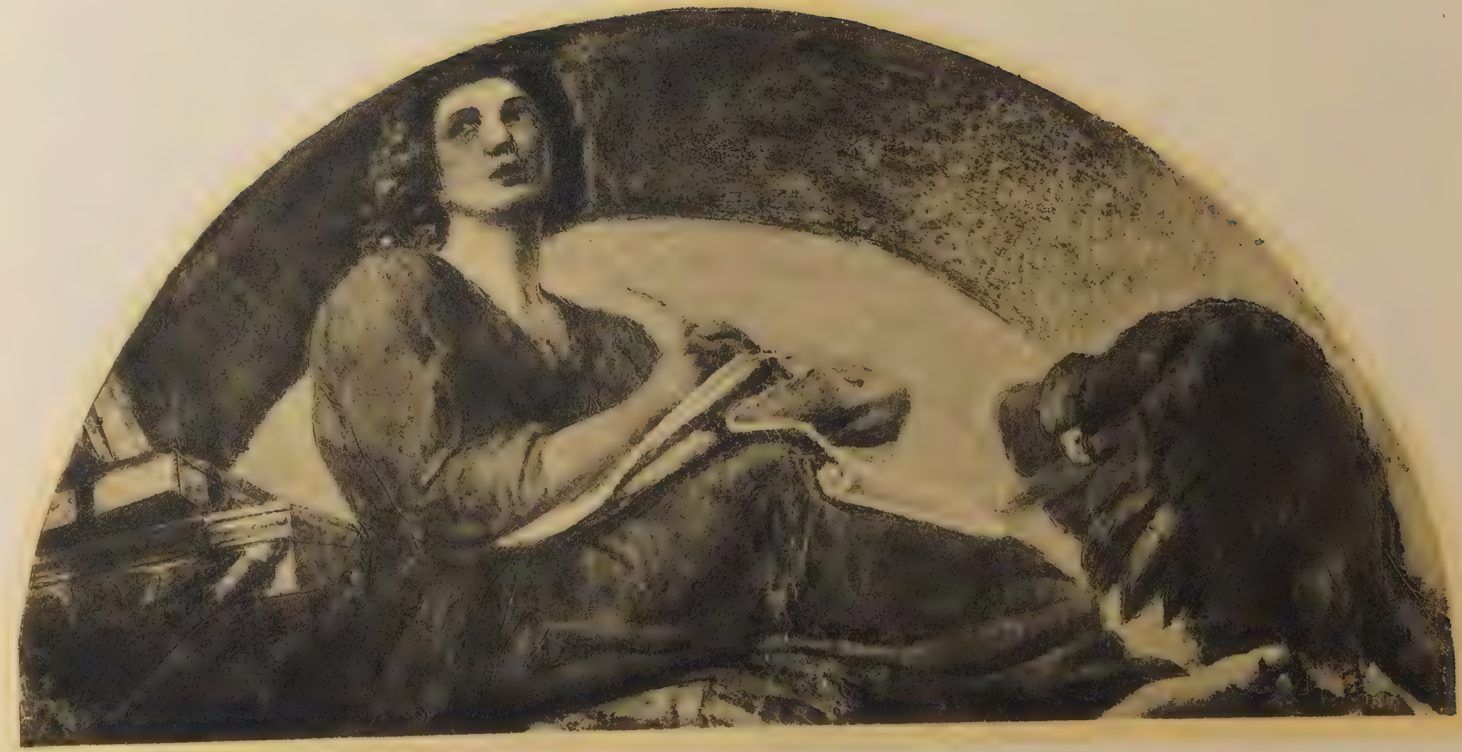
London, National Gallery



CXXXVII

THE CORONATION OF THE MADONNA. CENTRAL PART OF THE FRESCO
formerly in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma.
Parma, Palatine Library

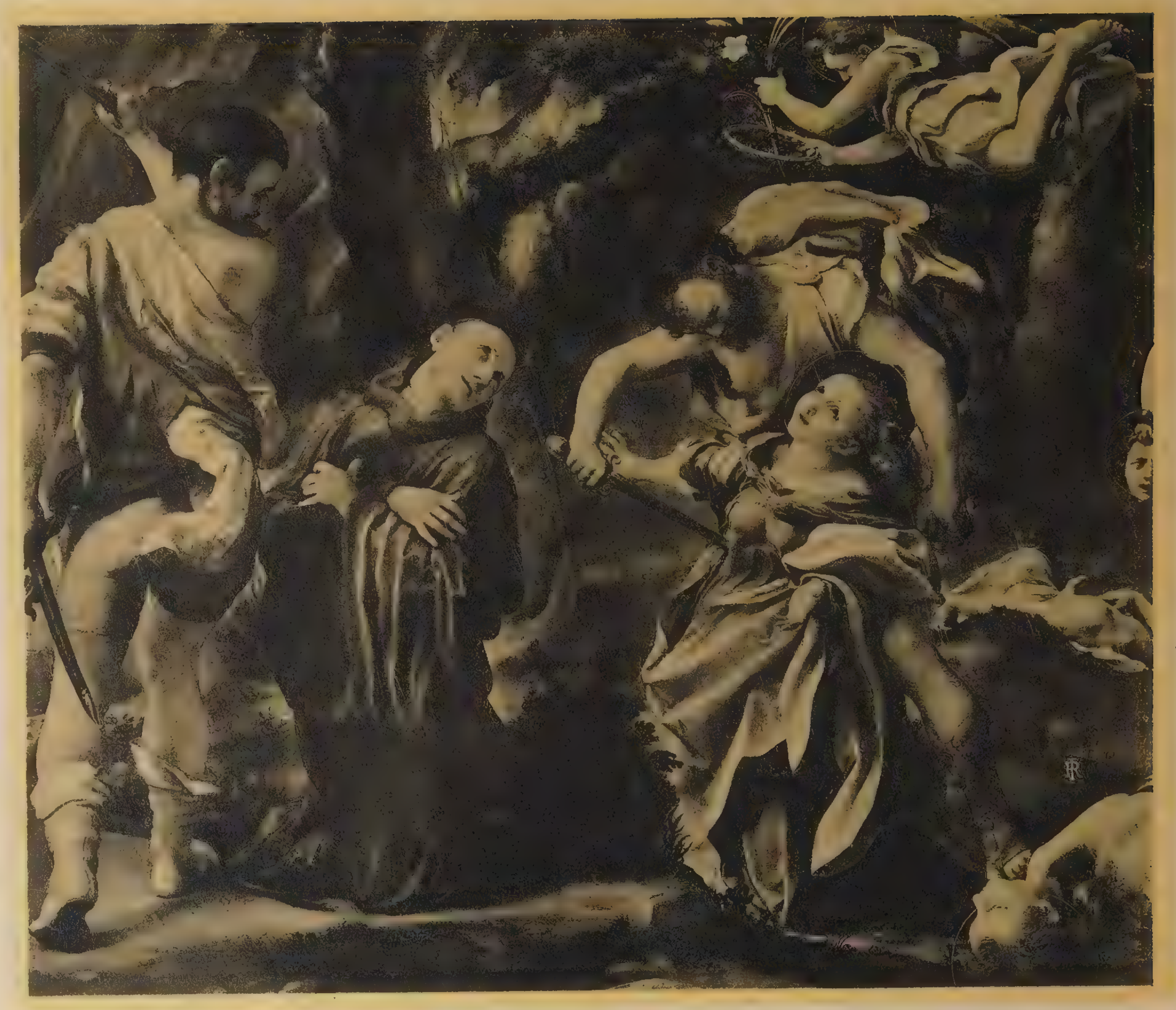
(Photo. Anderson)



CXXXVIII

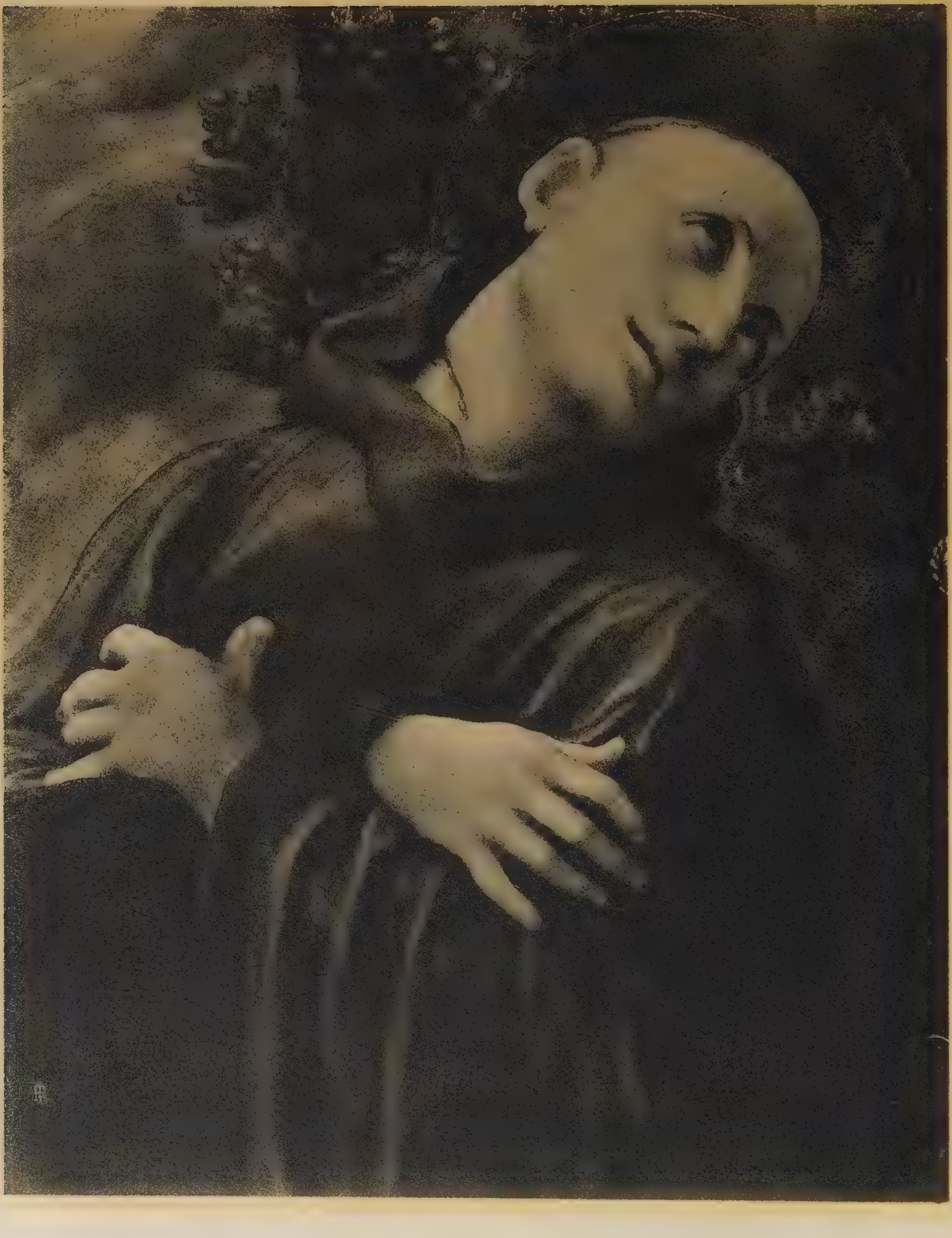
ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST
Parma, Lunette in S. Giovanni Evangelista

(Photo. Anderson)



CXXXIX THE MARTYRDOM OF SS. PLACIDUS, FLAVIA, EUTICHIUS, AND VICTORINUS (*Photo. Anderson*)

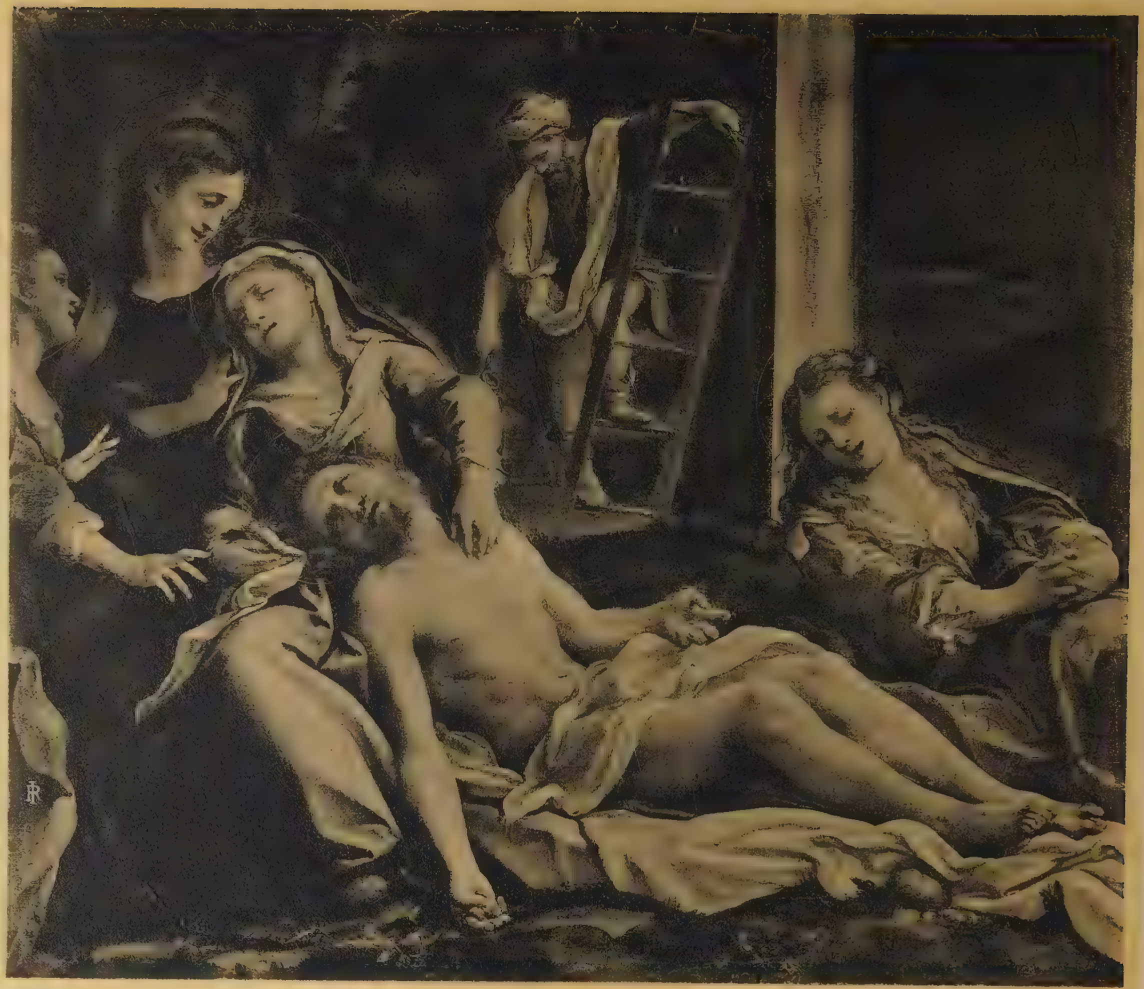
Parma, Art Gallery



CXL ST. PLACIDUS (Photo. Anderson)

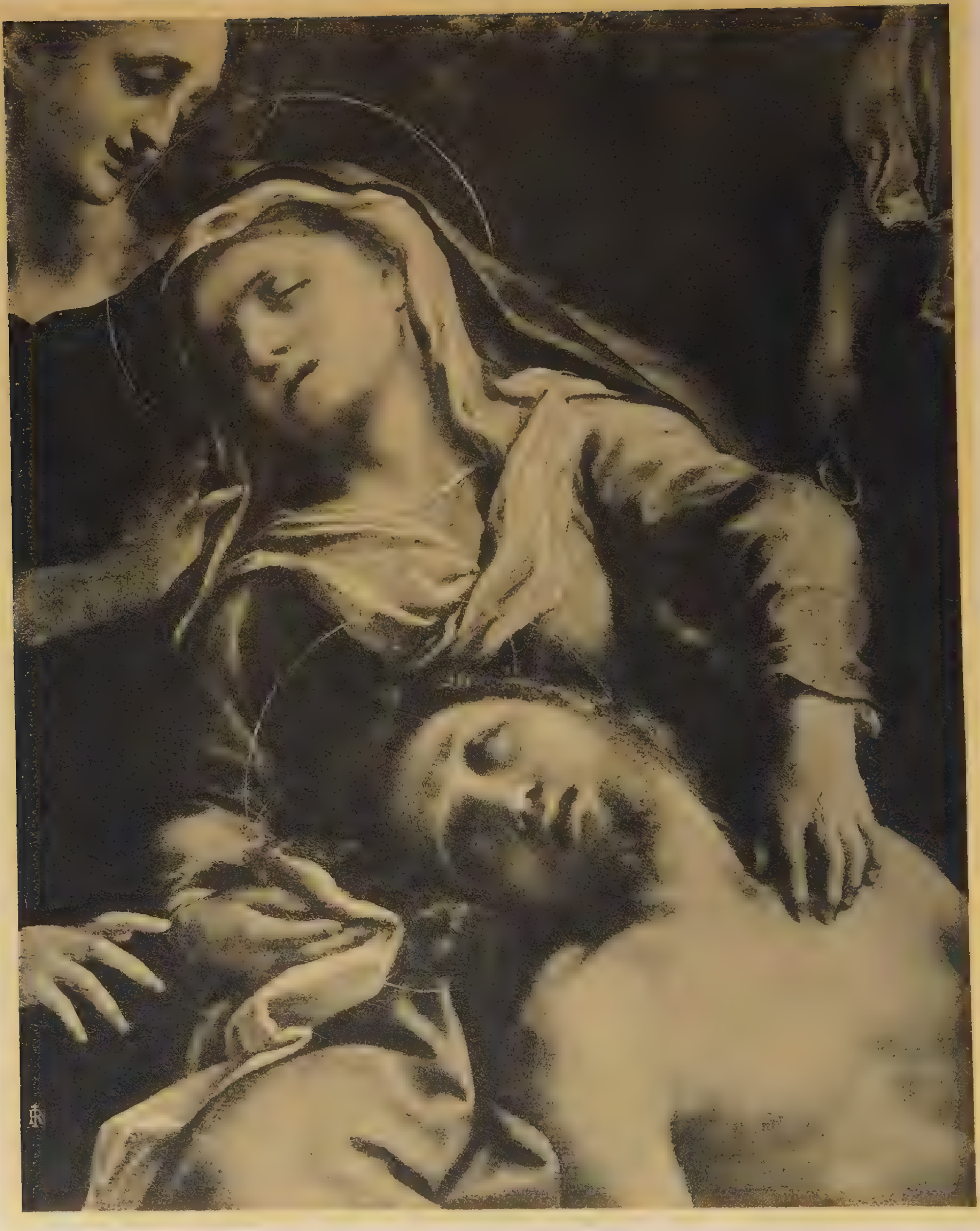
DETAIL OF THE MARTYRDOM OF SS. PLACIDUS, FLAVIA, EUTICHIUS, AND VICTORINUS

Parma. Art Gallery

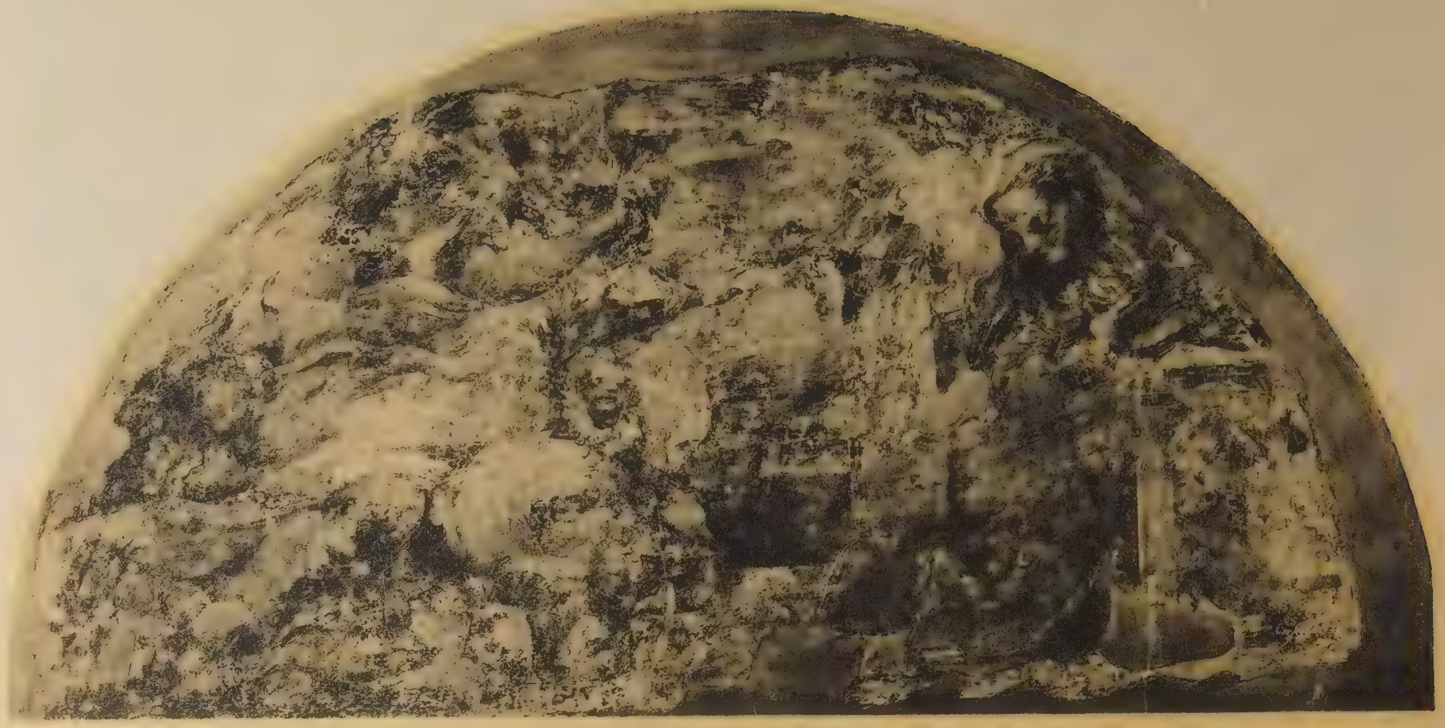


CXLI THE DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Art Gallery

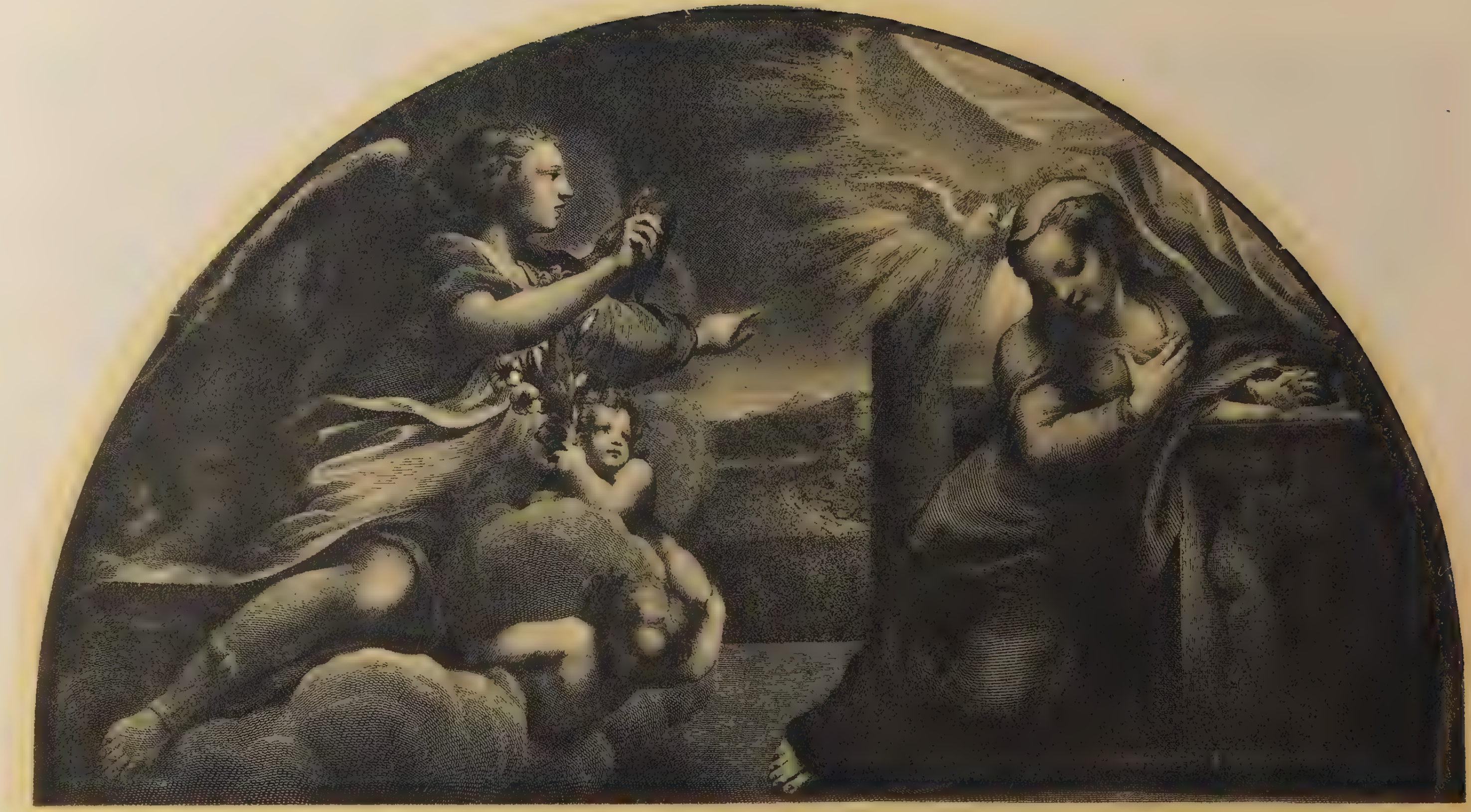


CXLI THE VIRGIN SWOONING. DETAIL OF THE DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS (*Photo. Anderson*)
Parma, Art Gallery



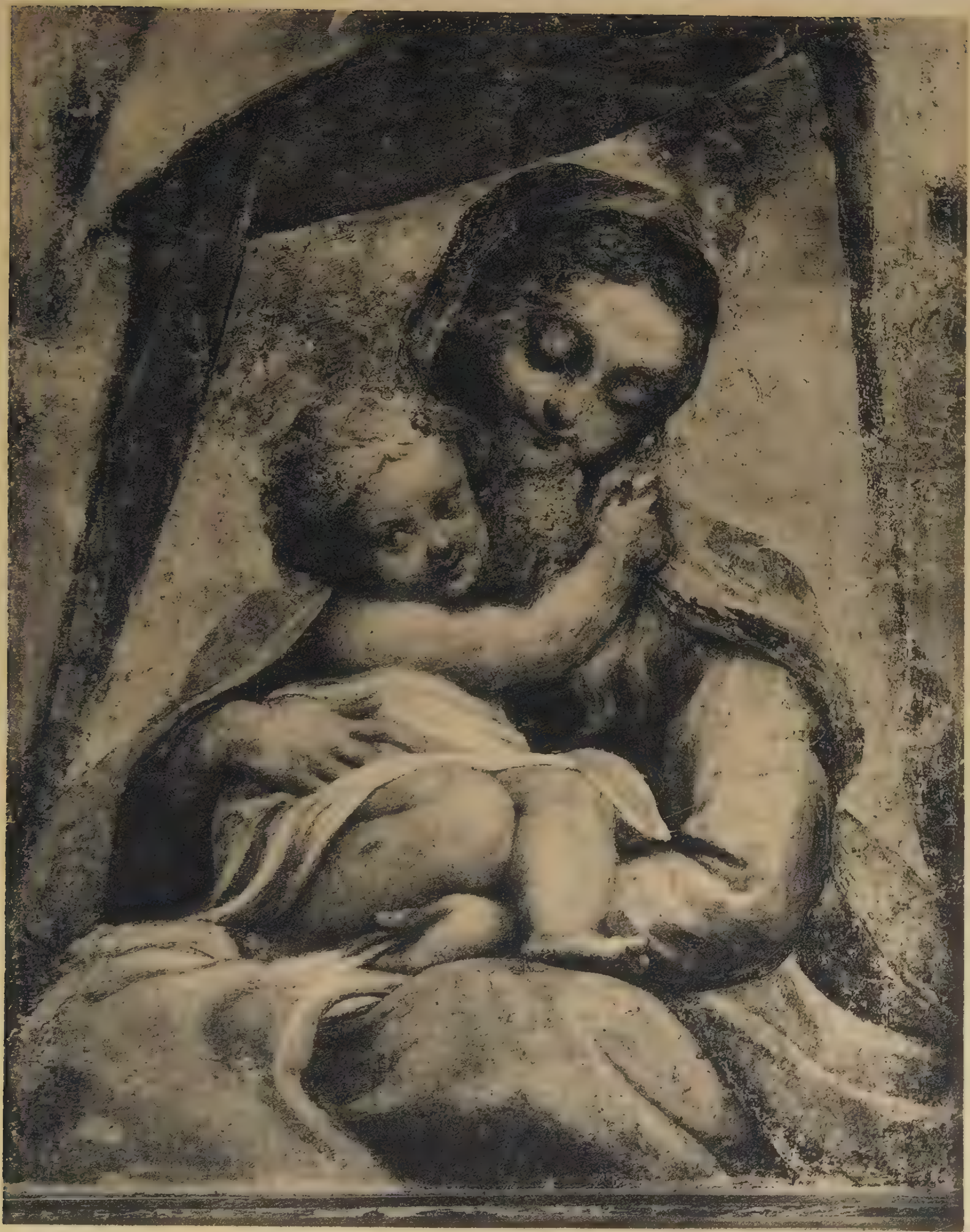
CXLIII THE ANNUNCIATION (Photo. Vaghi)

Parma, Art Gallery

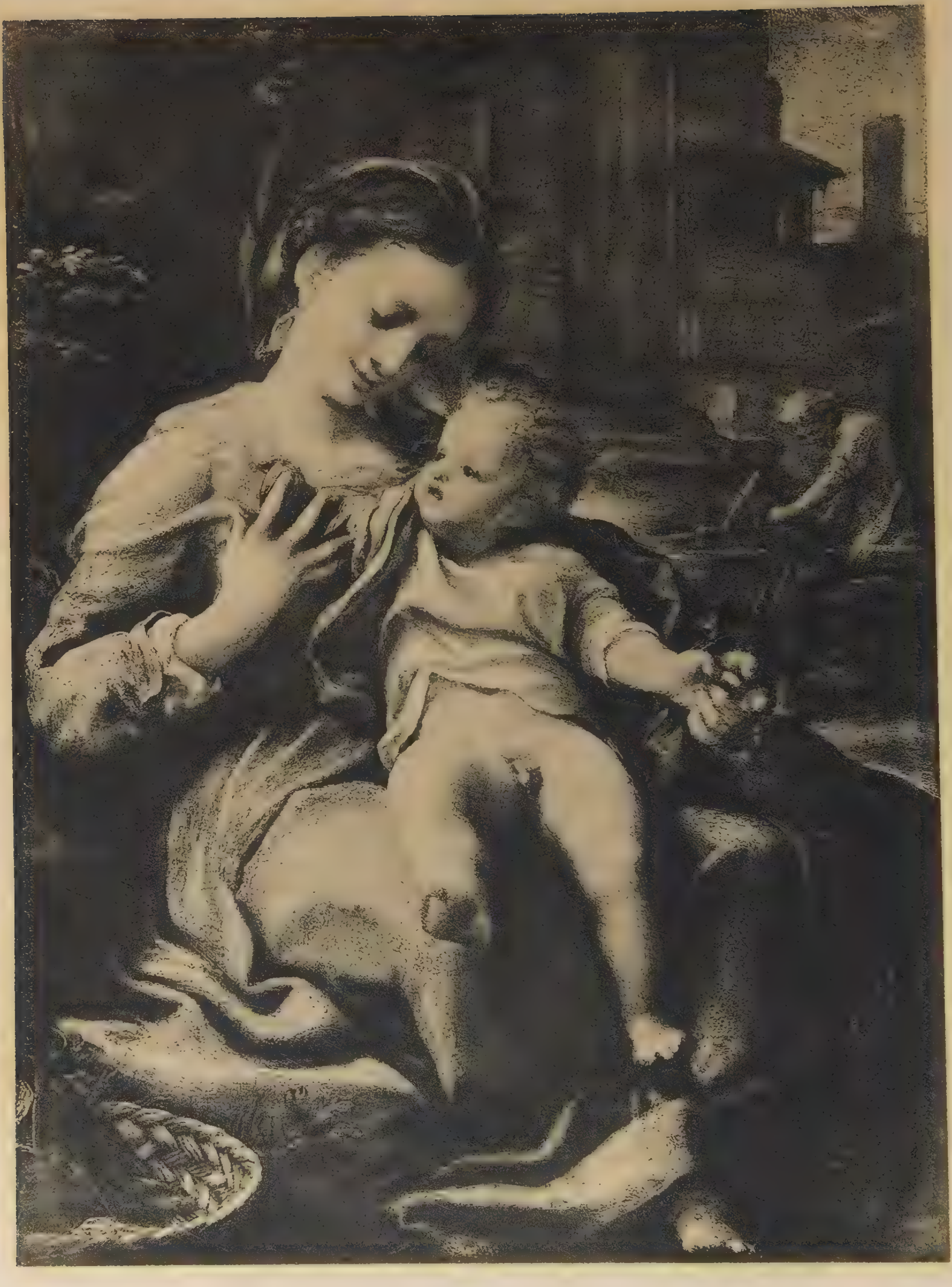


CXLIV THE ANNUNCIATION. FROM THE ENGRAVING BY ANTONIO COSTA AND PAOLO TOSCHI (Photo. Vaghi)

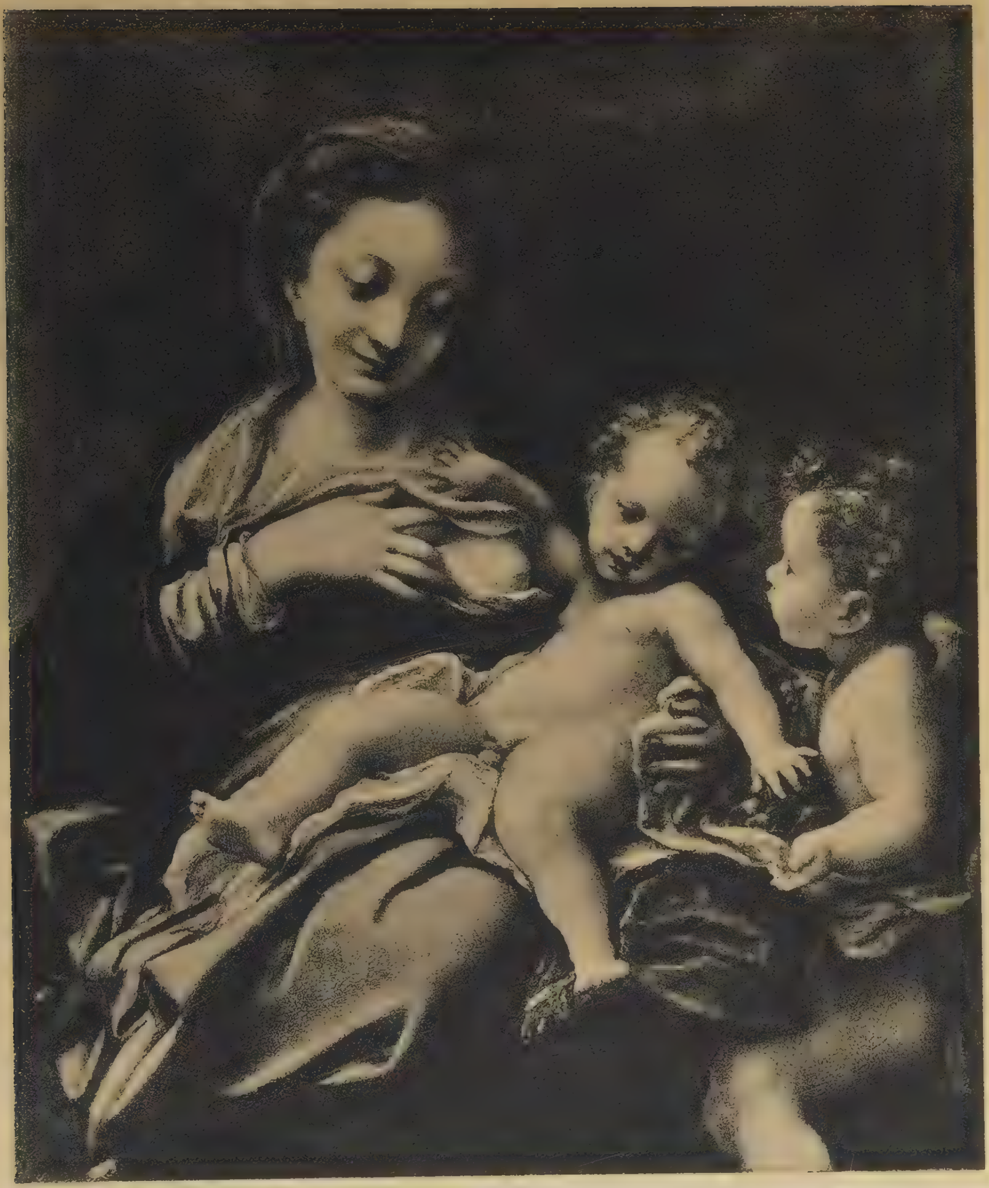
Parma, Art Gallery



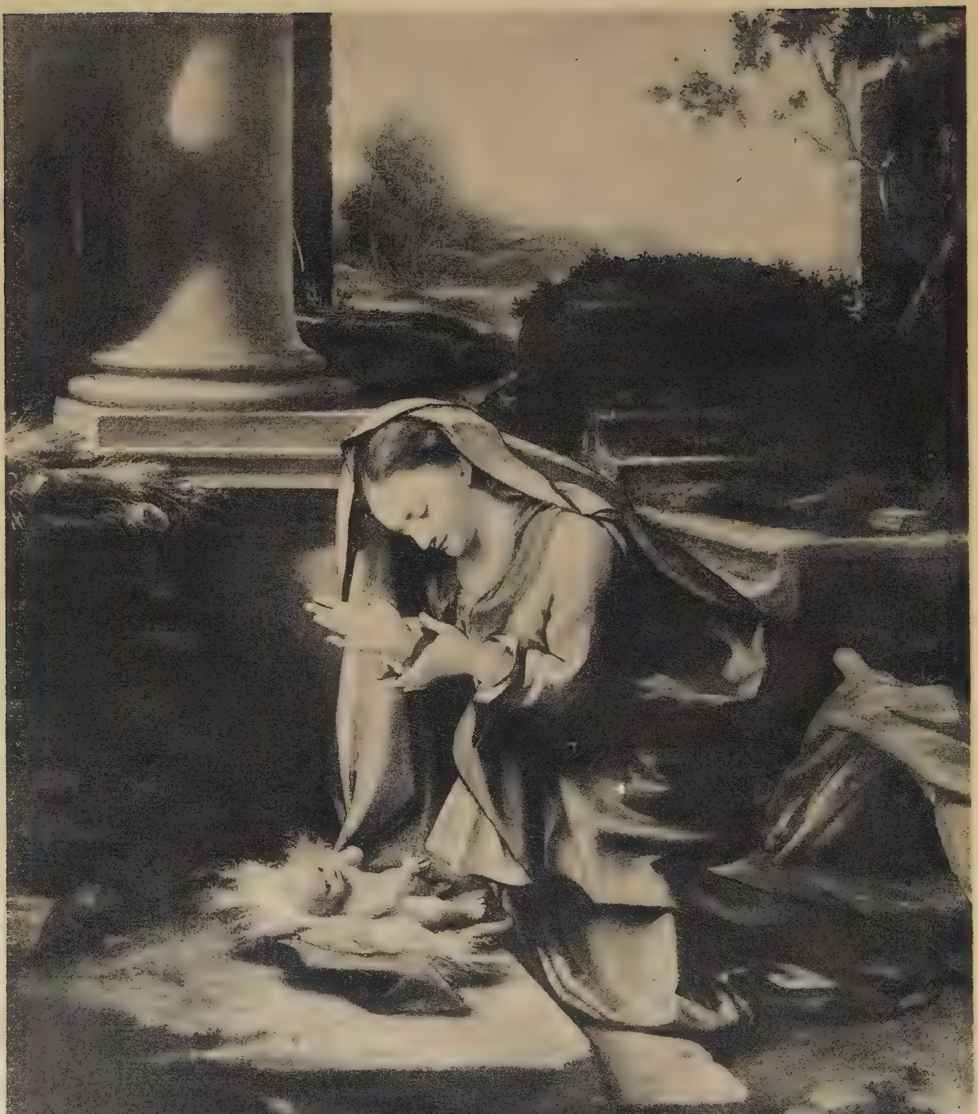
CXLV THE MADONNA OF THE LADDER (*Photo. Anderson*)
Parma, Art Gallery



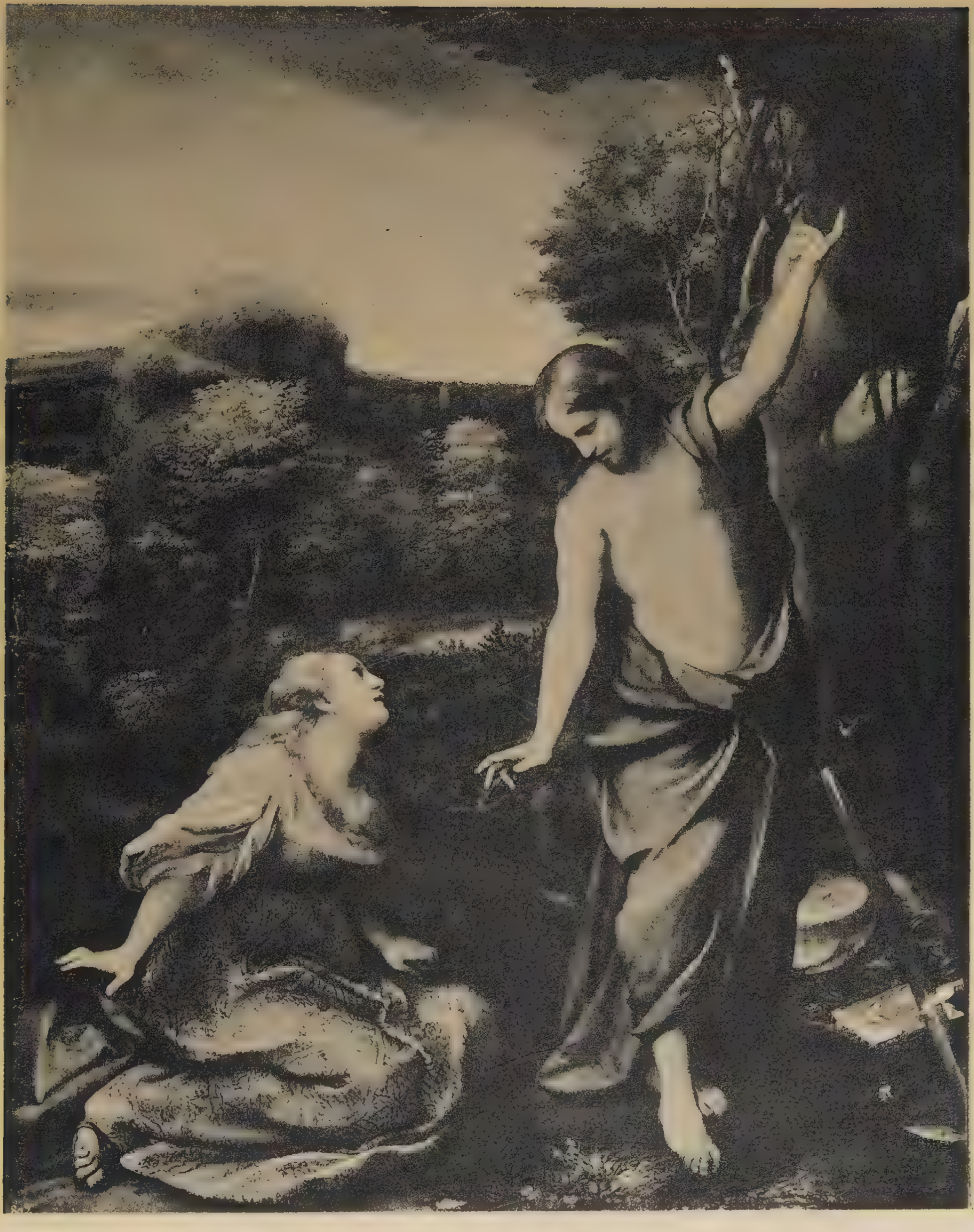
CXLVI THE MADONNA OF THE BASKET (Photo. Anderson)
London, National Gallery



CXLVII THE MADONNA FEEDING HER CHILD *(Photo. Hanfstaengl)*
Budapest, Art Gallery

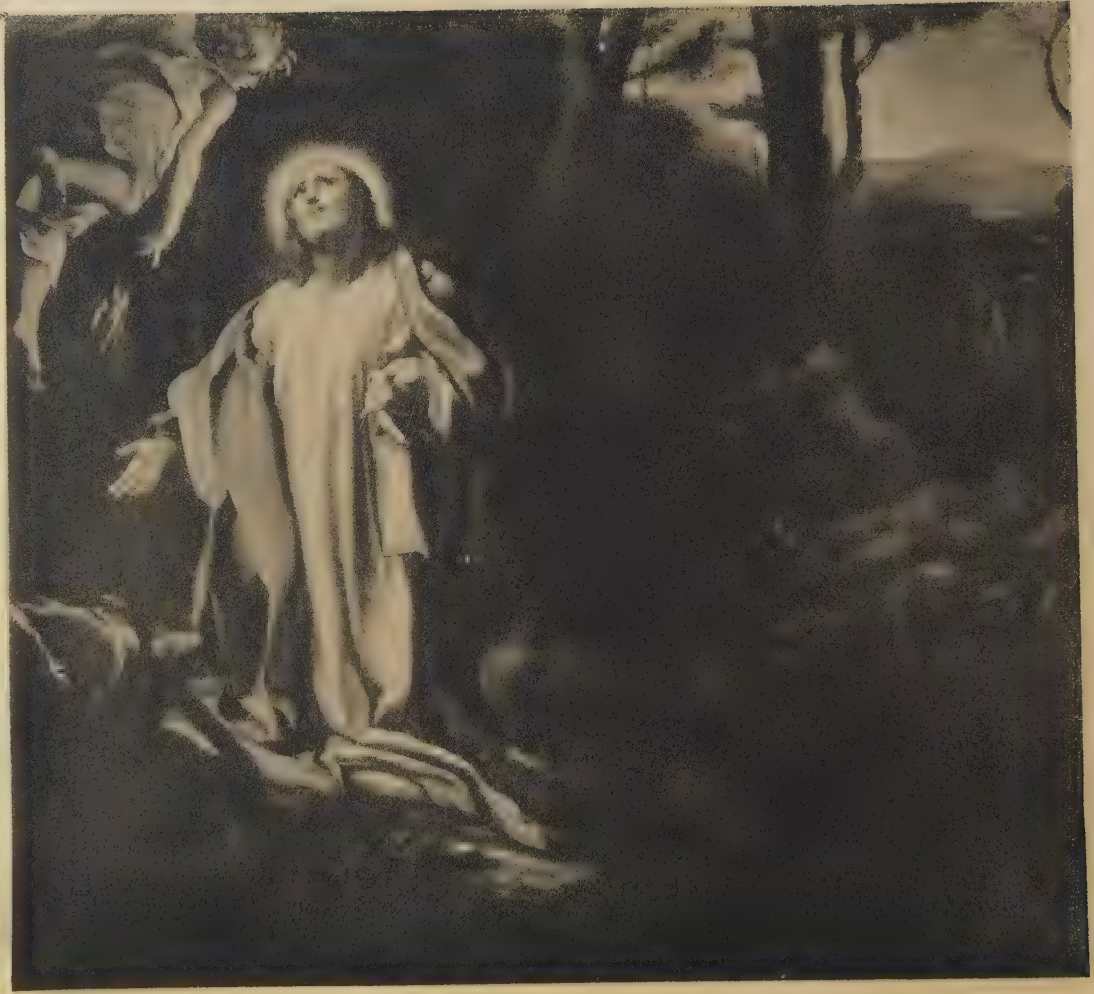


CXLVIII THE VIRGIN ADORING HER SON (*Photo. Anderson*)
Florence, Uffizi Gallery



CXLIX NOLI ME TANGERE (Photo. Anderson)

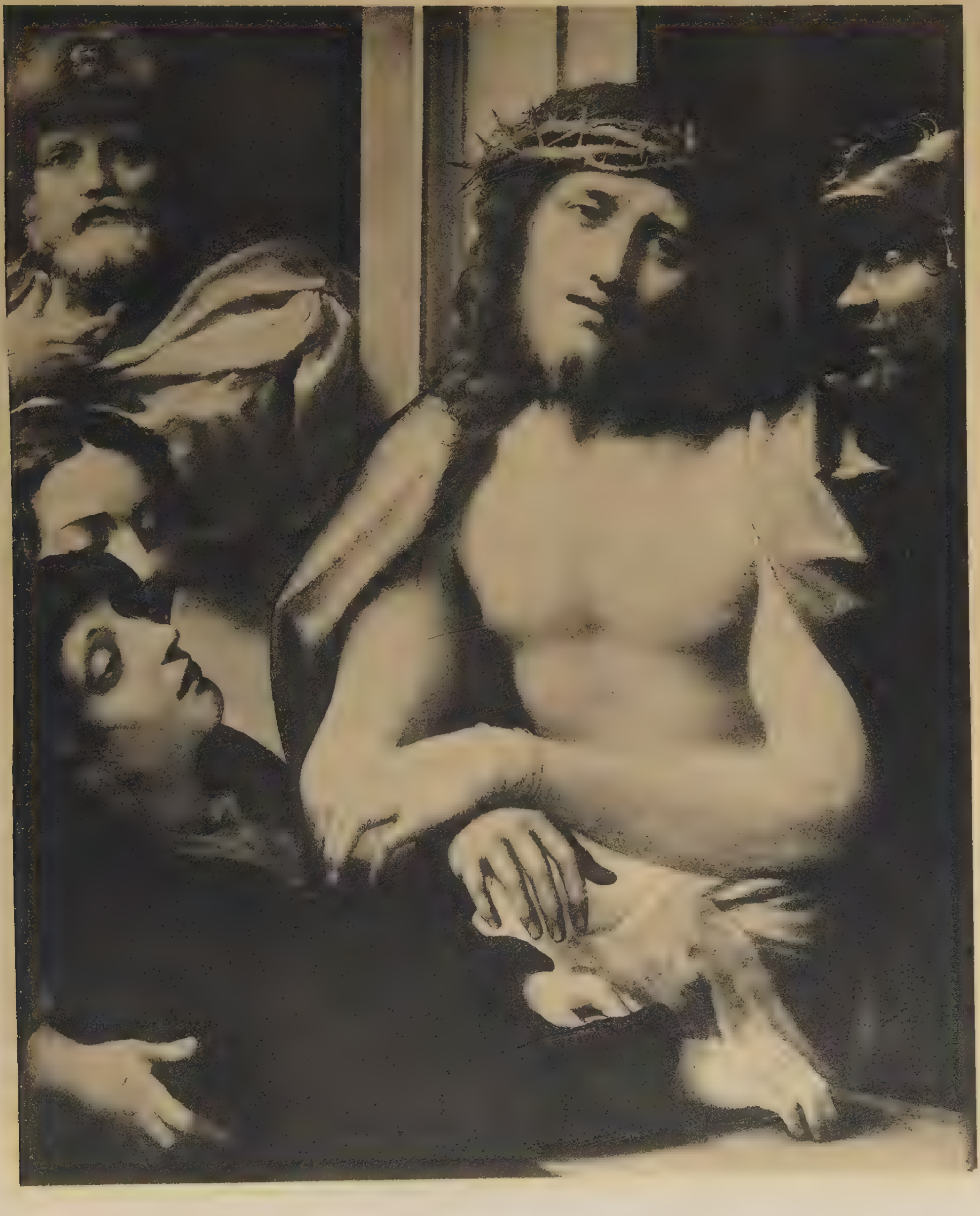
Madrid, Prado Gallery



CL

CHRIST IN THE GARDEN OF OLIVES
London, Apsley House

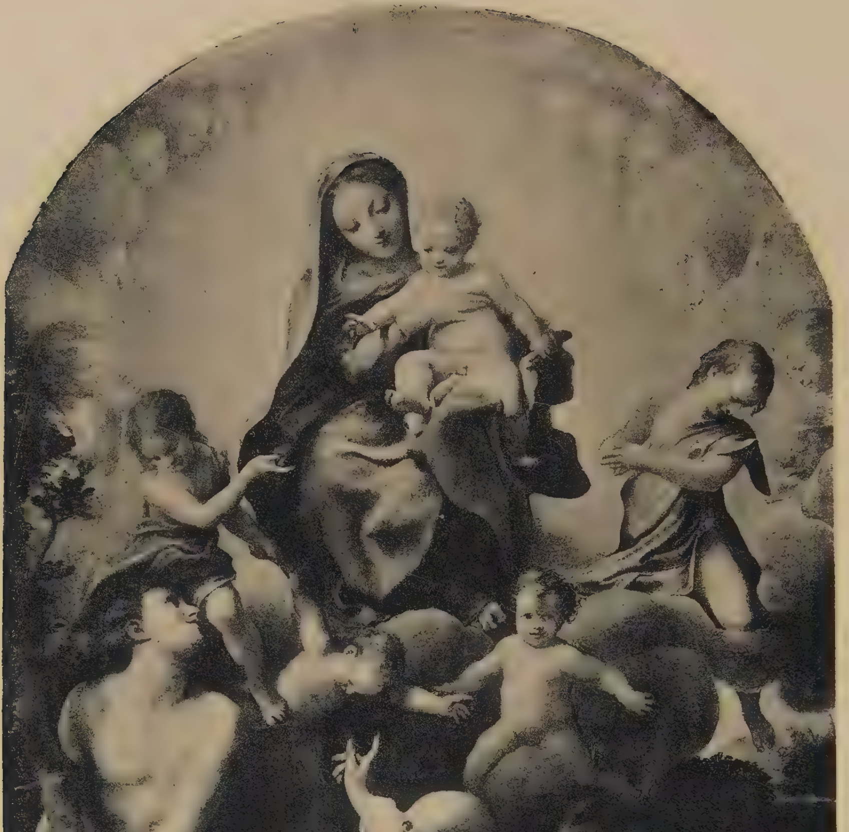
(Photo. Hanfstaengl)



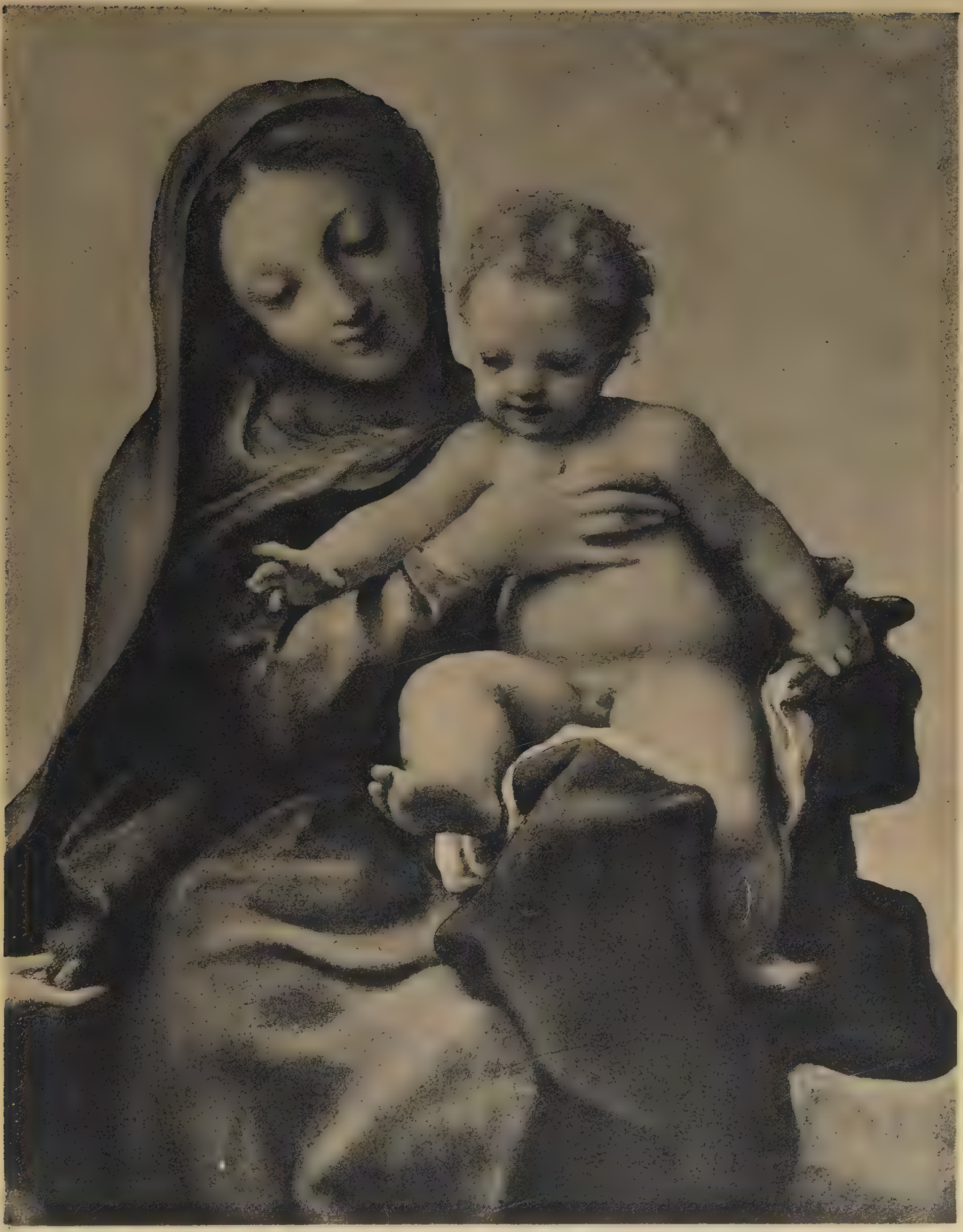
CLI

ECCE HOMO
London, National Gallery

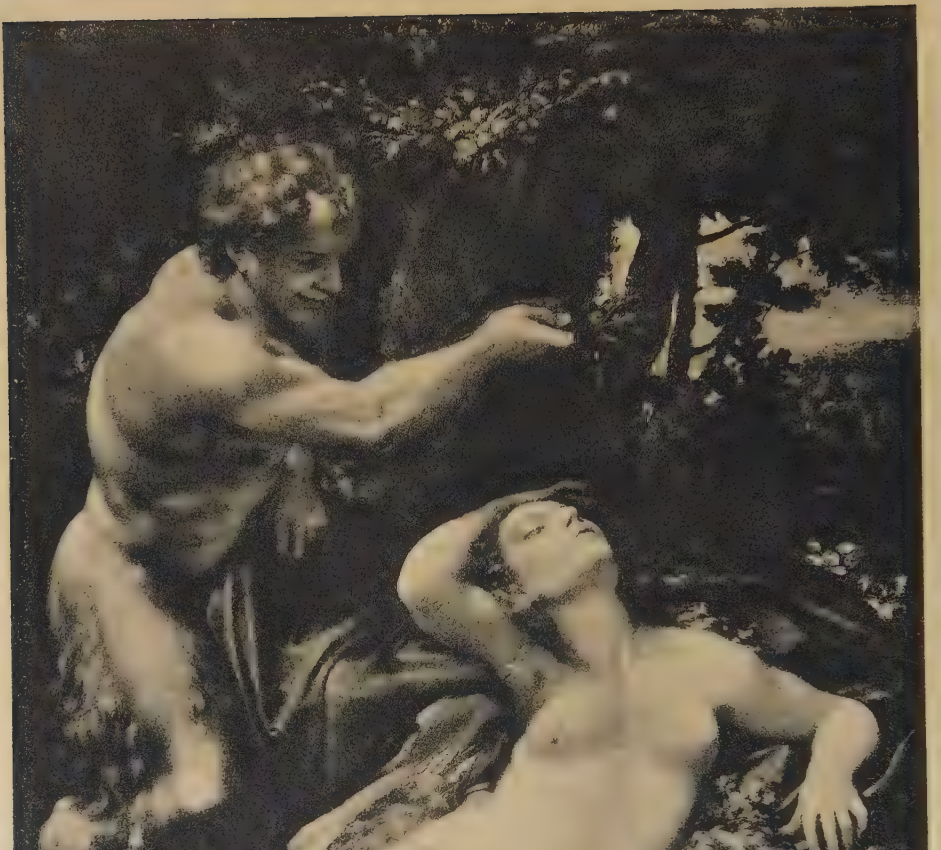
(Photo. Anderson)



CLII THE MADONNA OF ST. SEBASTIAN (Photo. Bruckmann)
Dresden, Art Gallery

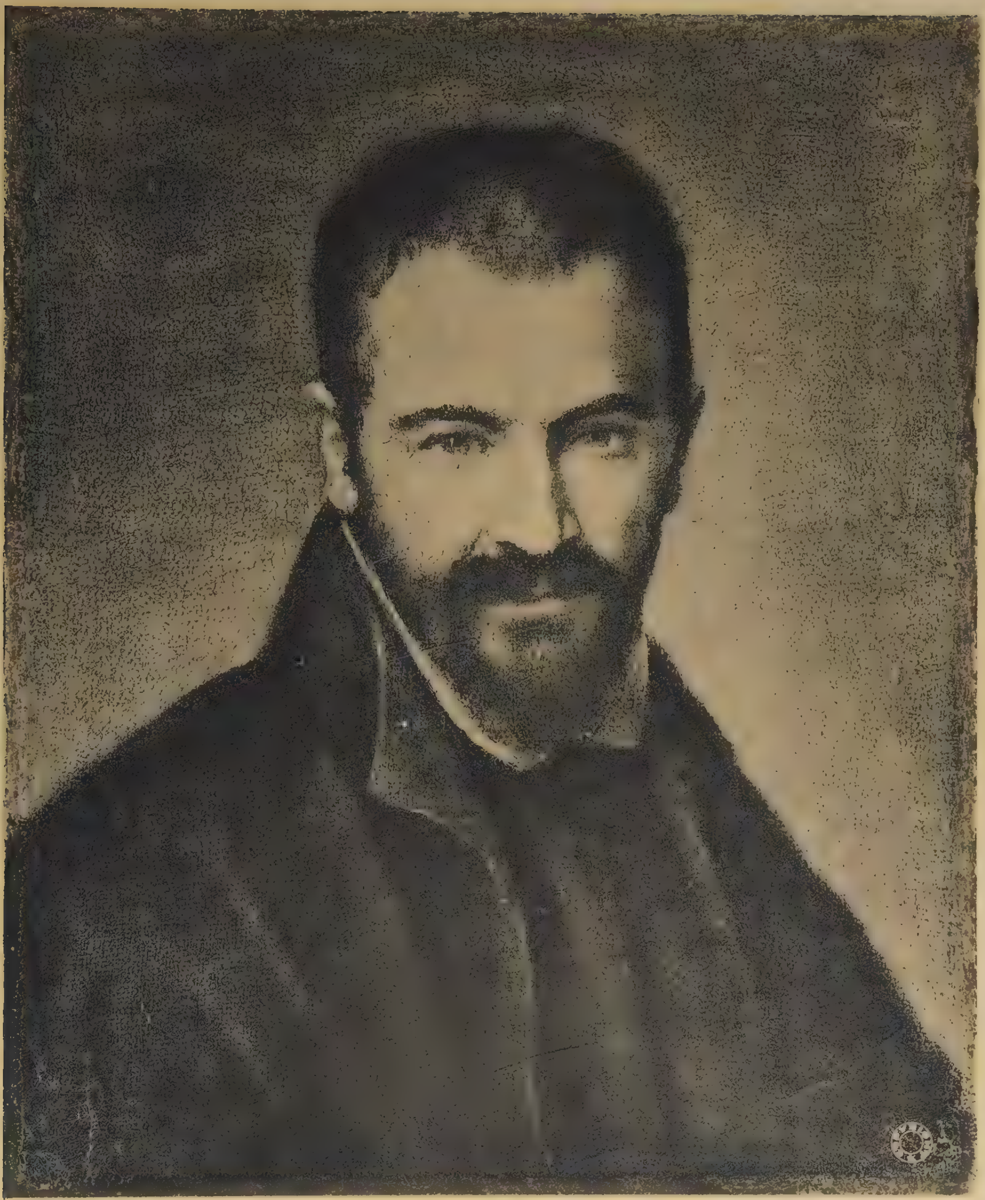


CLIII THE MADONNA OF ST. SEBASTIAN. DETAIL (Photo. Alinari)
Dresden, Art Gallery

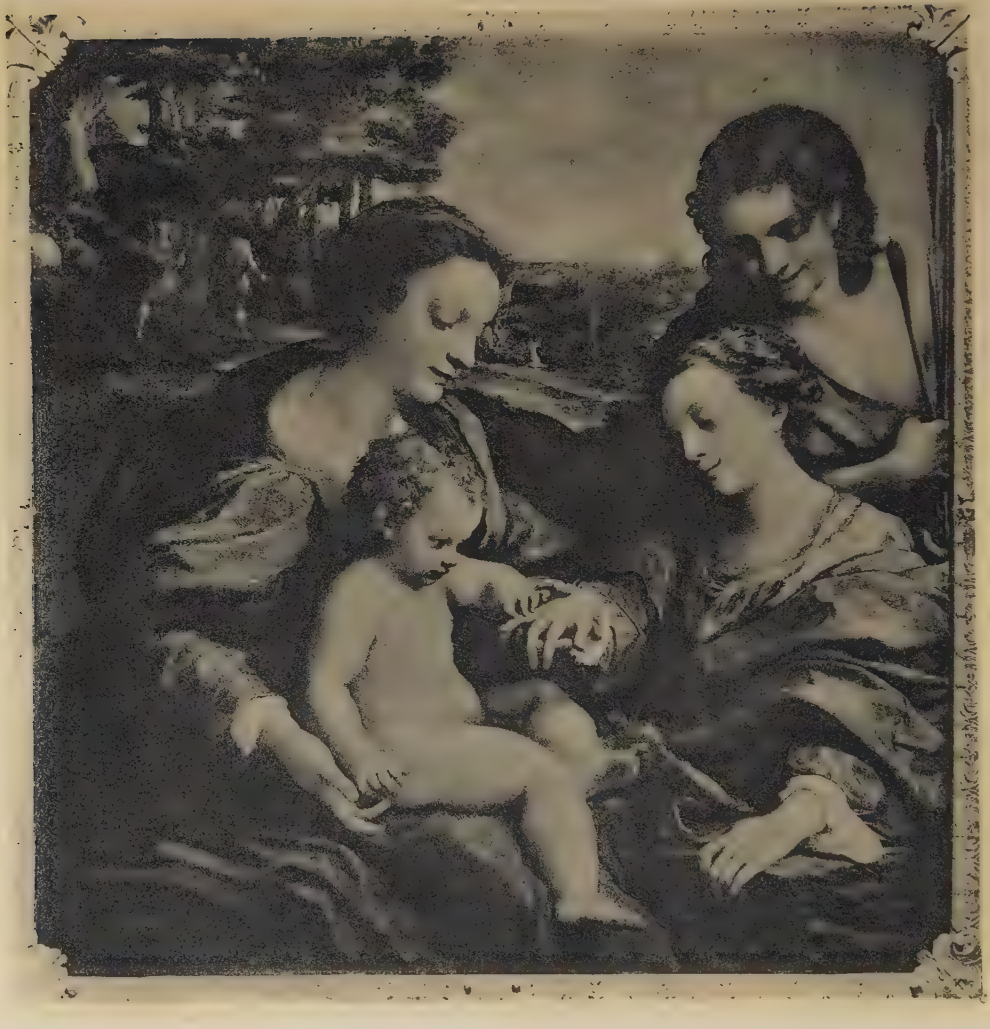


CLIV ANTIOPE (Photo. Alinari)

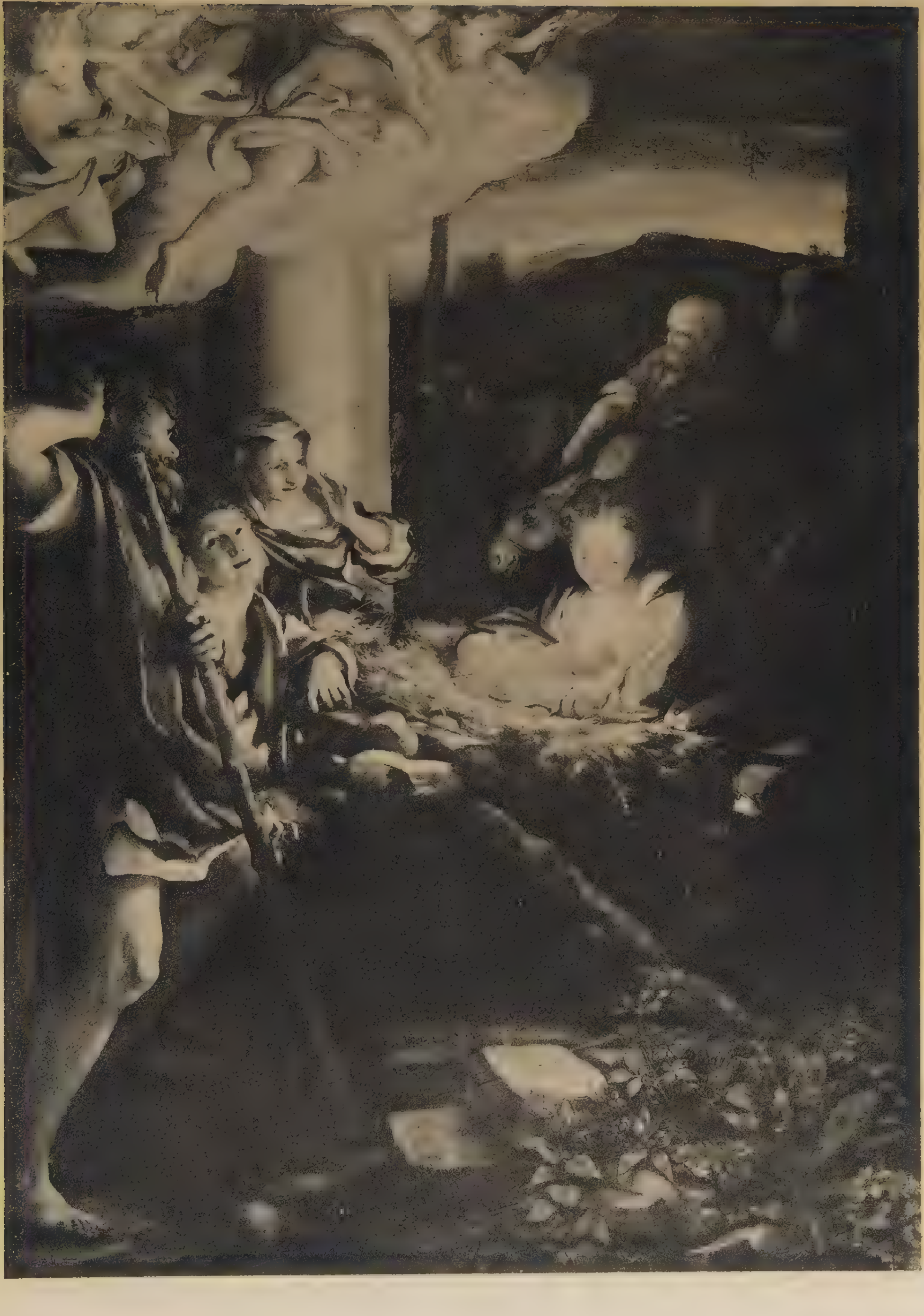
Paris, Louvre



CLV PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN (Photo. Anderson)
London, Collection of Lord Lee of Fareham

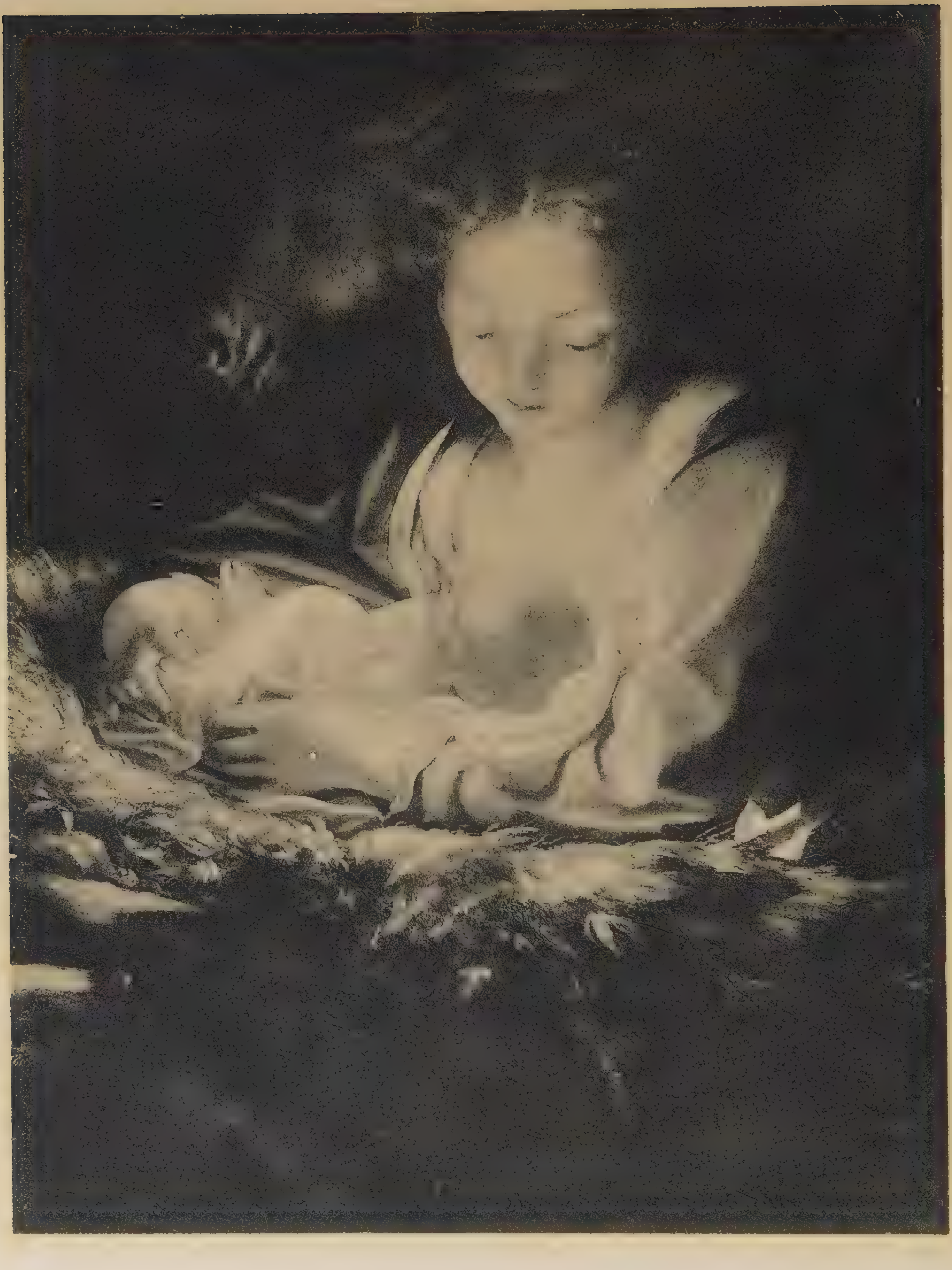


CLVI THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE (Photo. Alinari)
Paris, Louvre

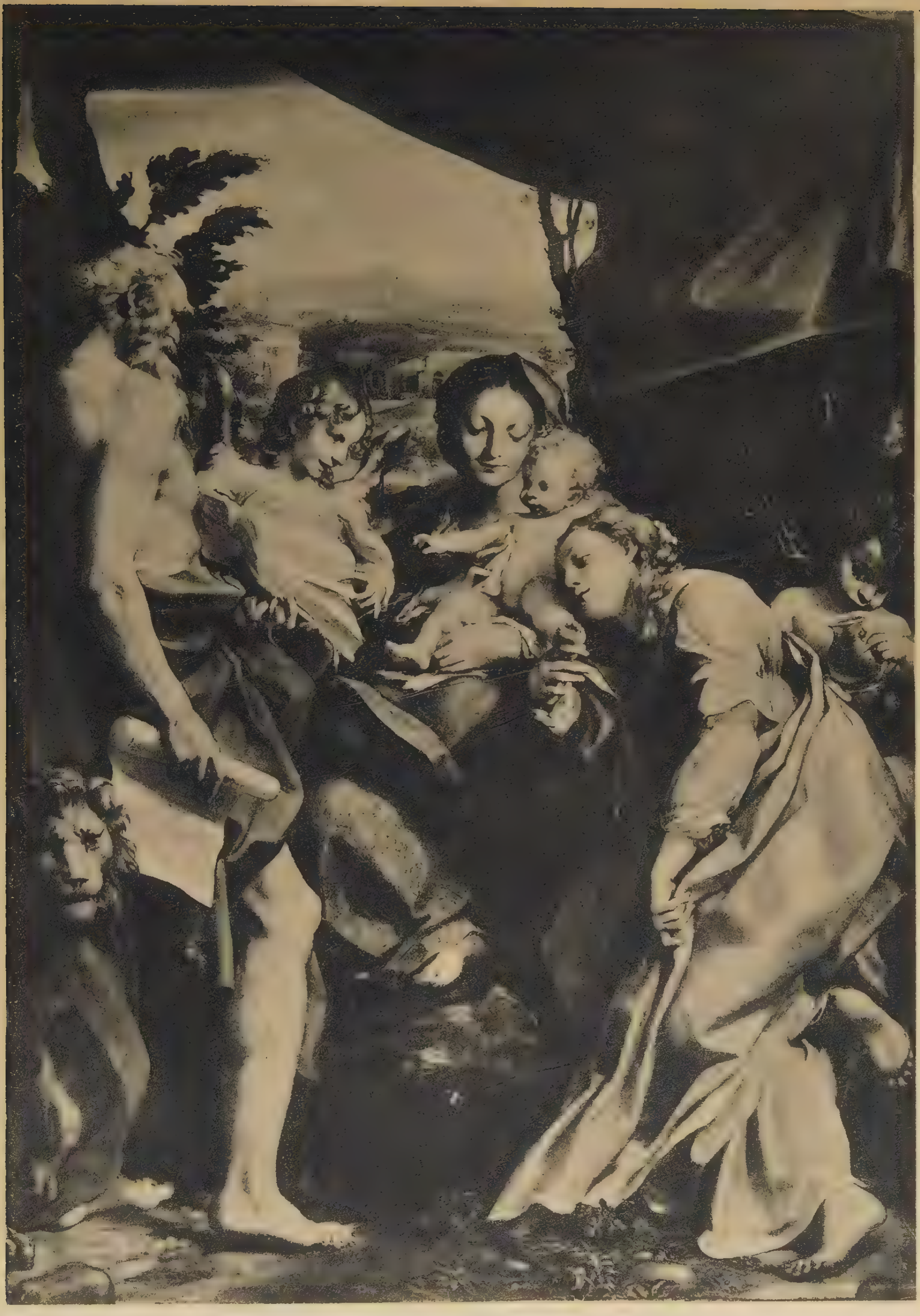


CLVII " NIGHT " *(Photo. Alinari)*

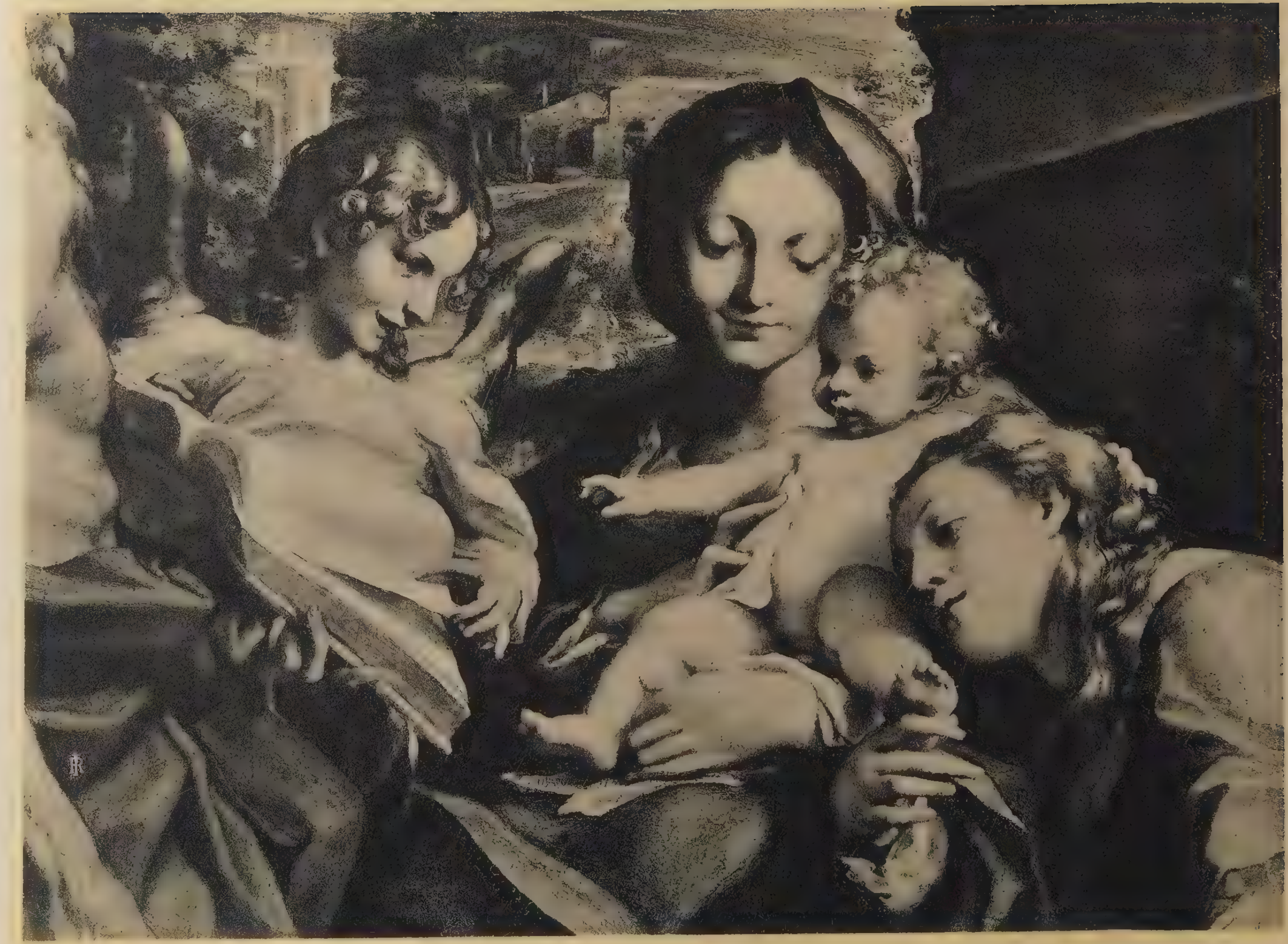
Dresden, Art Gallery



CLVIII "NIGHT." DETAIL (Photo. Anderson)
Dresden, Art Gallery



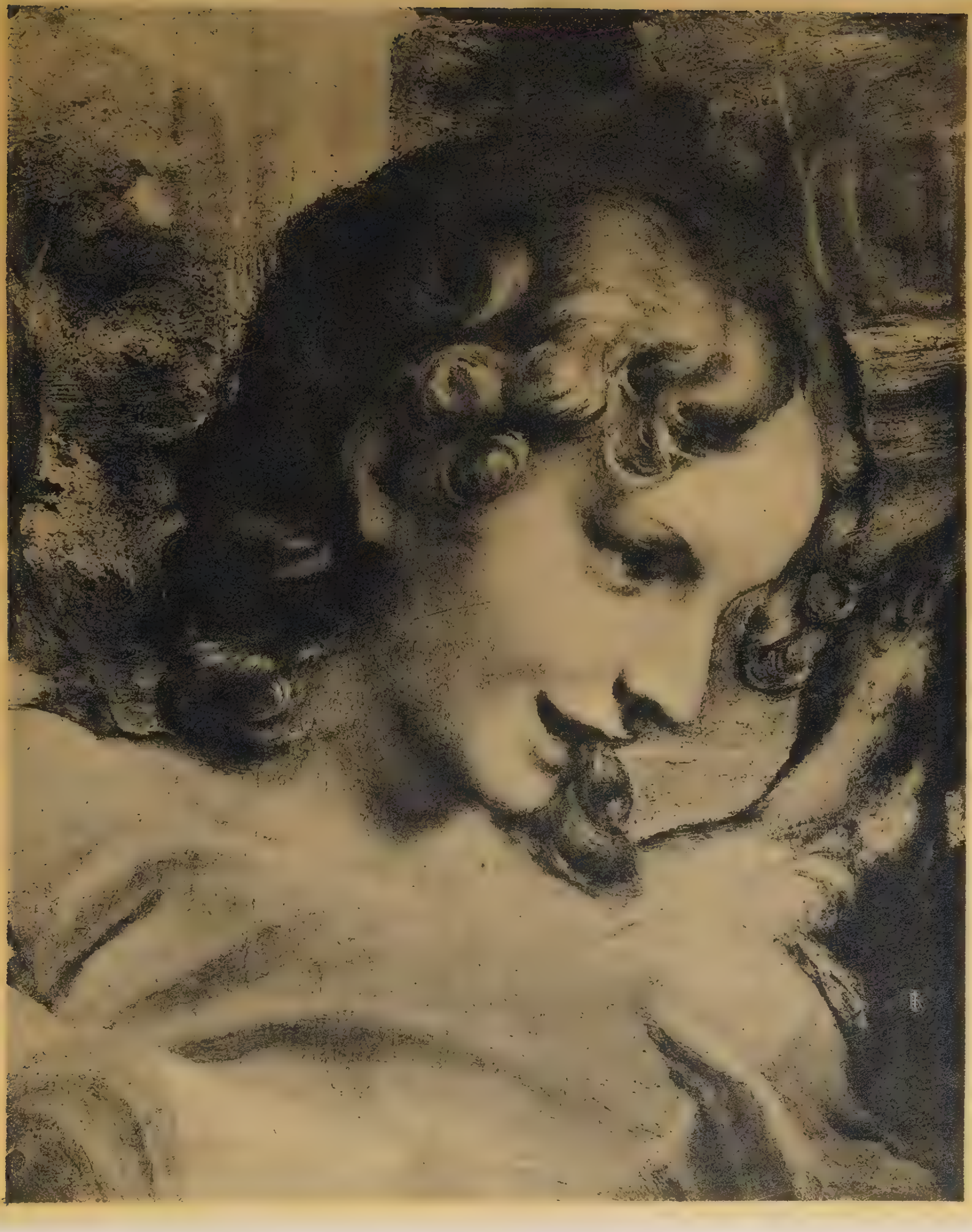
CLIX THE MADONNA OF ST. JEROME (Photo. Anderson)
Parma, Art Gallery



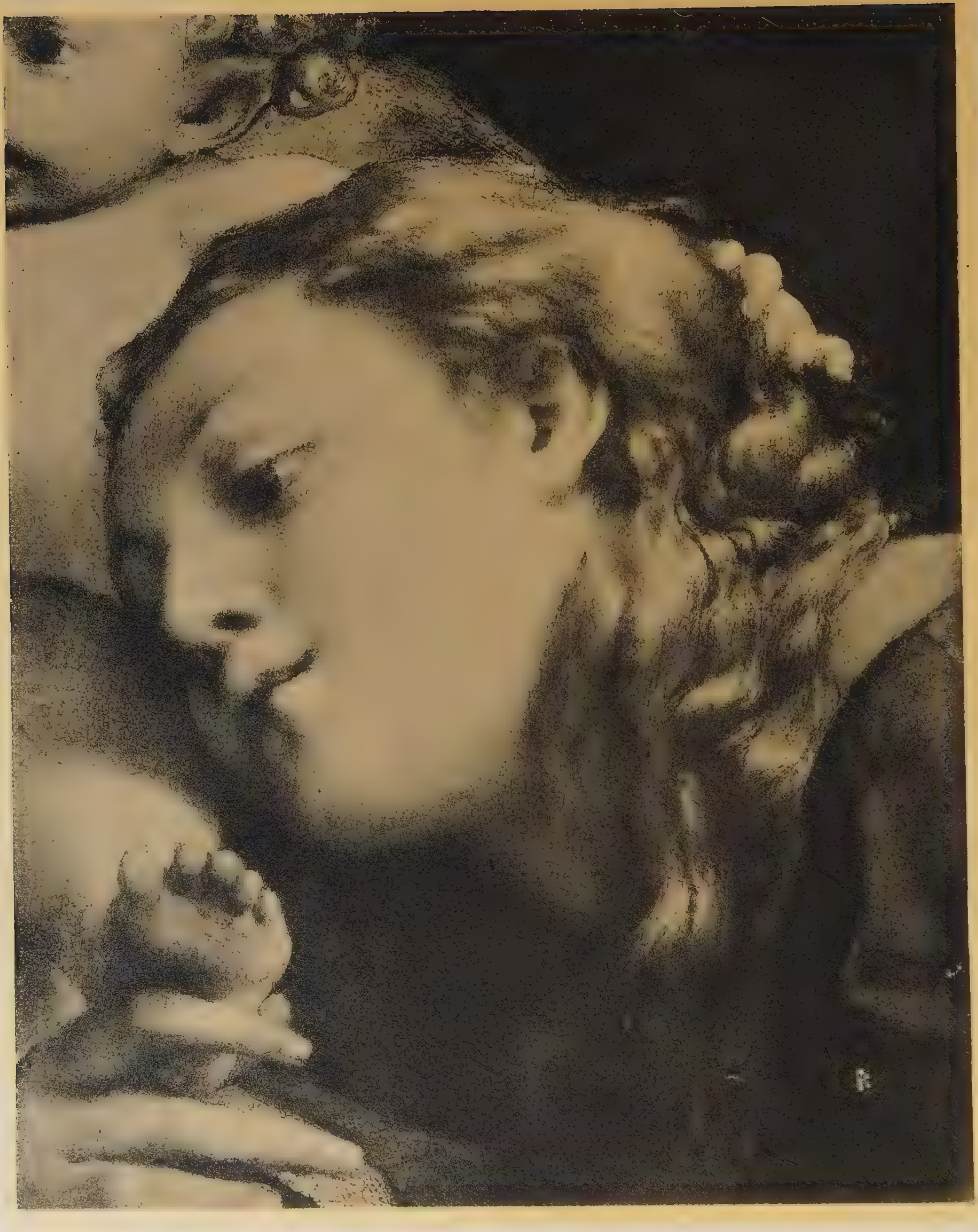
CLX

THE MADONNA OF ST. JEROME. DETAIL
Parma, Art Gallery

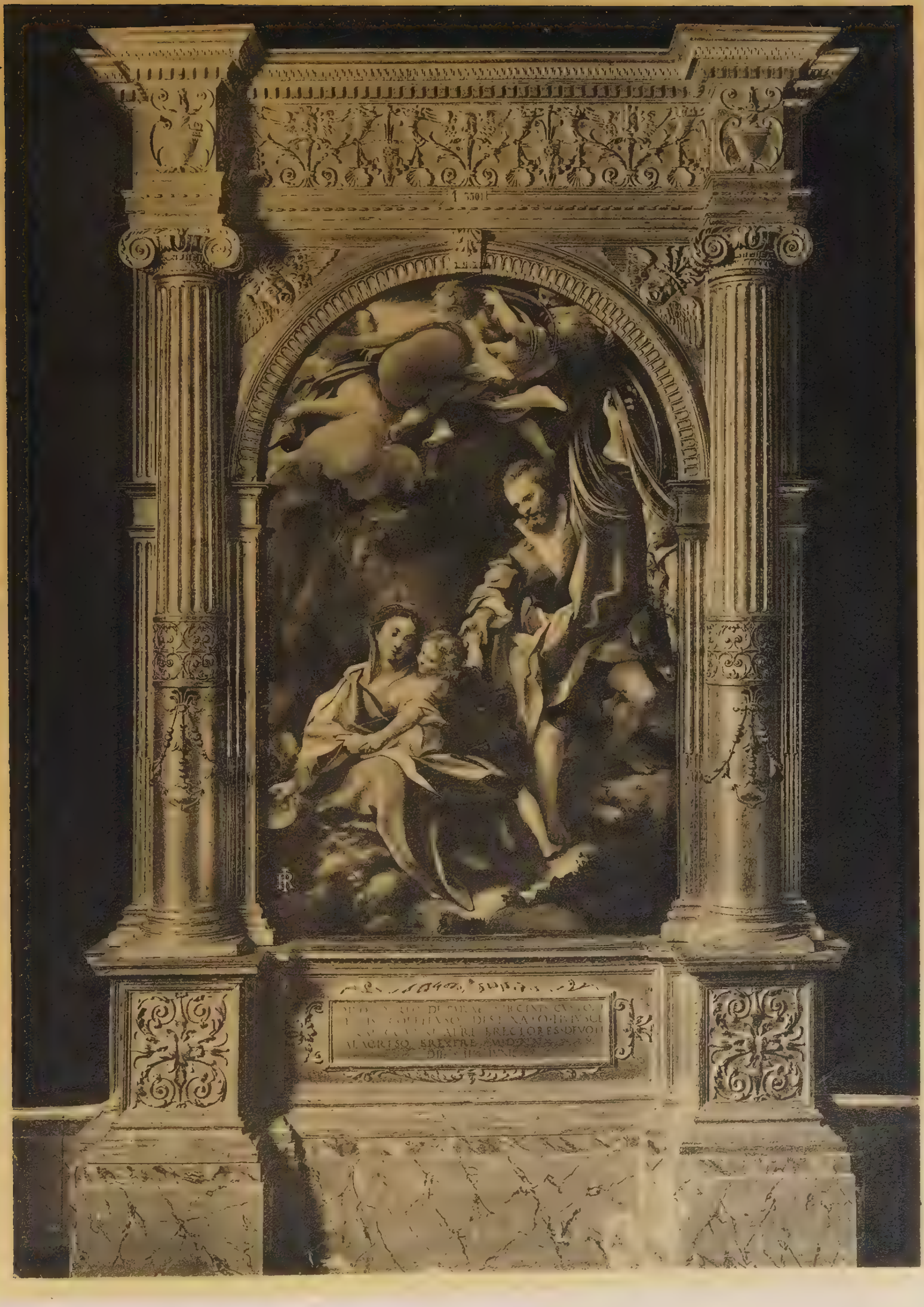
(Photo. Anderson)



CLXI ANGEL. DETAIL OF THE MADONNA OF ST. JEROME (*Photo. Anderson*)
Parma, Art Gallery

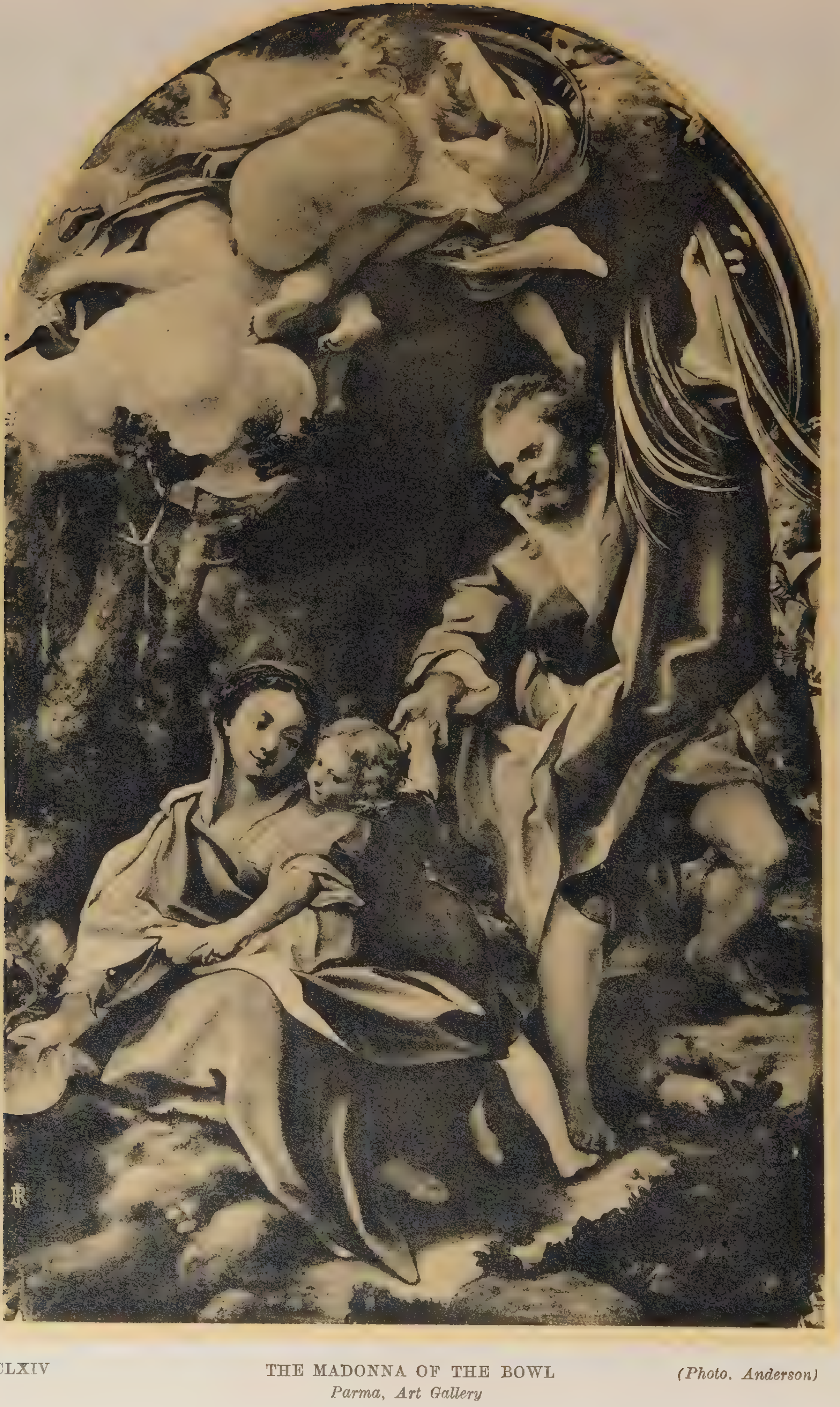


CLXII ST. MARY MAGDALENE. DETAIL OF THE MADONNA OF ST. JEROME (*Photo. Anderson*)
Parma, Art Gallery

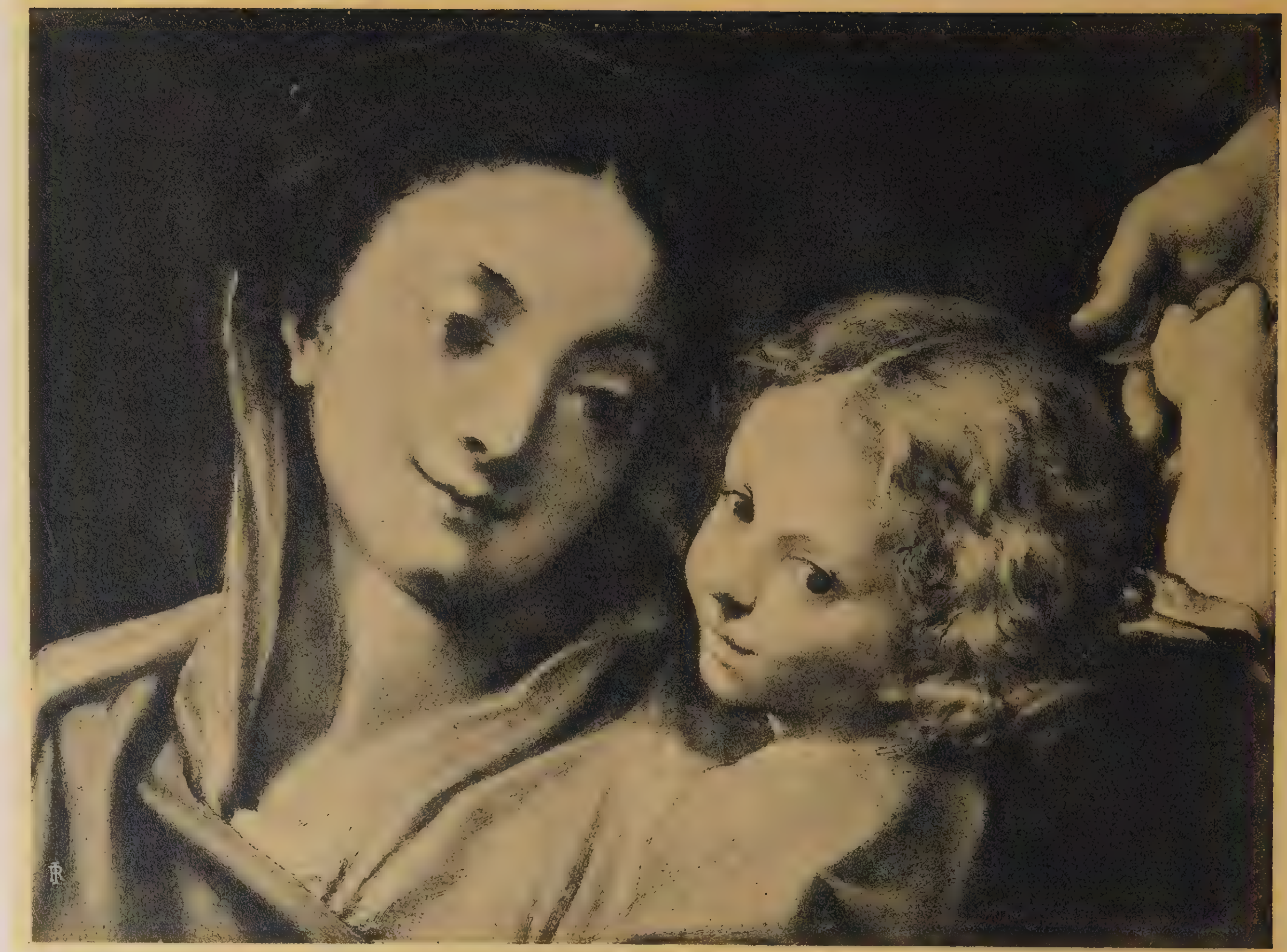


CLXIII THE MADONNA OF THE BOWL WITH ITS FRAME (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Art Gallery

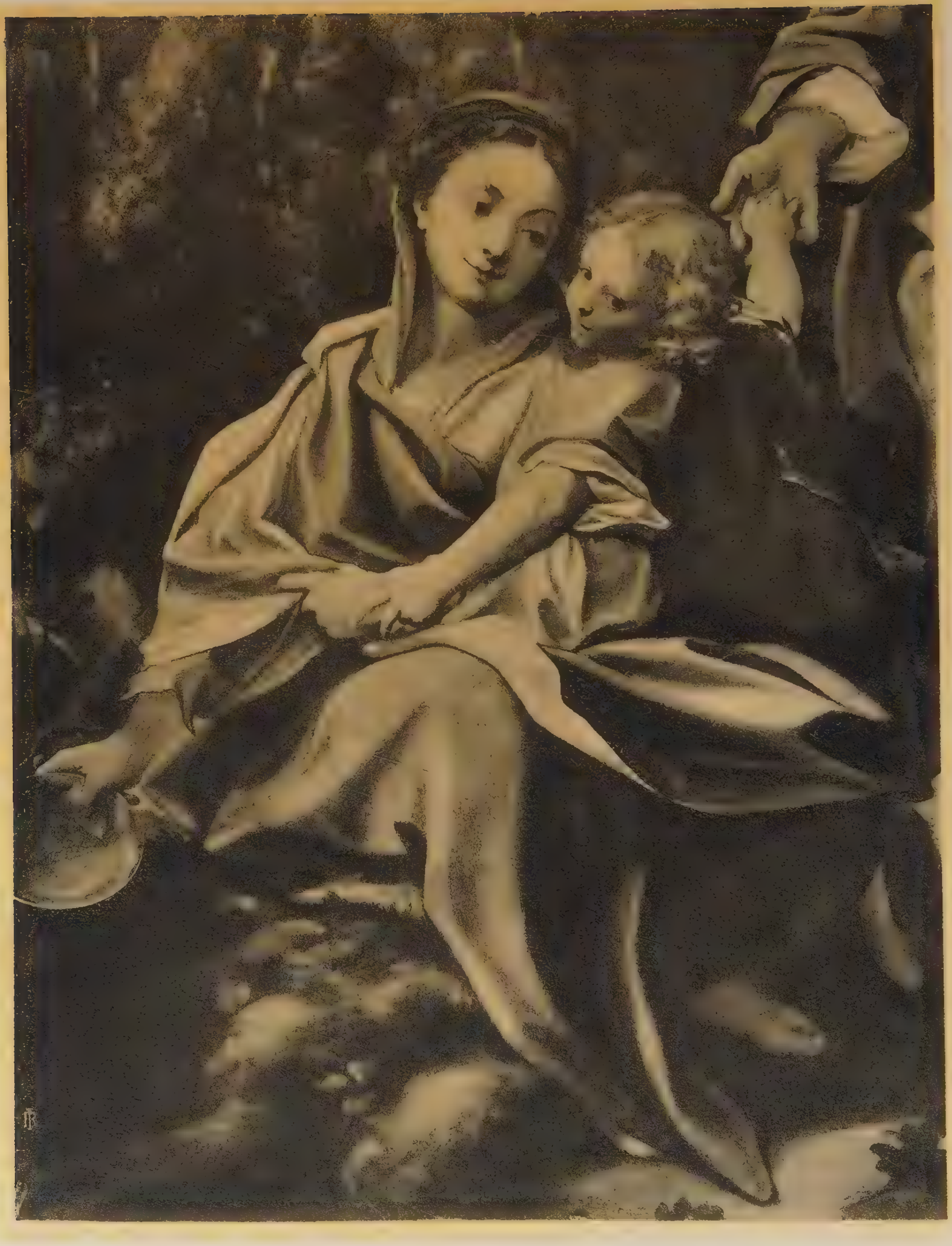


CLXIV THE MADONNA OF THE BOWL (Photo. Anderson)
Parma, Art Gallery

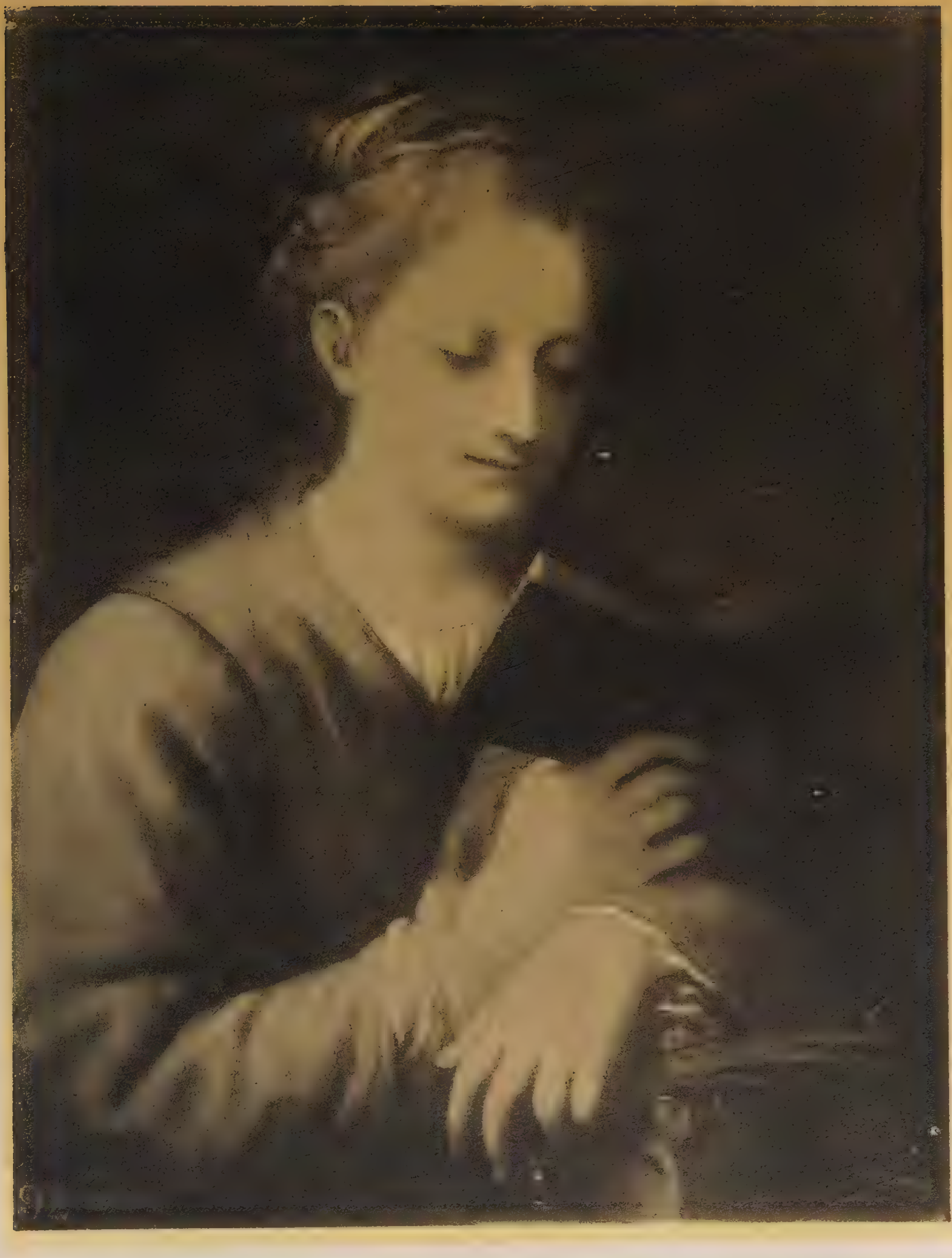


CLXV THE MADONNA OF THE BOWL. DETAIL (Photo. Anderson)

Parma, Art Gallery

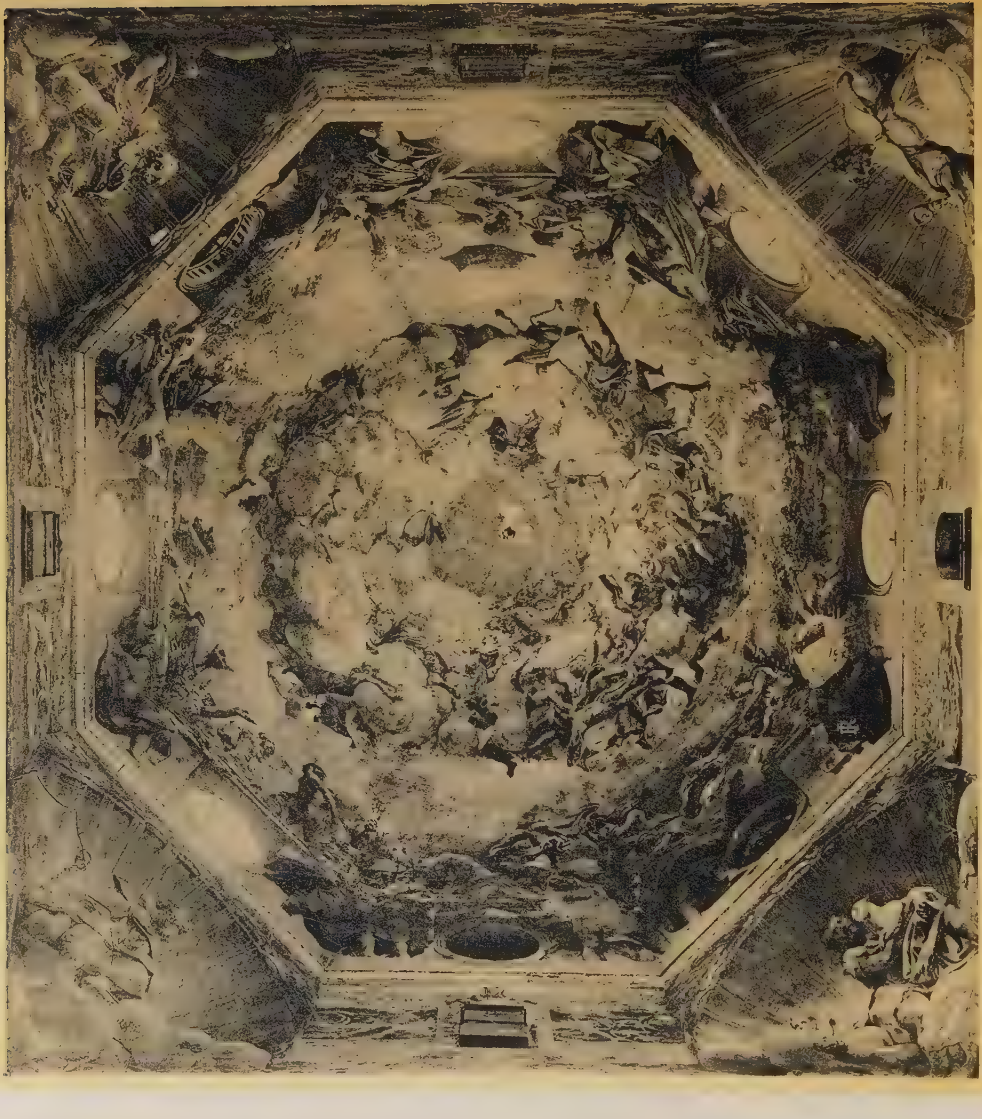


CLXVI THE MADONNA OF THE BOWL. Detail (Photo. Anderson)
Parma, Art Gallery

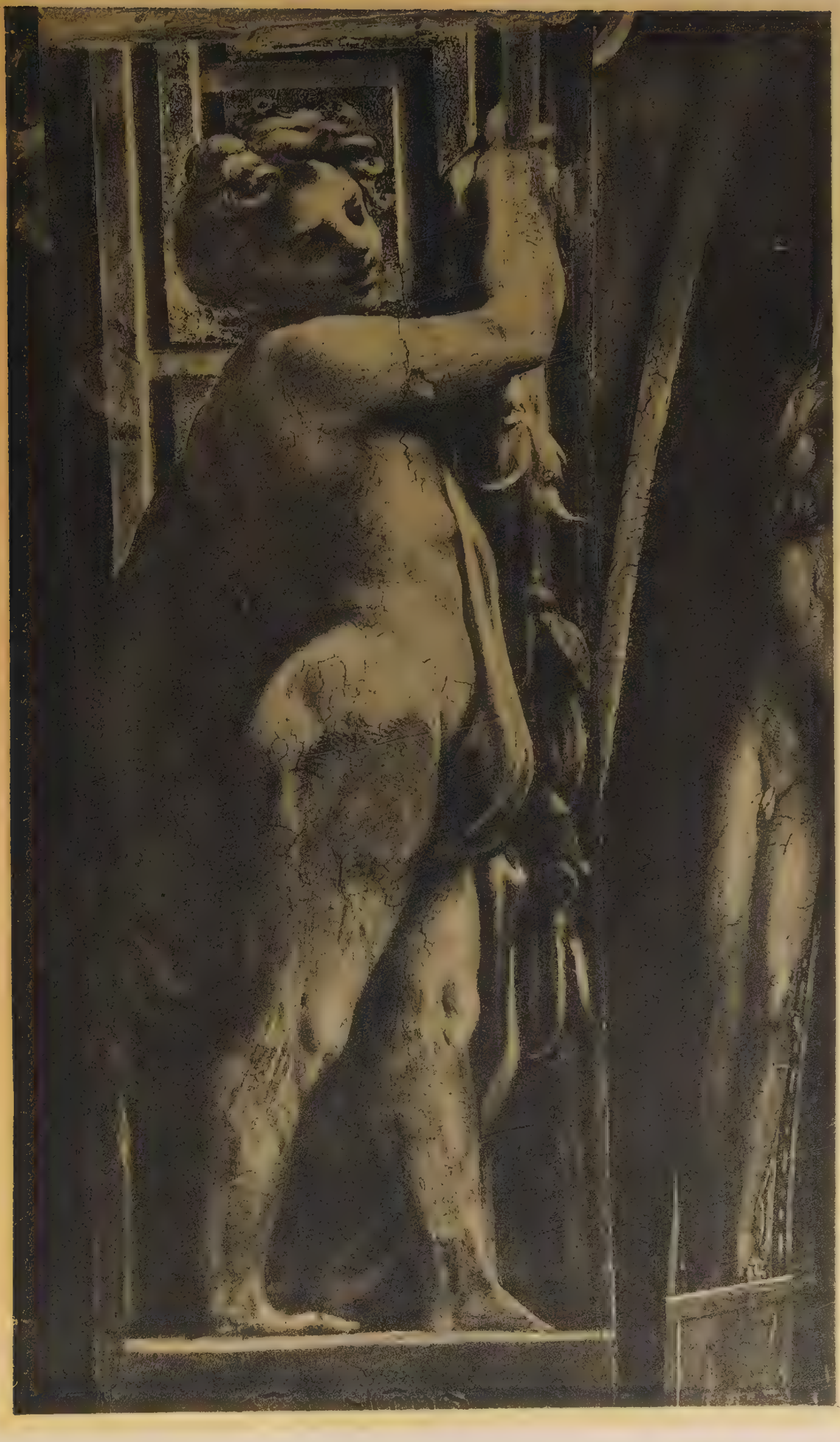


CLXVII

ST. CATHERINE READING
Hampton Court Palace

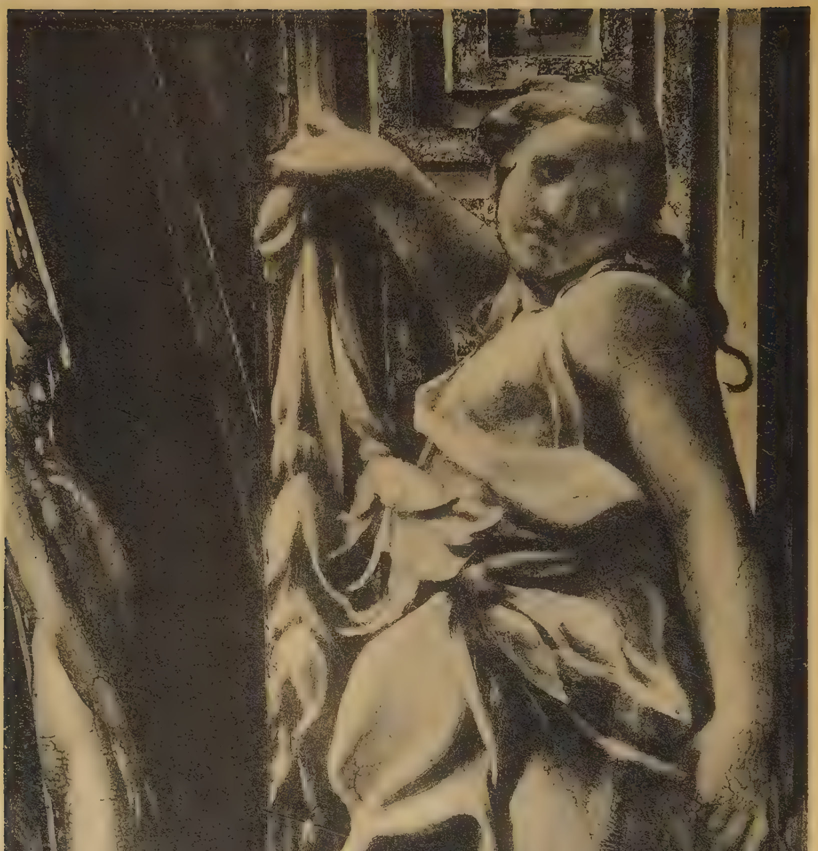


CLXVIII GENERAL VIEW OF THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL *(Photo. Anderson)*



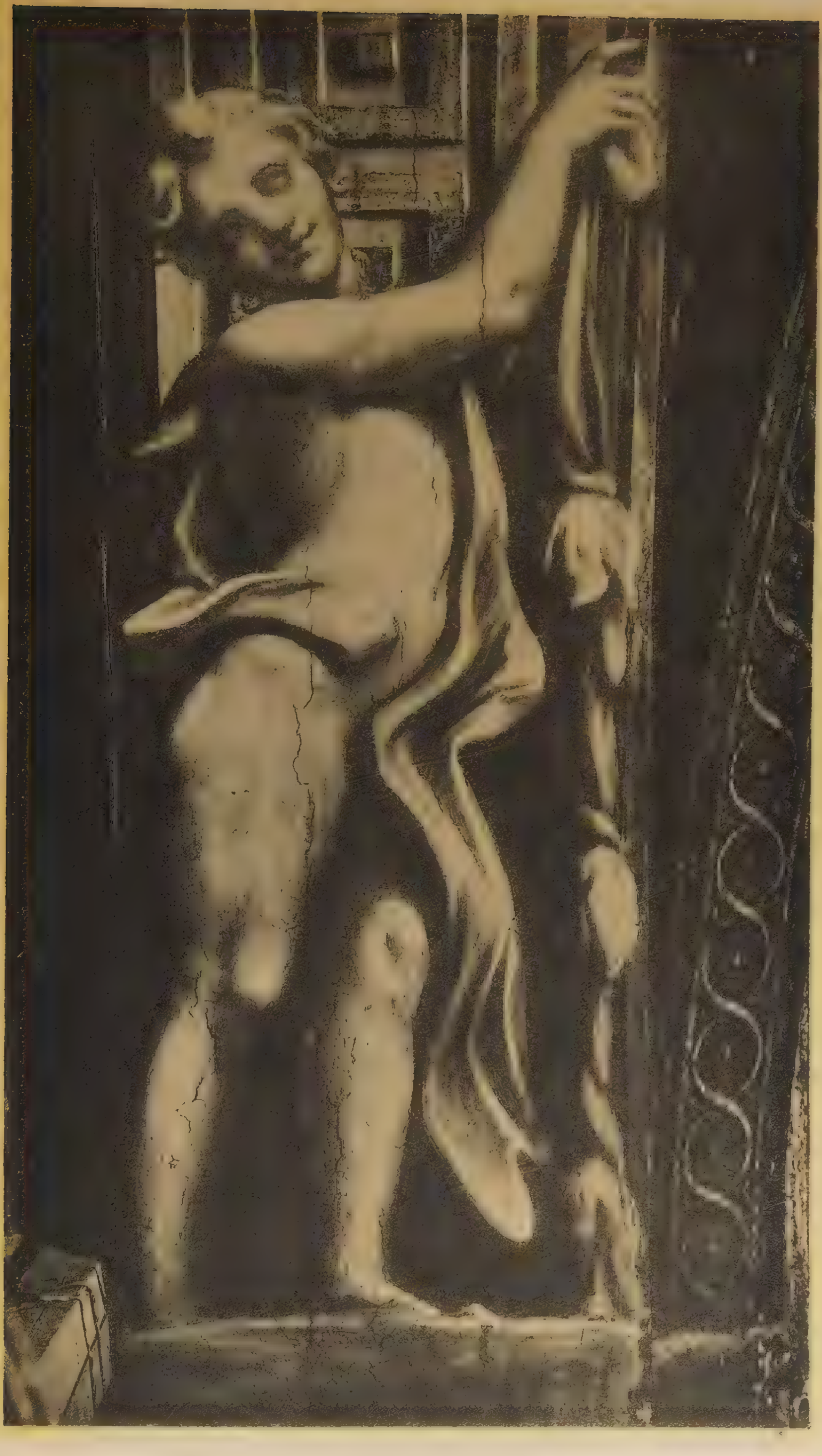
CLXIX FIGURE IN CHIAROSCURO (Photo. Anderson)

On soffit of one of the arches supporting the cupola of Parma Cathedral



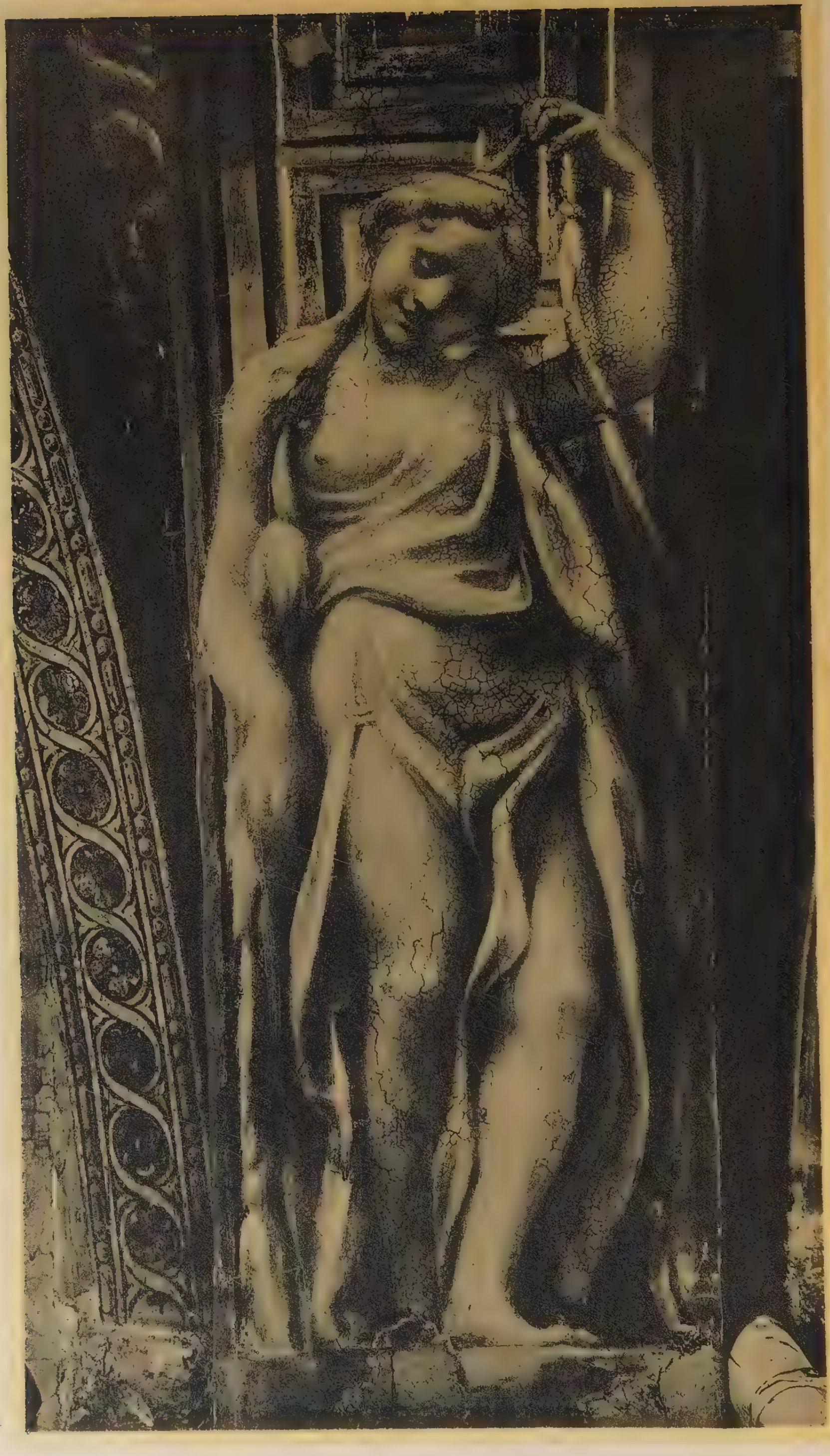
CLXX FIGURE IN CHIAROSCURO (Photo. Anderson)

On soffit of one of the arches supporting the cupola of Parma Cathedral



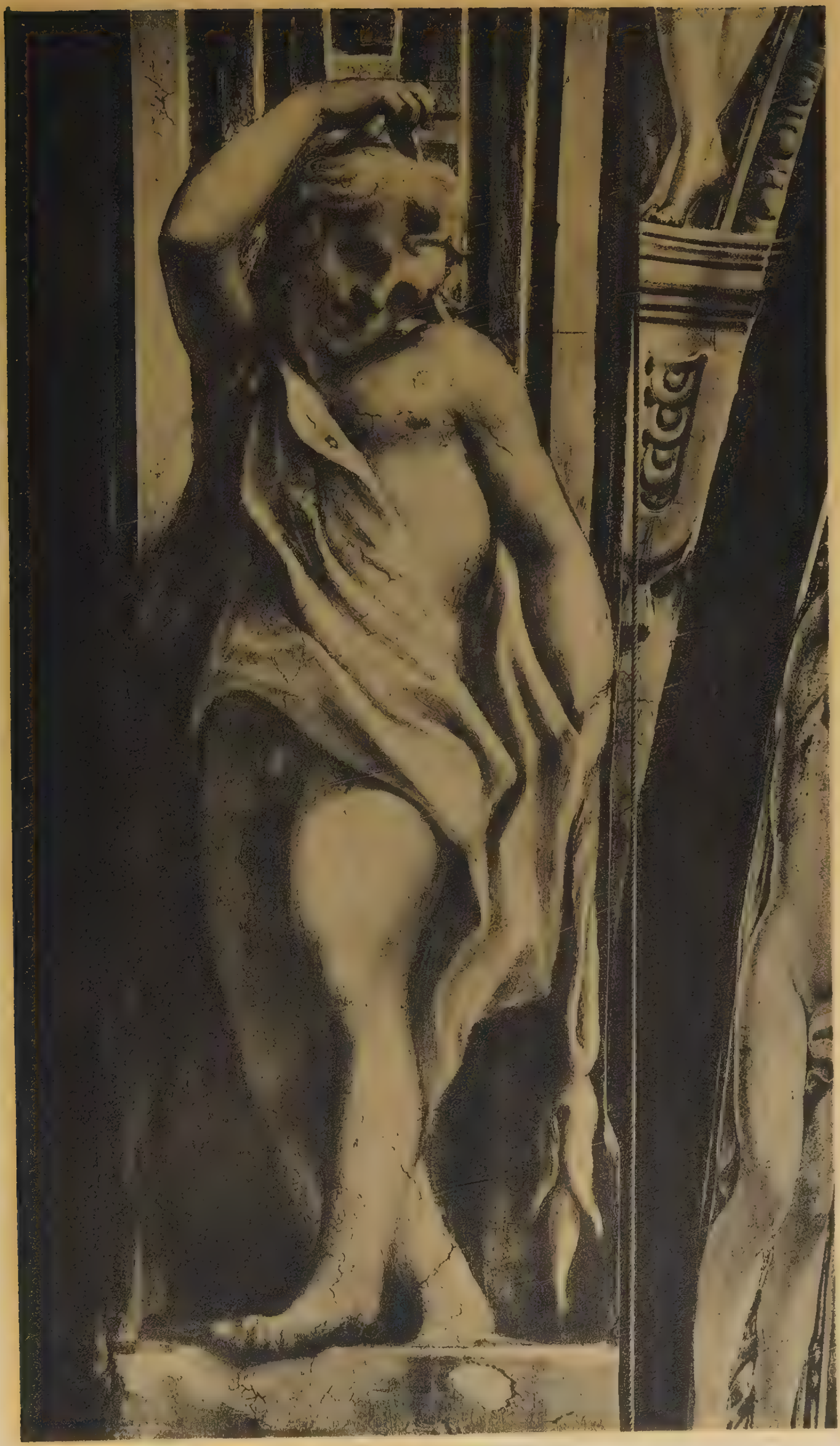
CLXXI FIGURE IN CHIAROSCURO (Photo. Anderson)

On soffit of one of the arches supporting the cupola of Parma Cathedral



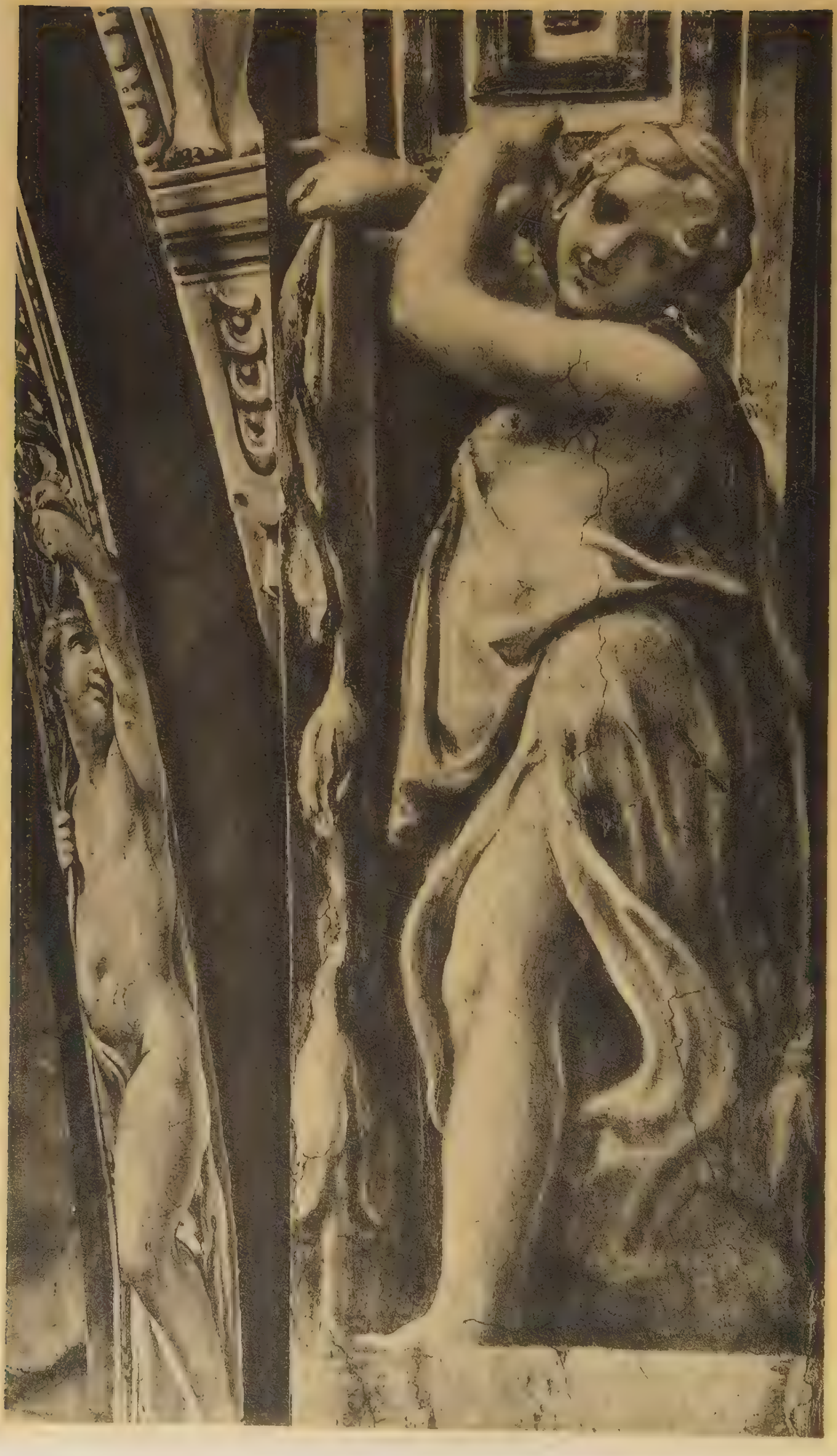
CLXXII FIGURE IN CHIAROSCURO (Photo. Anderson)

On soffit of one of the arches supporting the cupola of Parma Cathedral



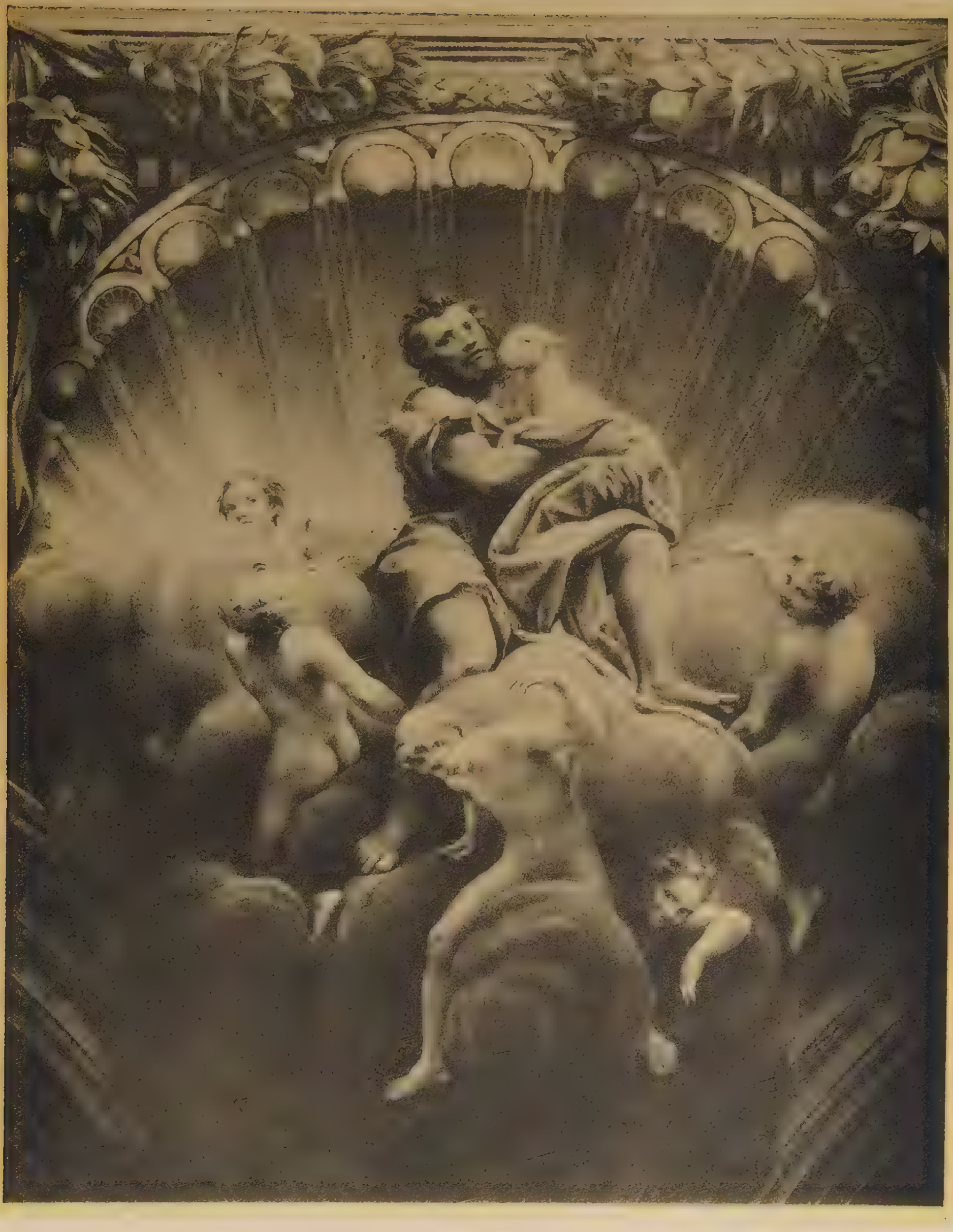
CLXXIII FIGURE IN CHIAROSCURO (Photo. Anderson)

On soffit of one of the arches supporting the cupola of Parma Cathedral

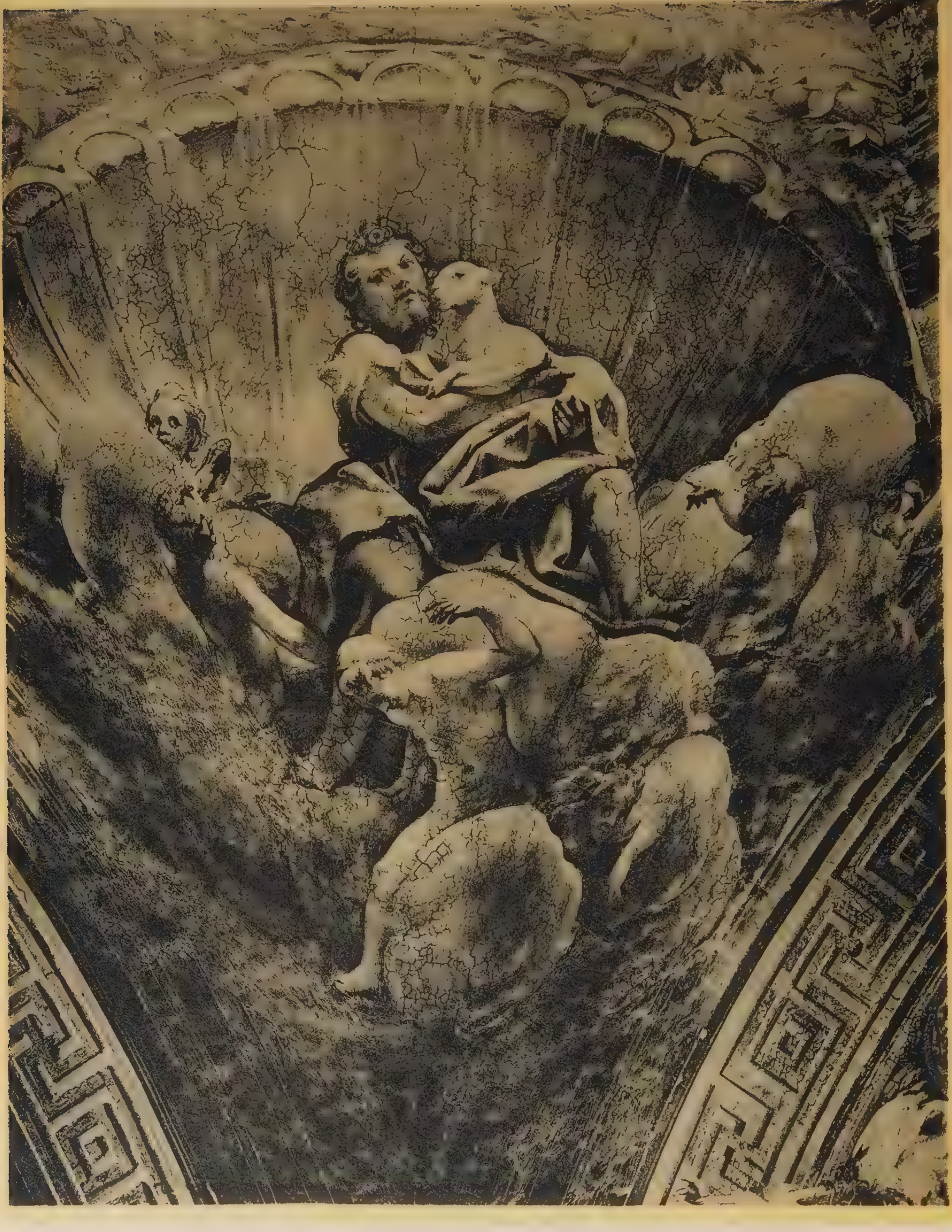


CLXXIV FIGURE IN CHIAROSCURO (Photo. Anderson)

On soffit of one of the arches supporting the cupola of Parma Cathedral

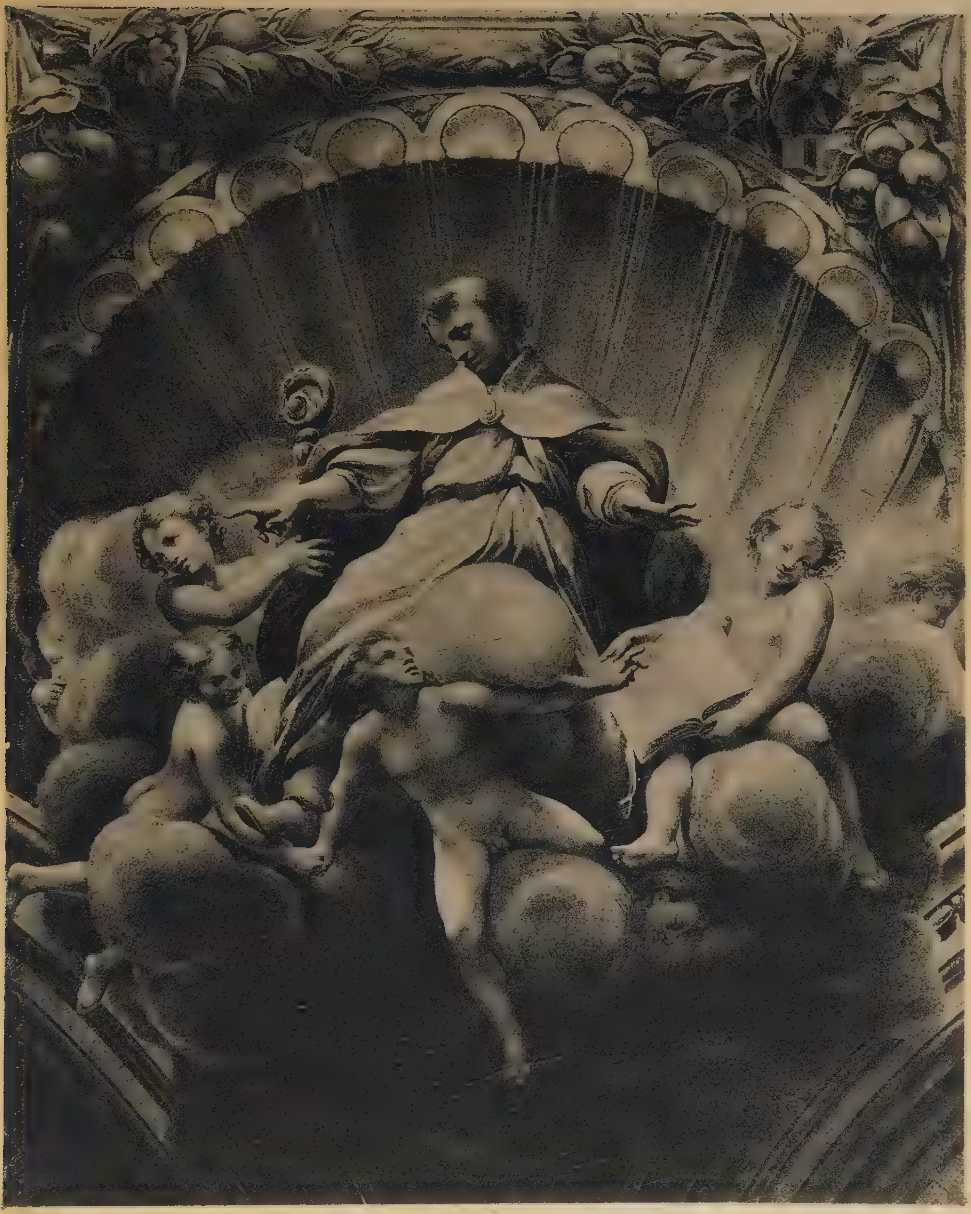


CLXXV ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND ANGELS (Photo. Anderson)
COPY BY ANTONIO COSTA, LUDOVICO BIGOLA, AND PAOLO TOSCHI
of the N.E. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery



CLXXVI ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND ANGELS *(Photo. Arti Grafiche, Bergamo)*

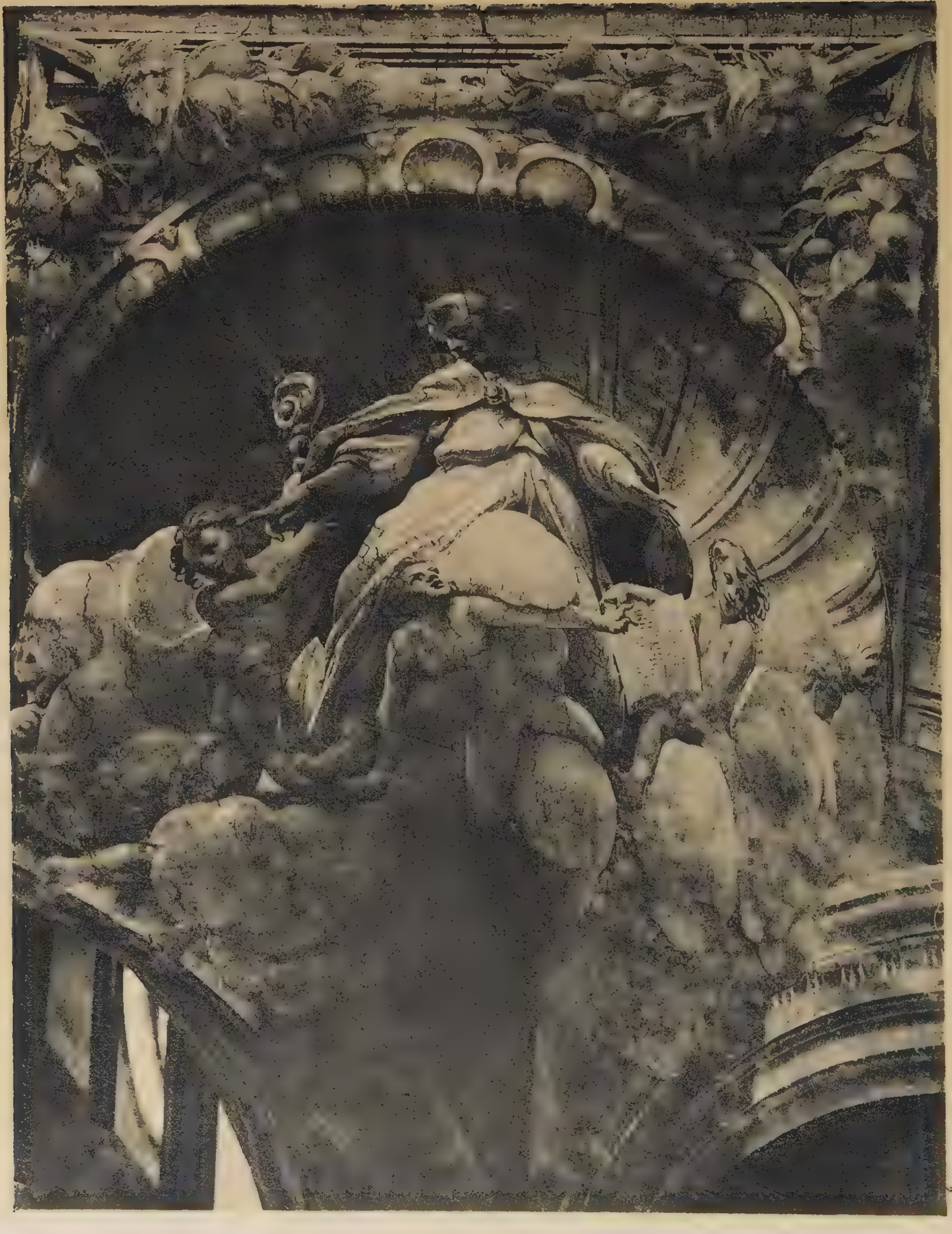
N.E. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



CLXXVII ST. HILARY AND ANGELS. (Photo. Anderson)

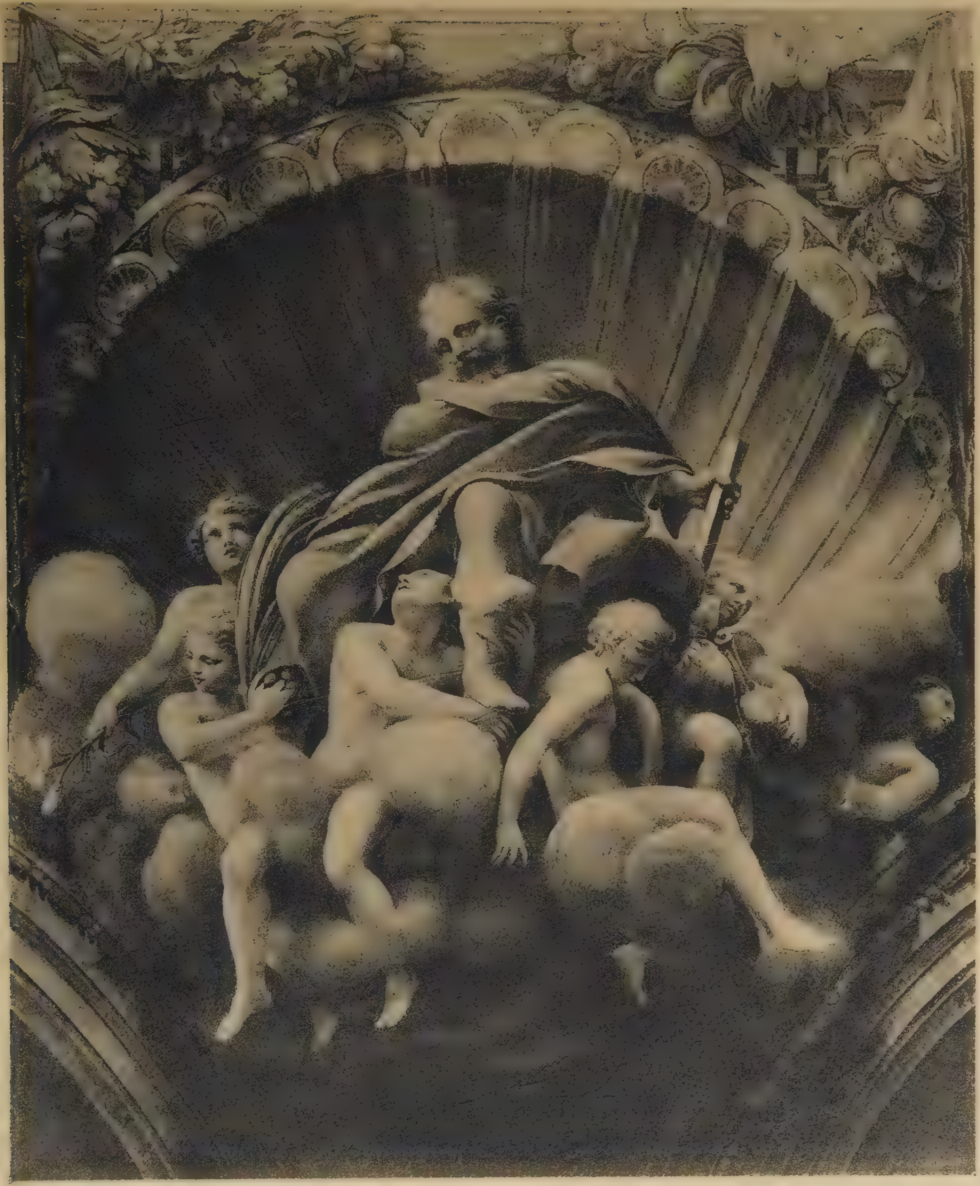
COPY BY CARLO RAIMONDI AND PAOLO TOSCHI

of the S.E. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery



CLXXVIII ST. HILARY AND ANGELS (Photo. M. P. I.)

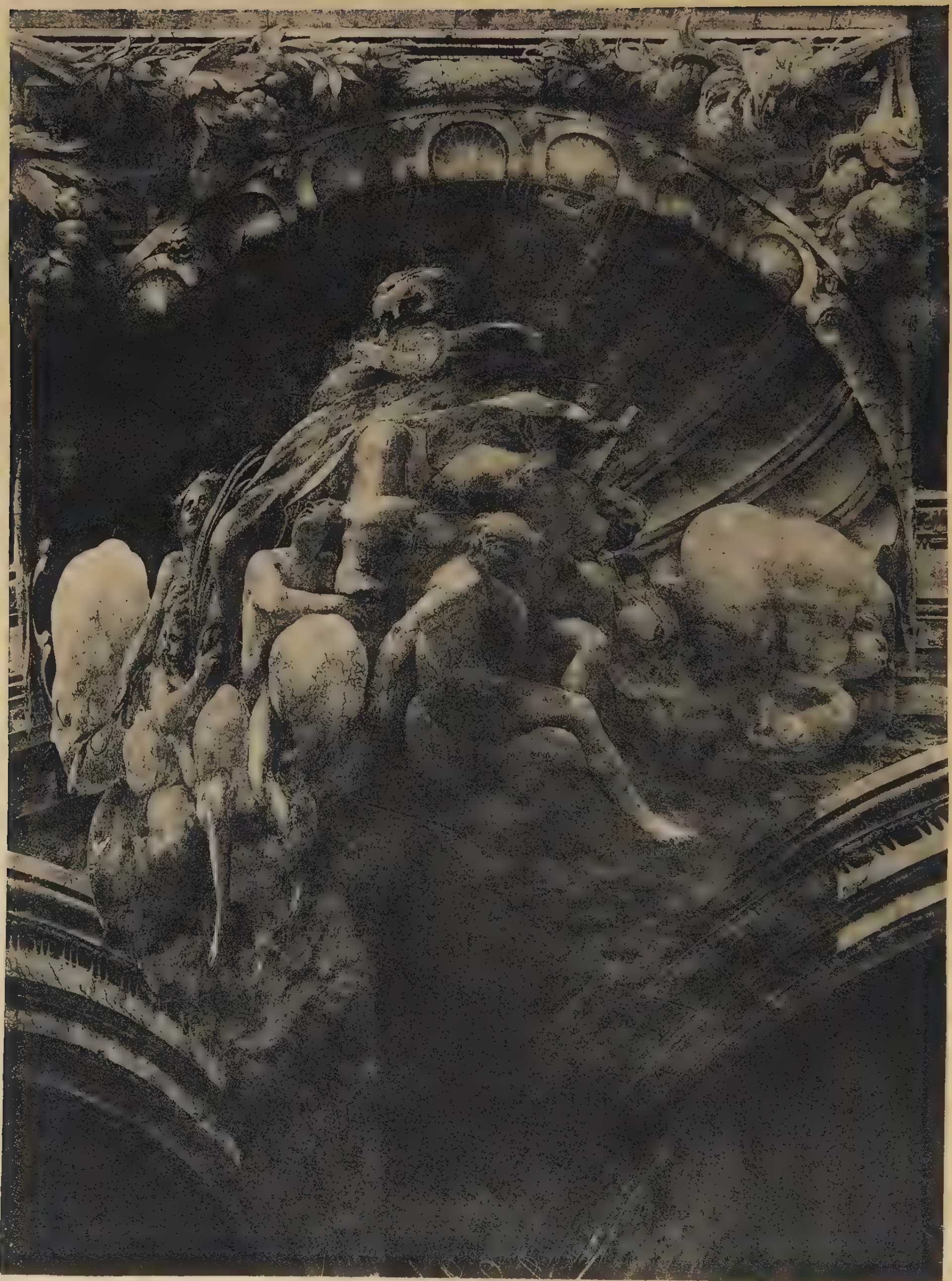
S.E. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



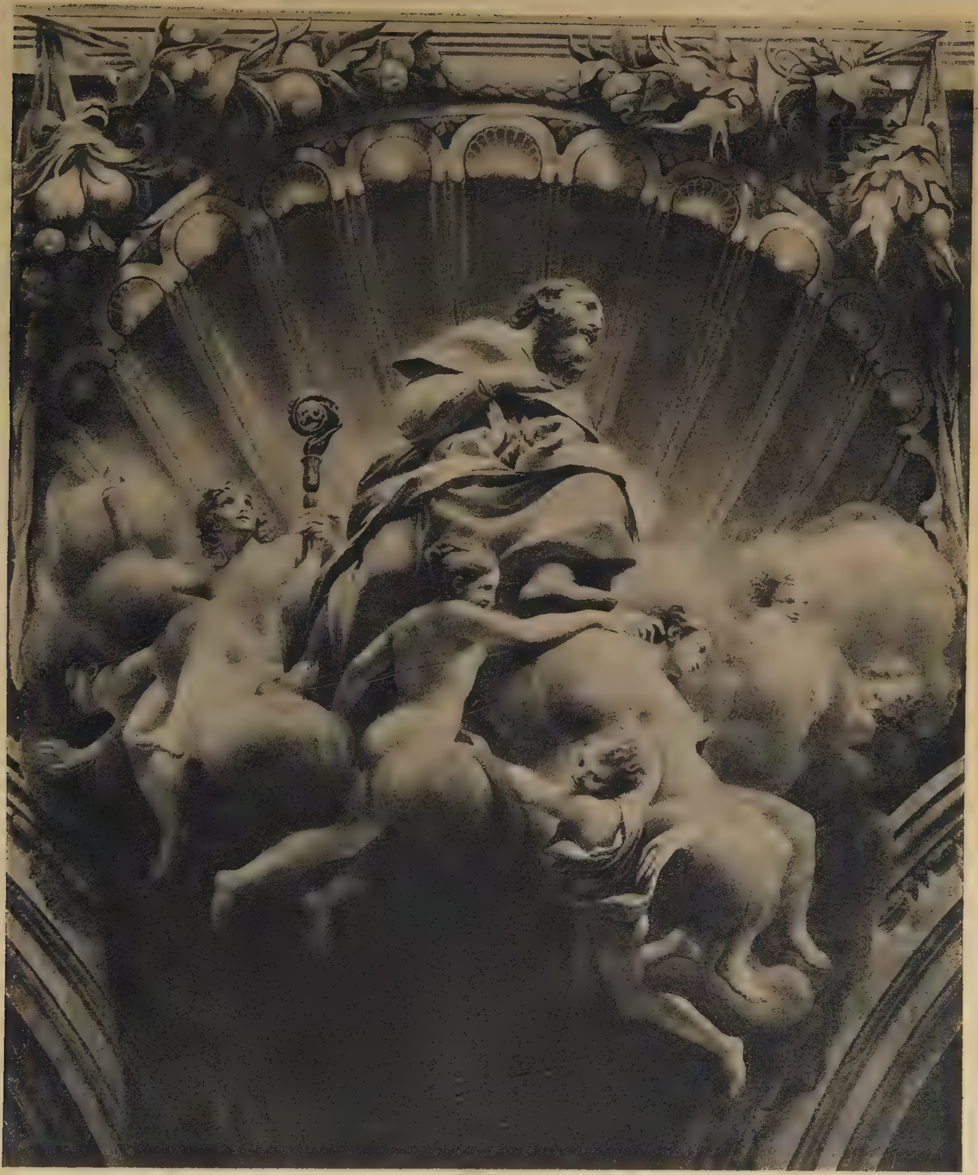
CLXXIX ST. THOMAS AND ANGELS (Photo. Anderson)

COPY BY CARLO RAIMONDI AND PAOLO TOSCHI

of the S.W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery



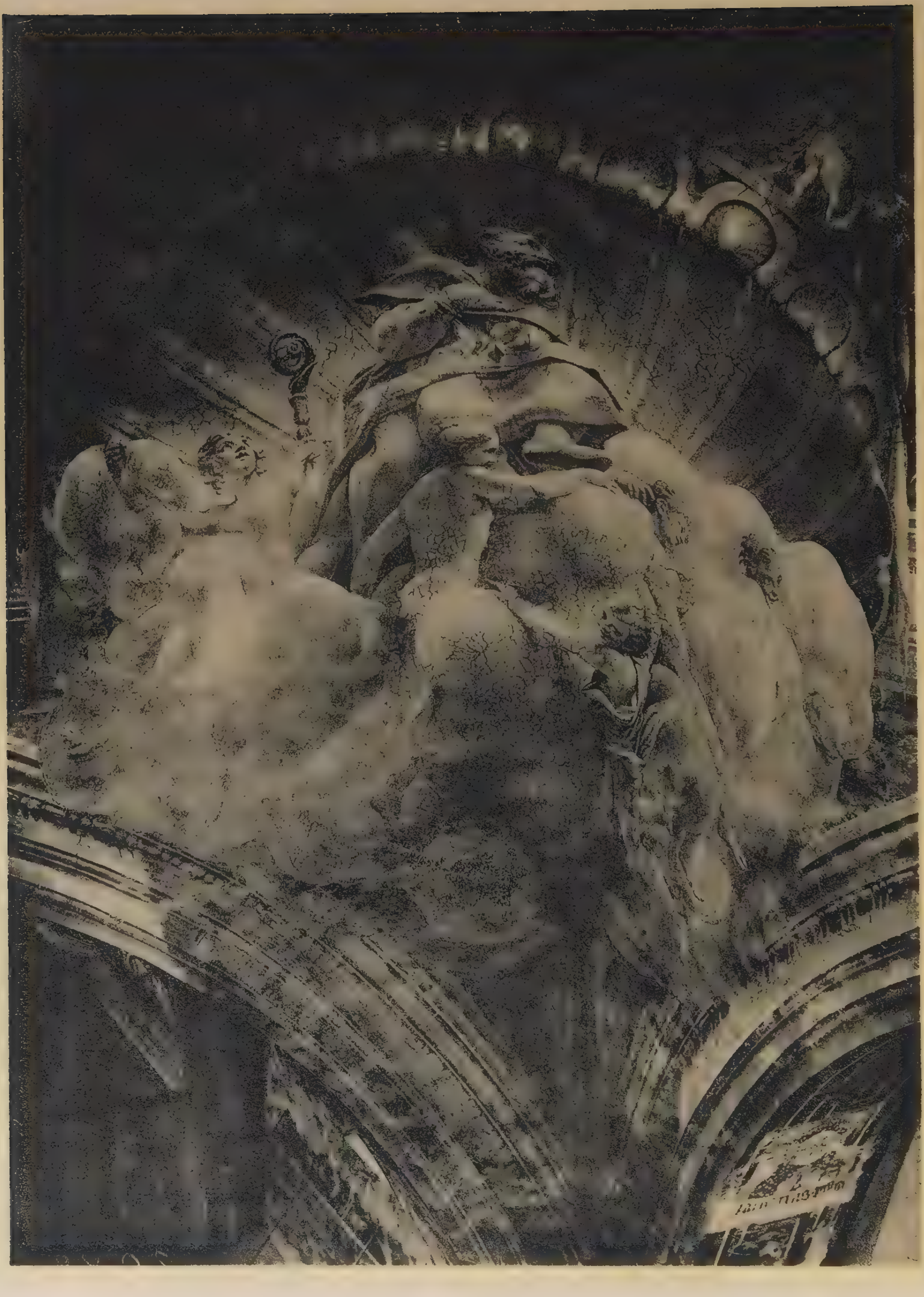
CLXXX ST. THOMAS AND ANGELS (Photo. M. P. I.)
S.W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



CLXXXI ST. BERNARD AND ANGELS *(Photo. Anderson)*

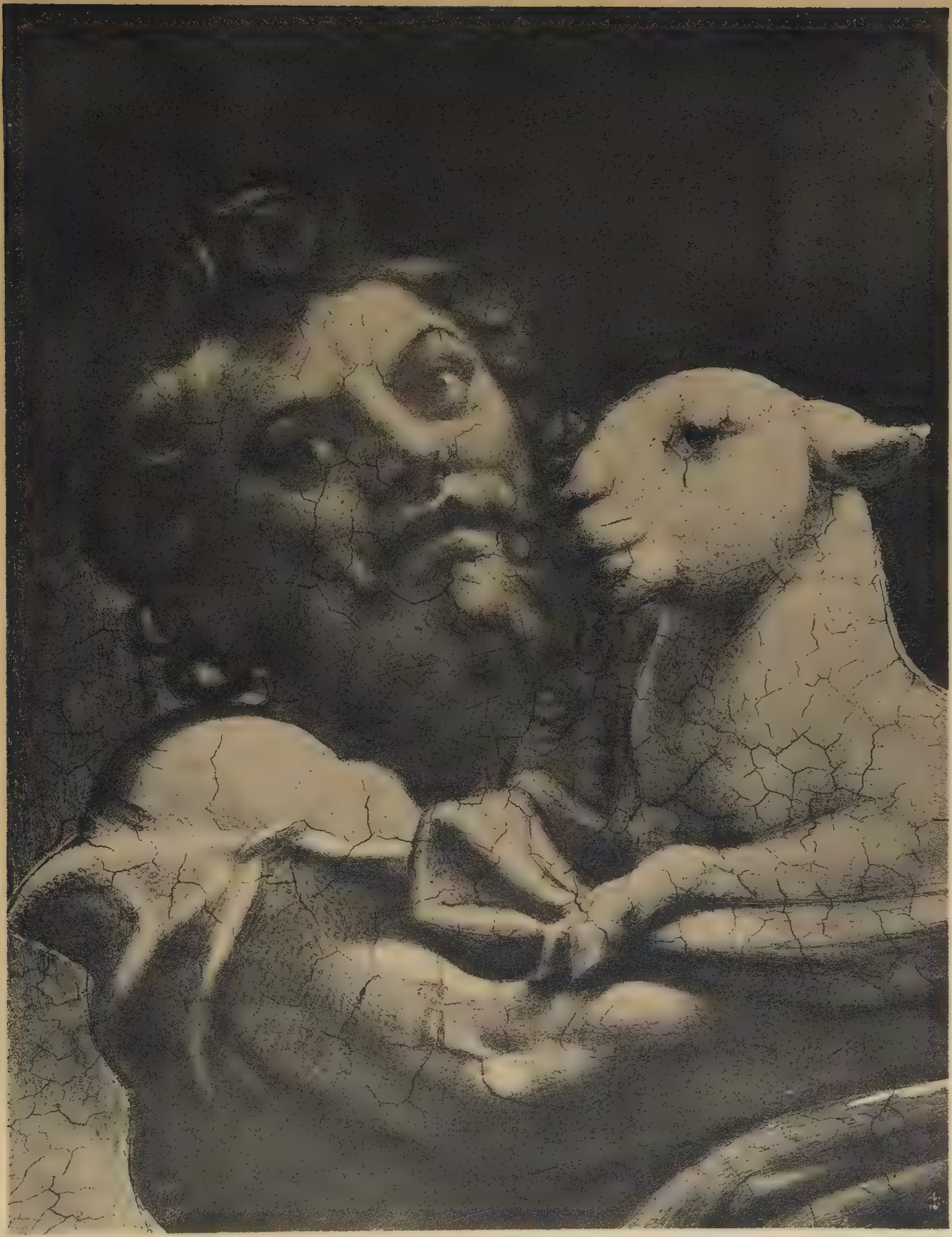
COPY BY CARLO RAIMONDI AND PAOLO TOSCHI

of the N.W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery



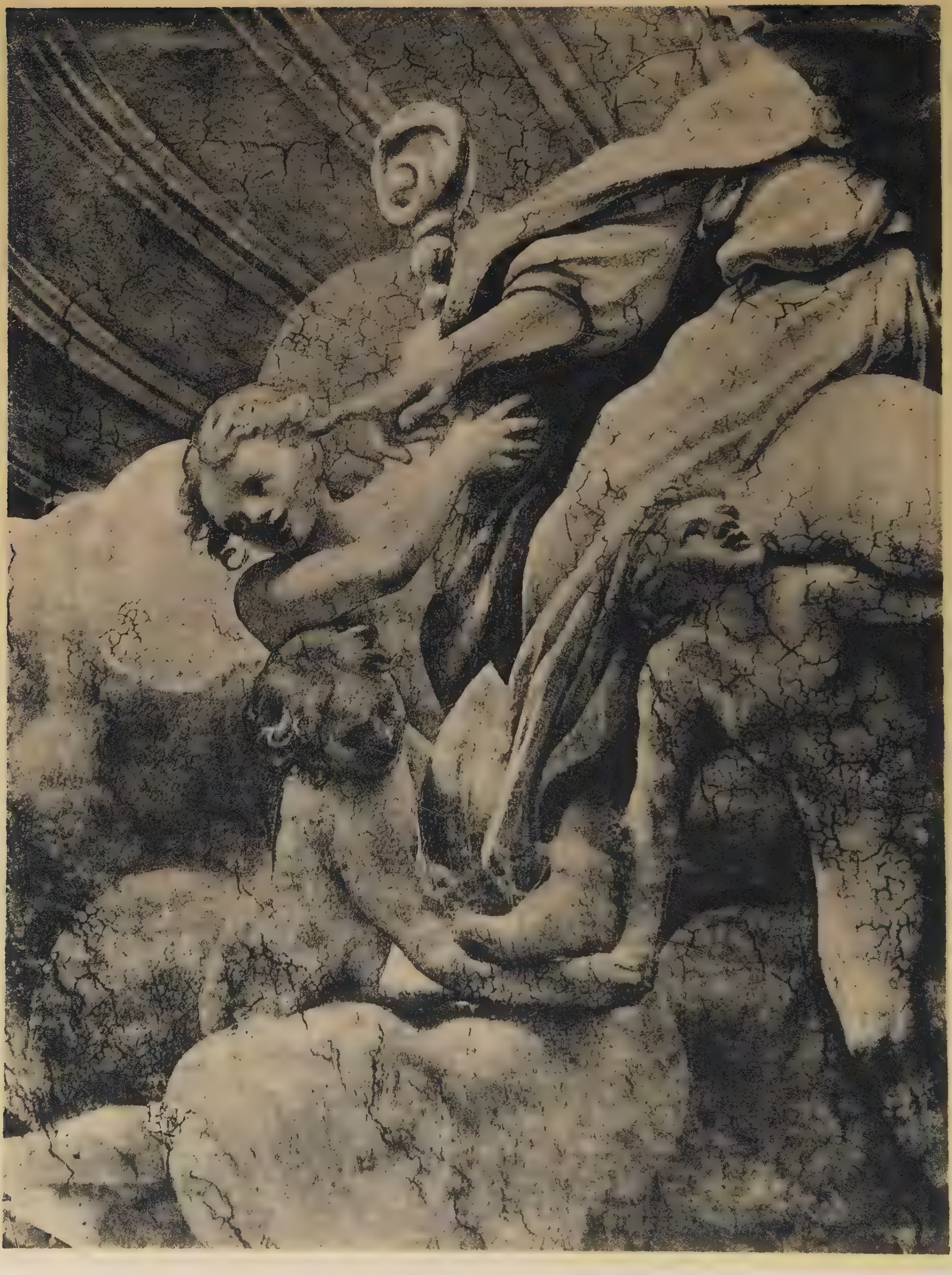
CLXXXII ST. BERNARD AND ANGELS (Photo. M. P. I.)

N.W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



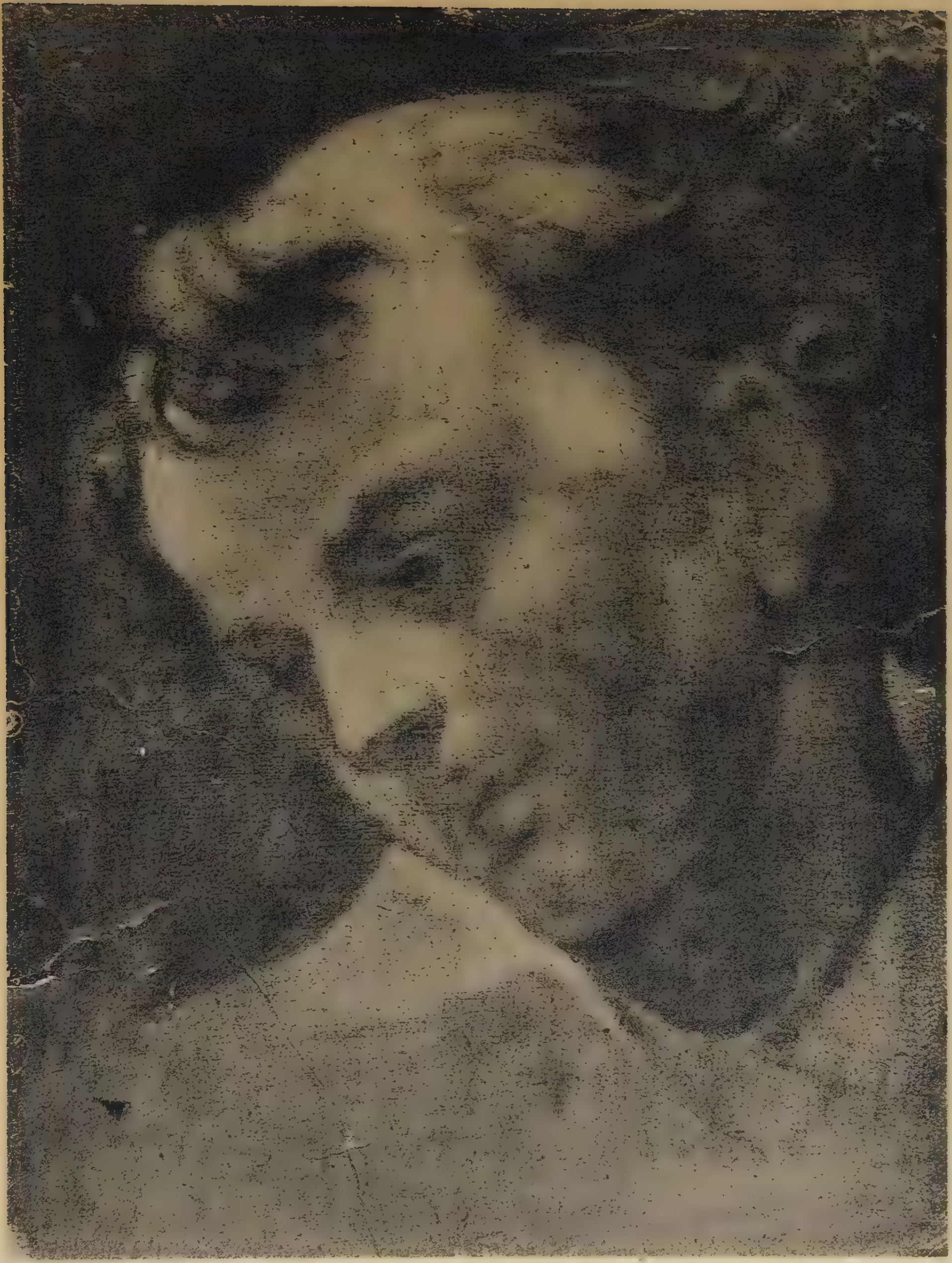
CLXXXIII ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST WITH THE LAMB (Photo. M. P. I.)

Detail of the N.E. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



CLXXXIV ANGELS (Photo. Arti Grafiche, Bergamo)

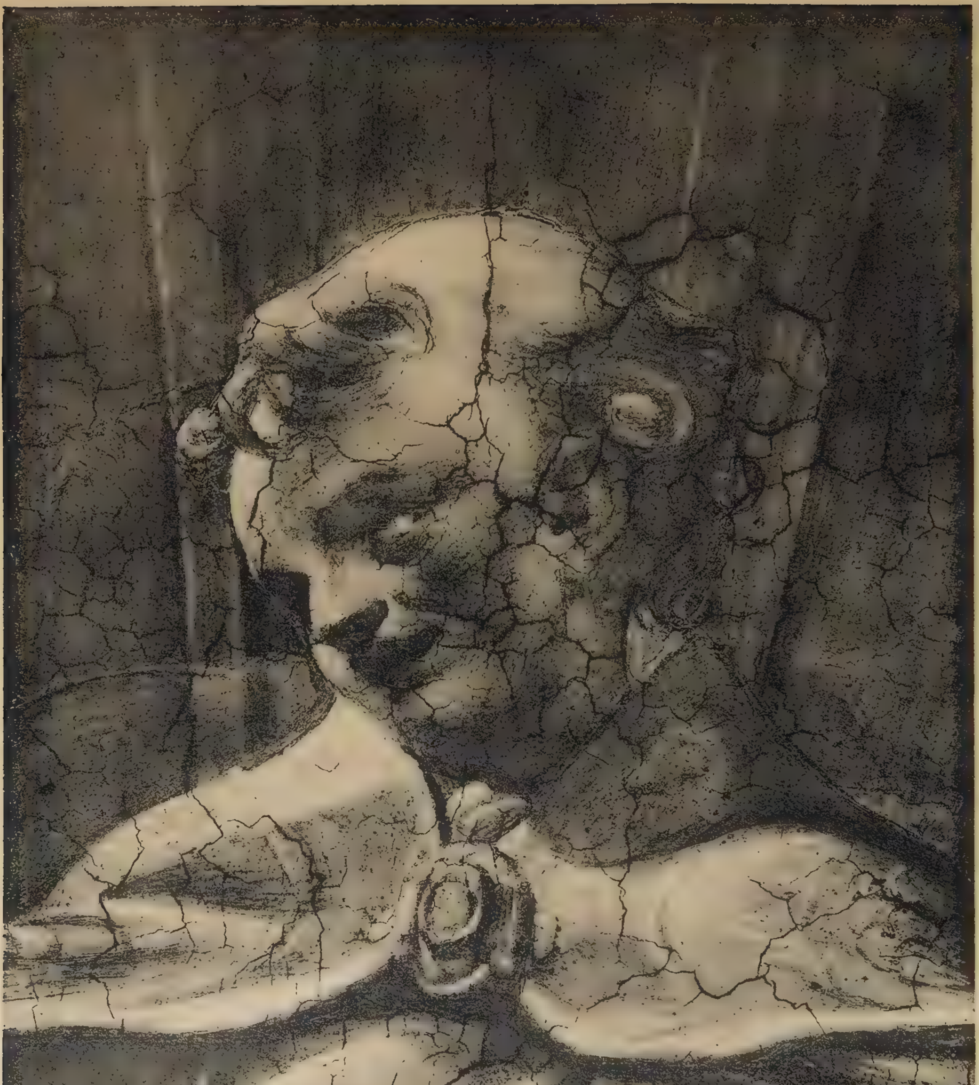
Detail of the S.E. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



CLXXXV

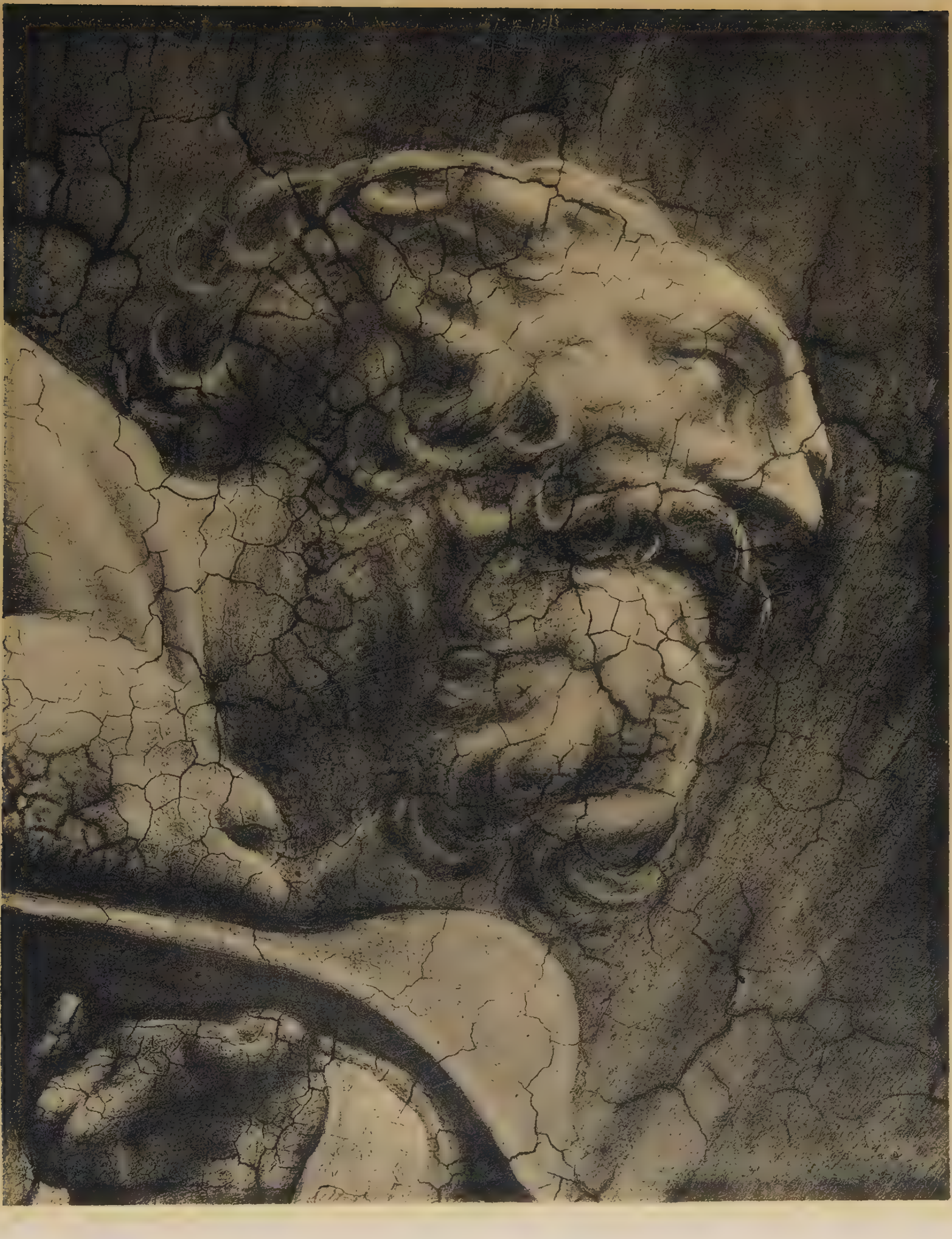
STUDY FOR THE HEAD OF ST. HILARY

Fogg Museum. Cambridge, U. S. A.



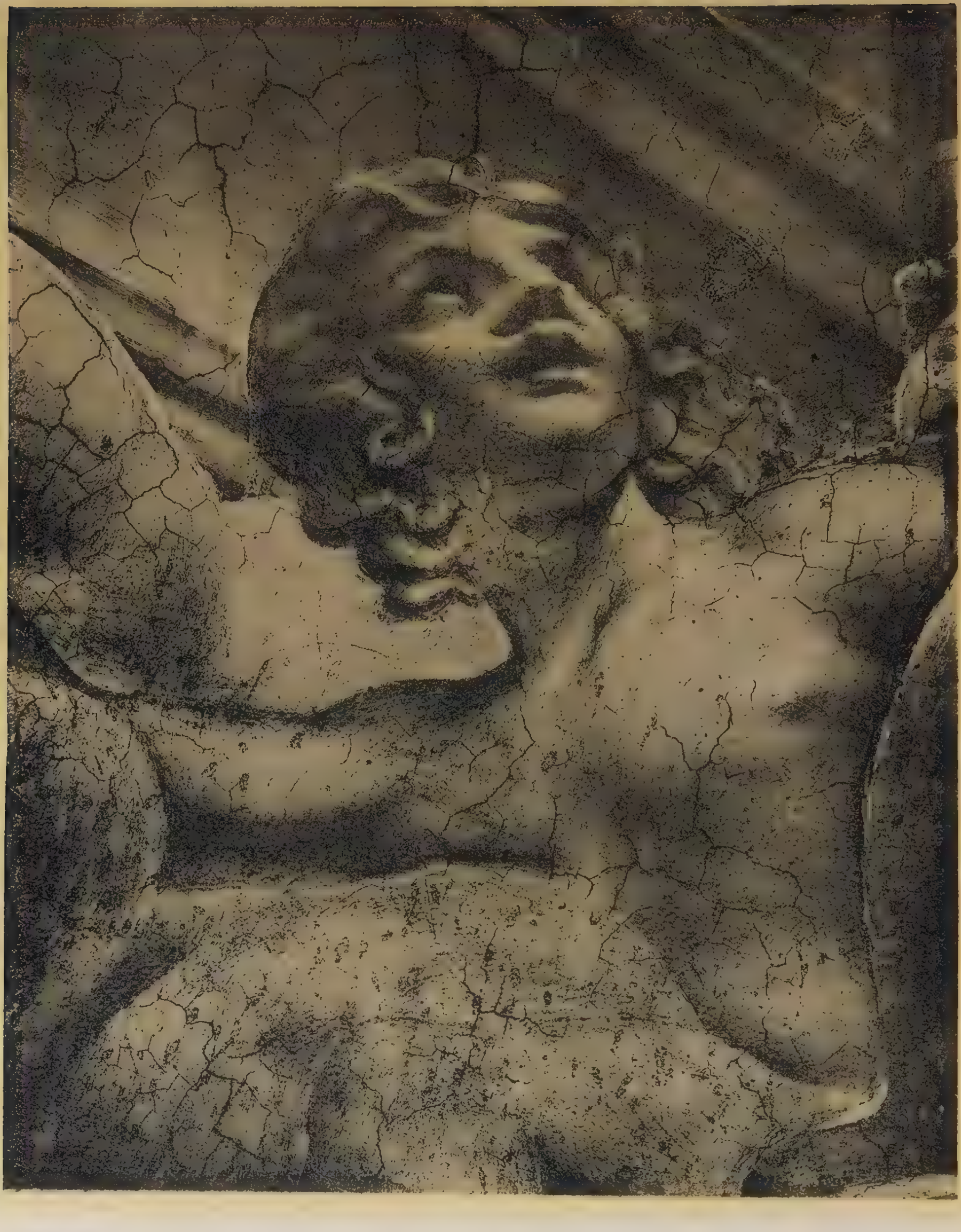
CLXXXVI ST. HILARY (Photo. M. P. I.)

Detail of the S.E. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



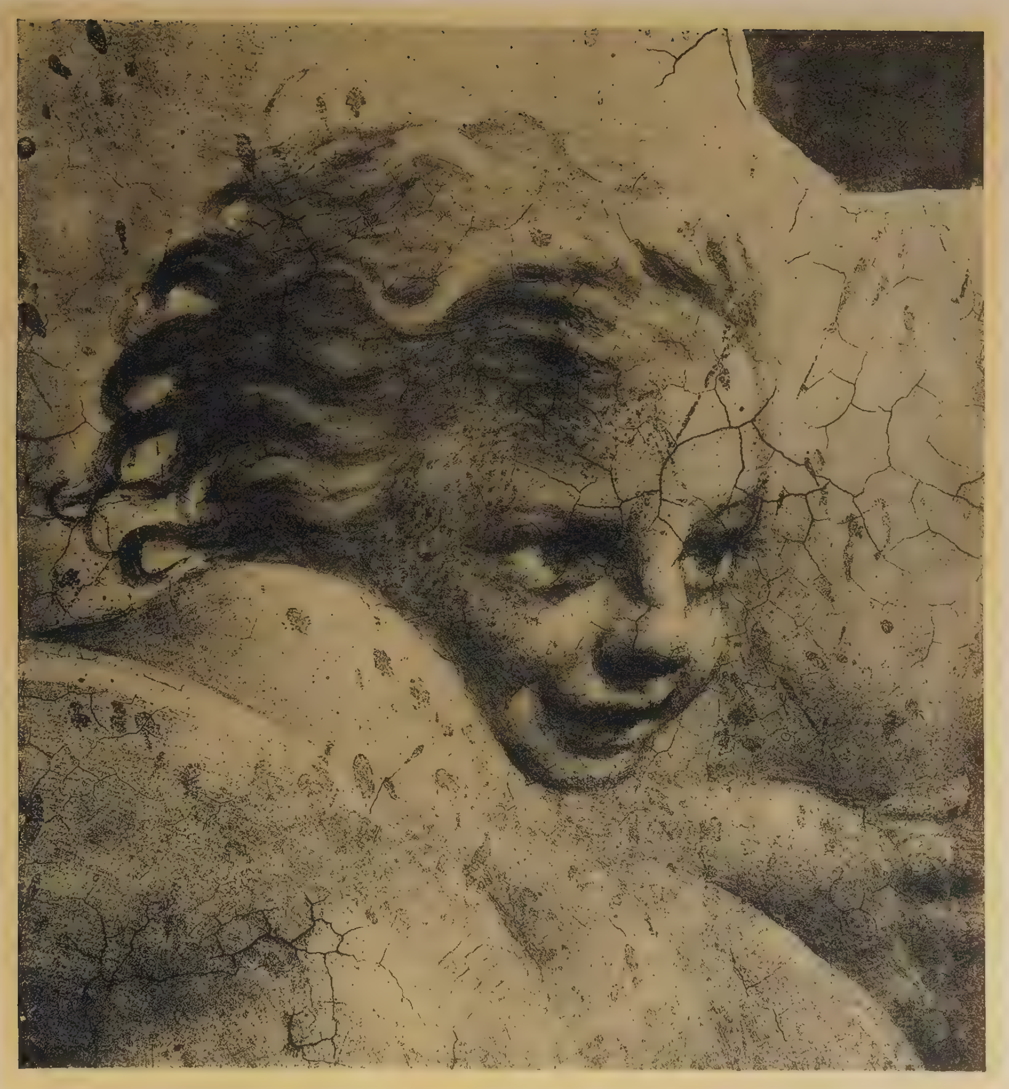
CLXXXVII HEAD OF ST. BERNARD (*Photo. M. P. I.*)

Detail of the N.W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



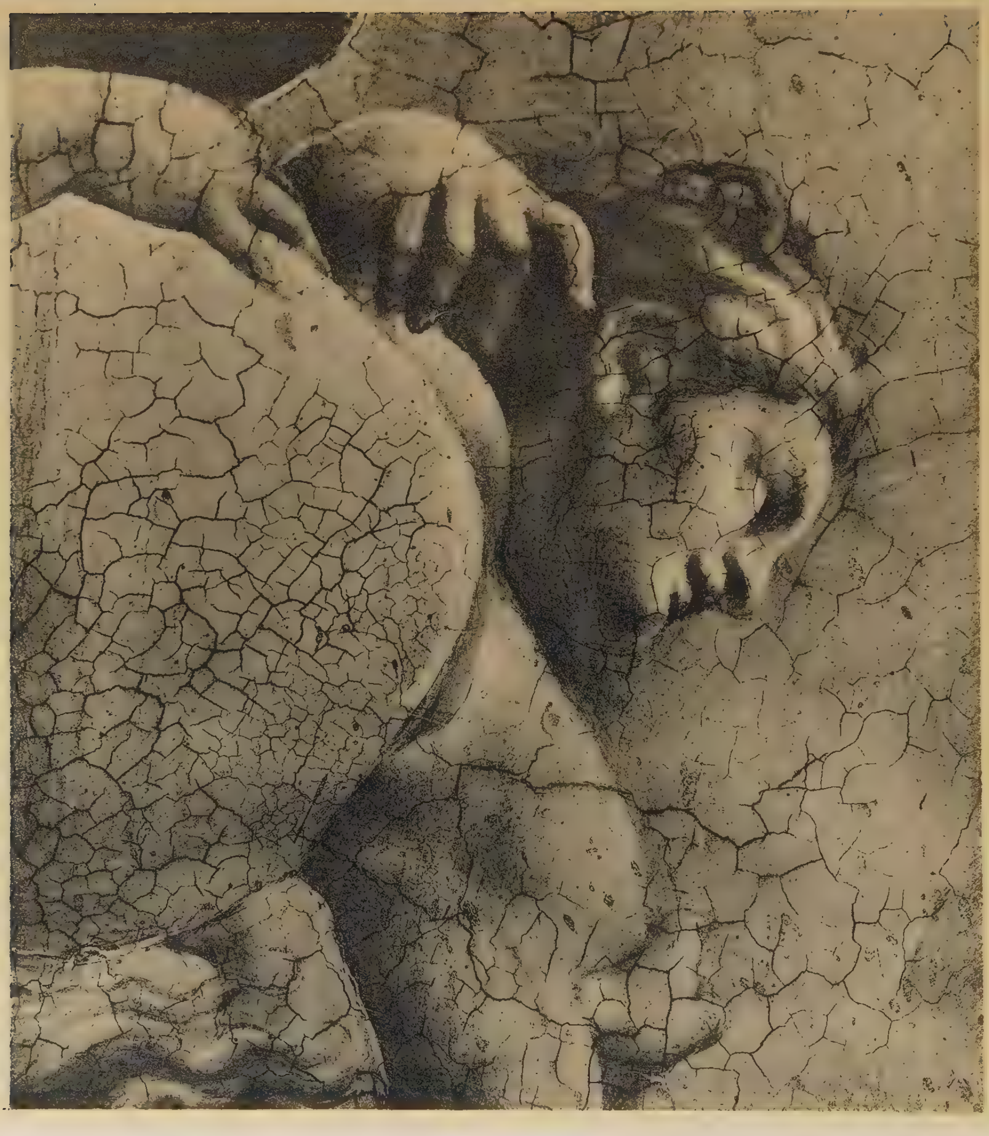
CLXXXVIII ANGEL (Photo. M. P. I.)

Detail of the N.W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



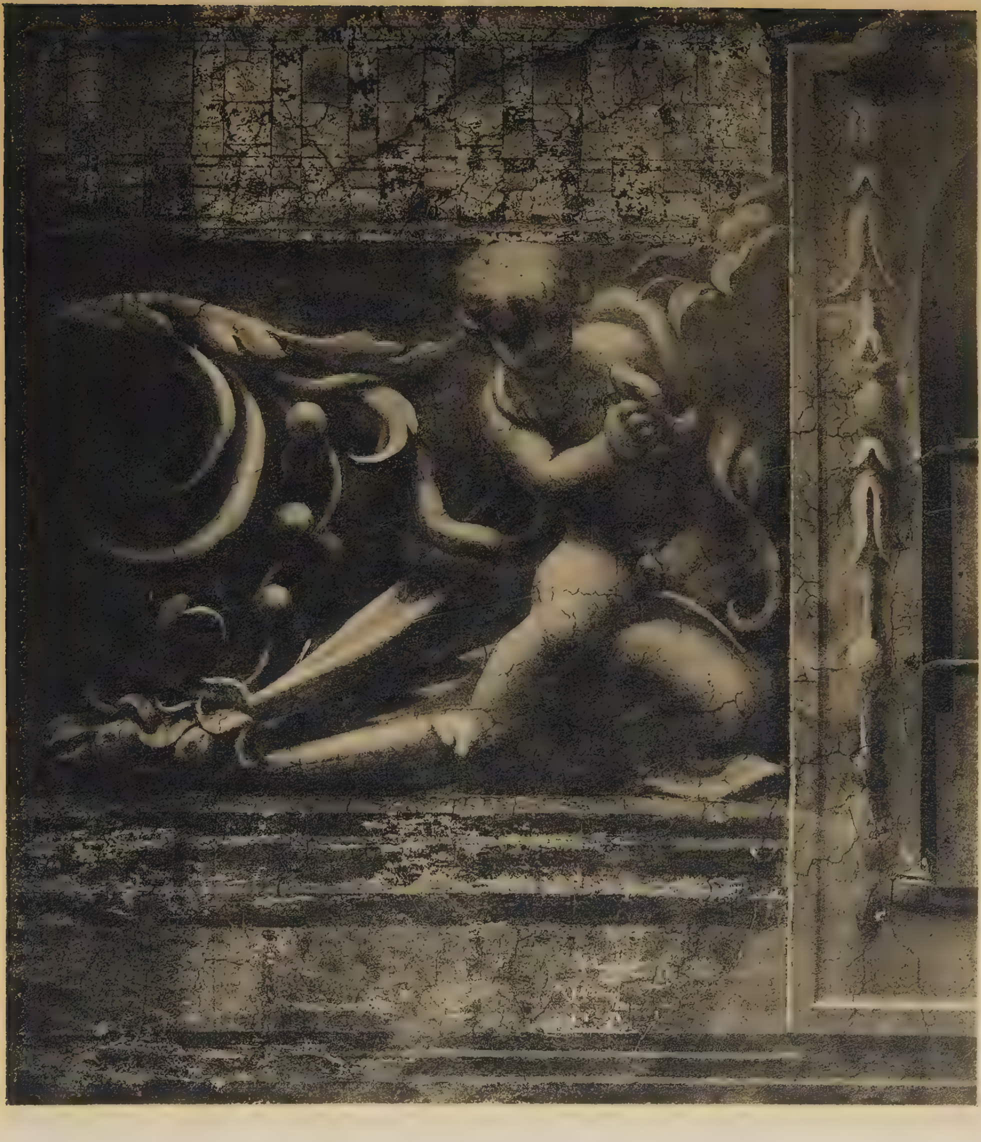
CLXXXIX HEAD OF ANGEL (Photo. M. P. I.)

Detail of the N.W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral

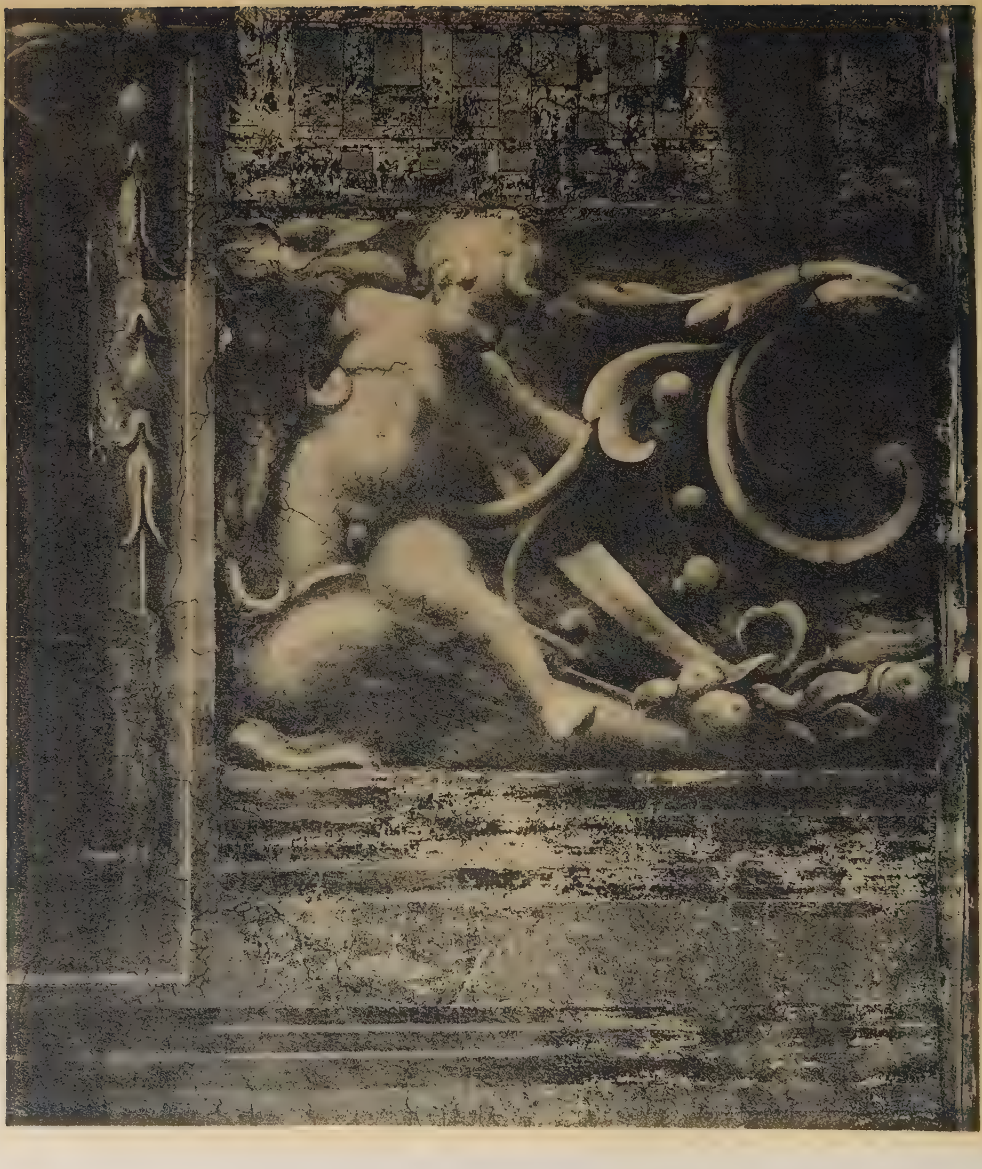


CXC MAIDEN ANGEL (*Photo. M. P. I.*)

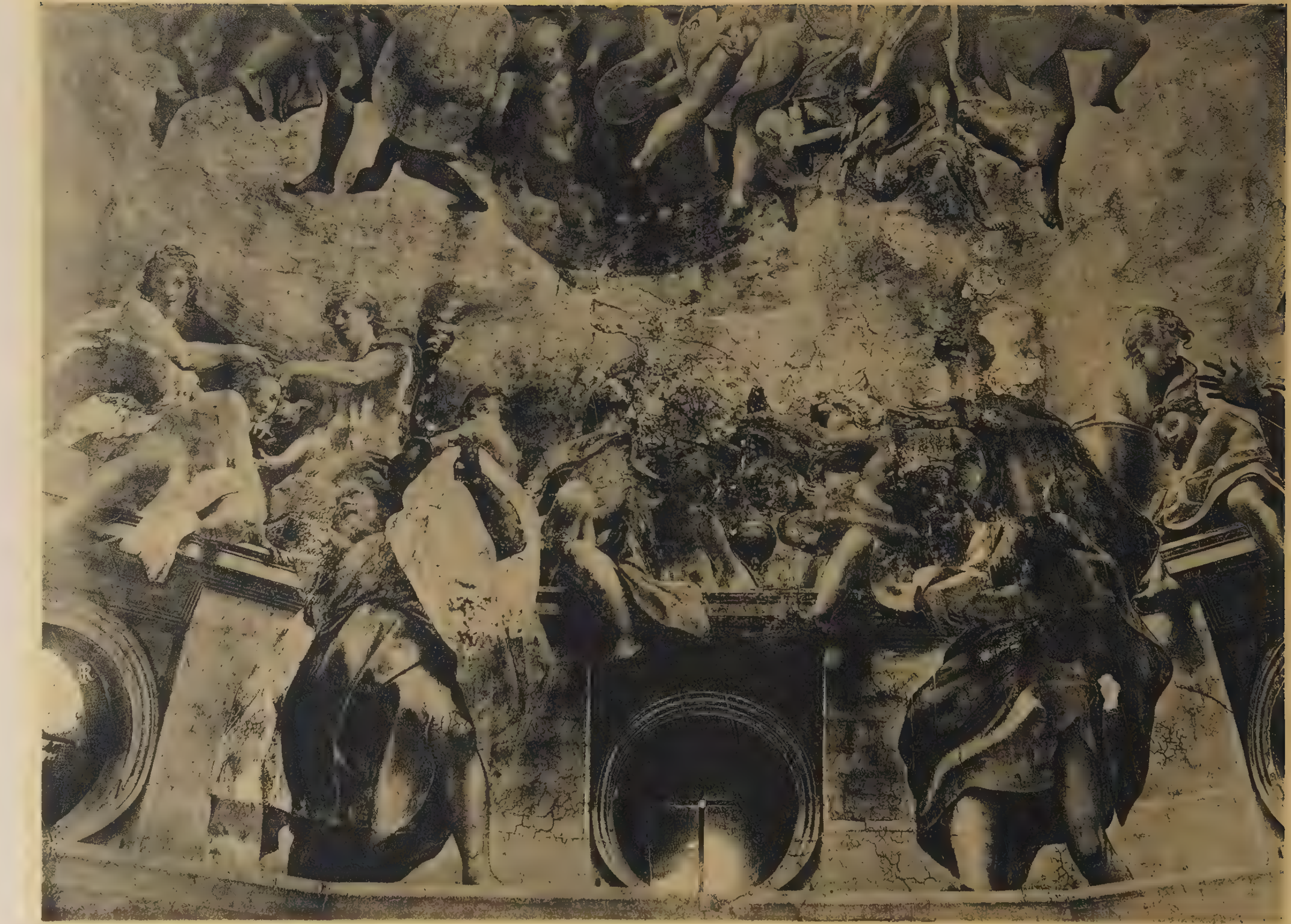
Detail of the N.W. pendentive of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



CXCI CHIAROSCURO ORNAMENTS OF THE FRIEZE (*Photo. M. P. I.*)
between the pendentives of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



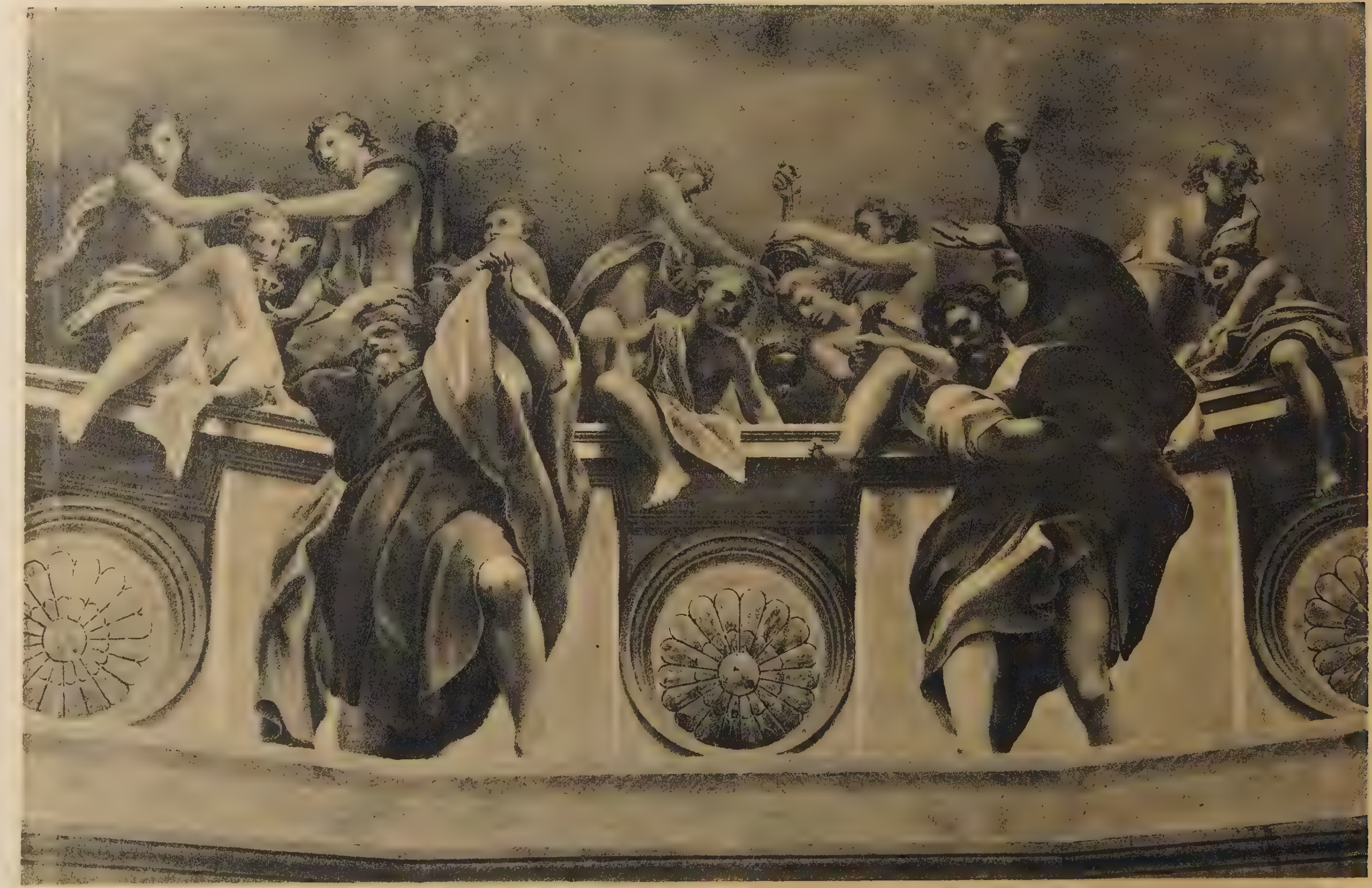
CXCII CHIAROSCURO ORNAMENTS OF THE FRIEZE (*Photo. M. P. I.*)
between the pendentives of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



CXCIII

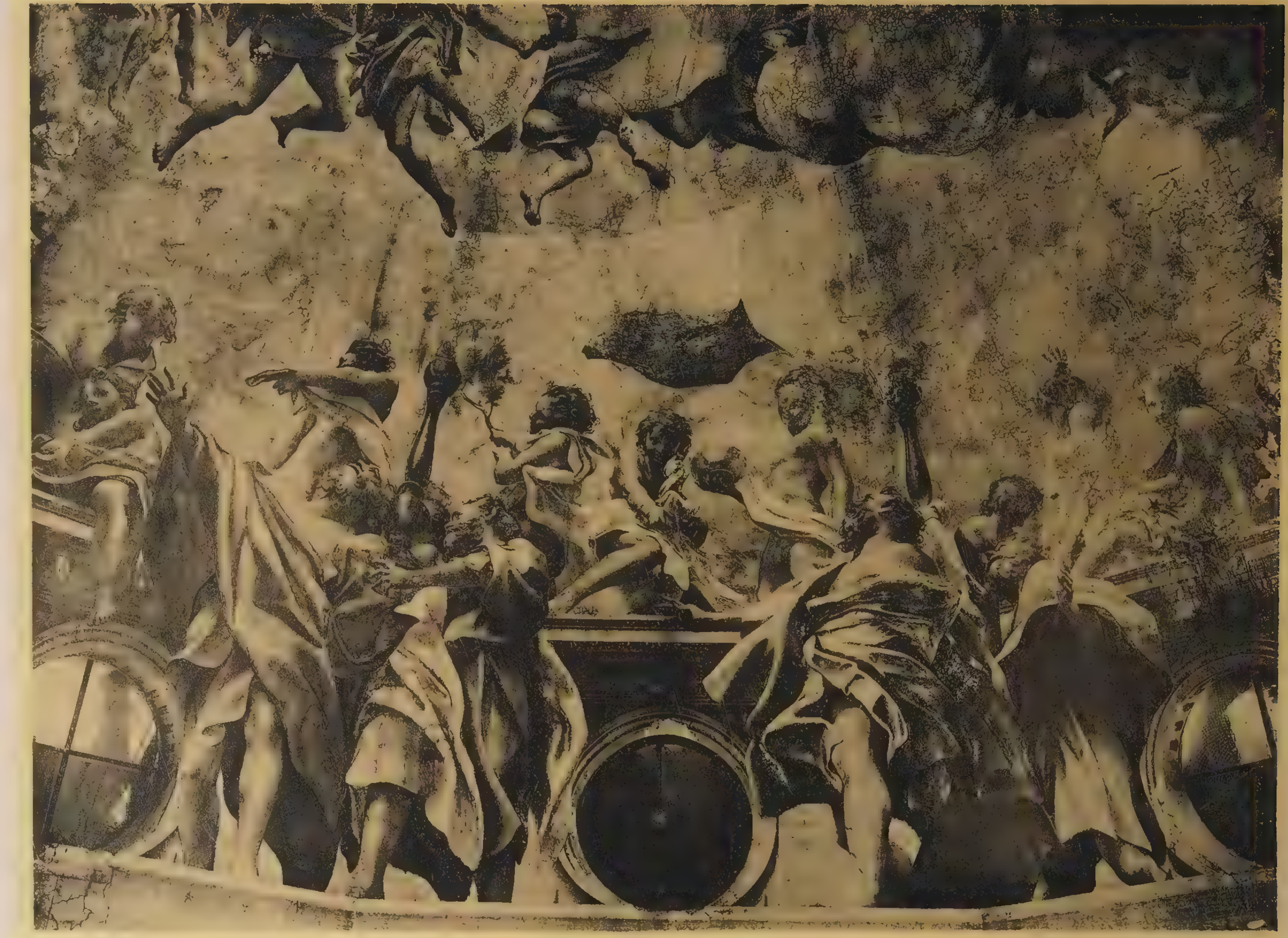
APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS
Cupola of Parma Cathedral

(*Photo. Anderson*)



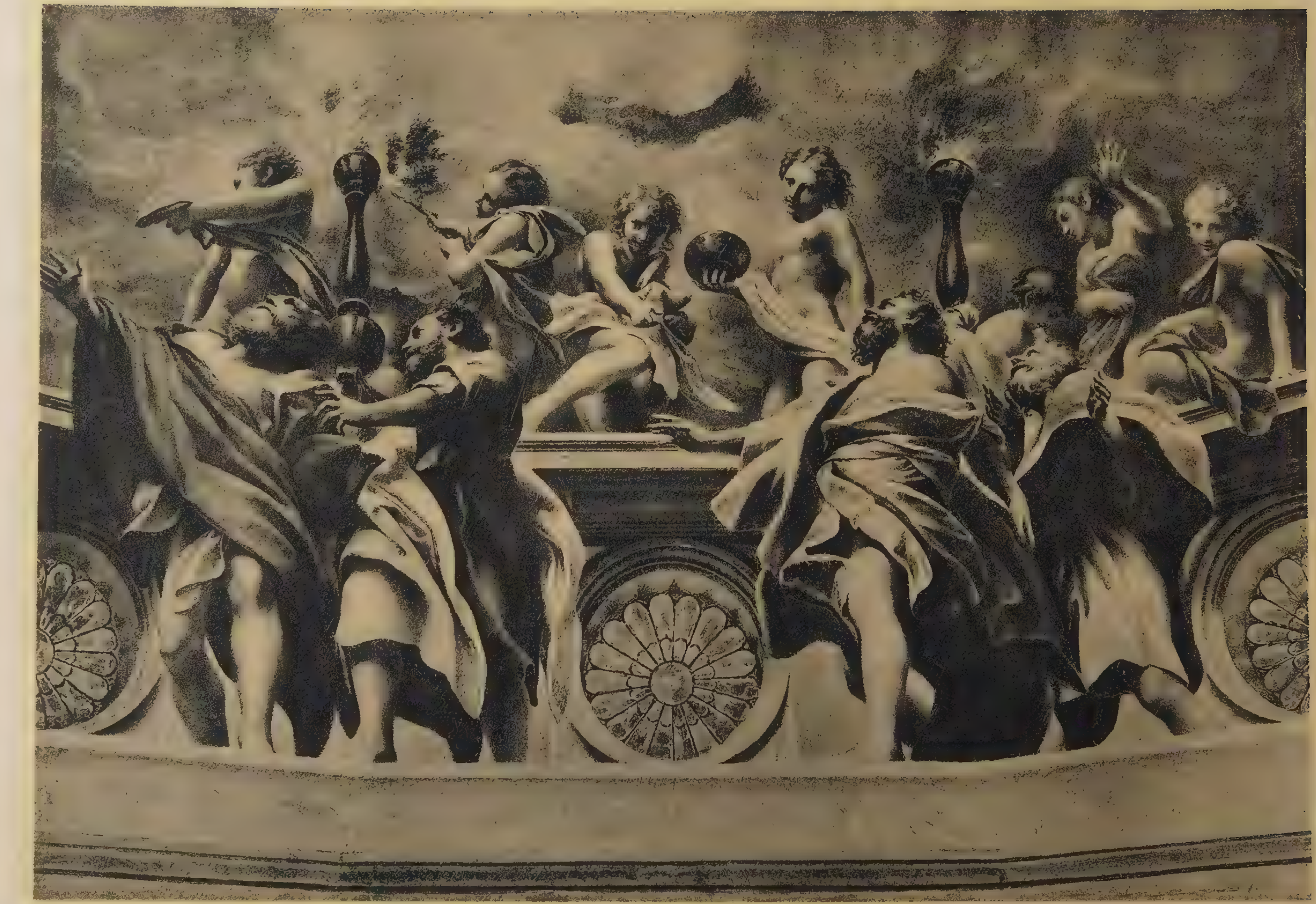
CXCIV APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS. COPY BY CARLO RAIMONDI AND PAOLO TOSCHI (*Photo. Anderson*)

from the cupola of Parma Cathedral, Parma, Art Gallery

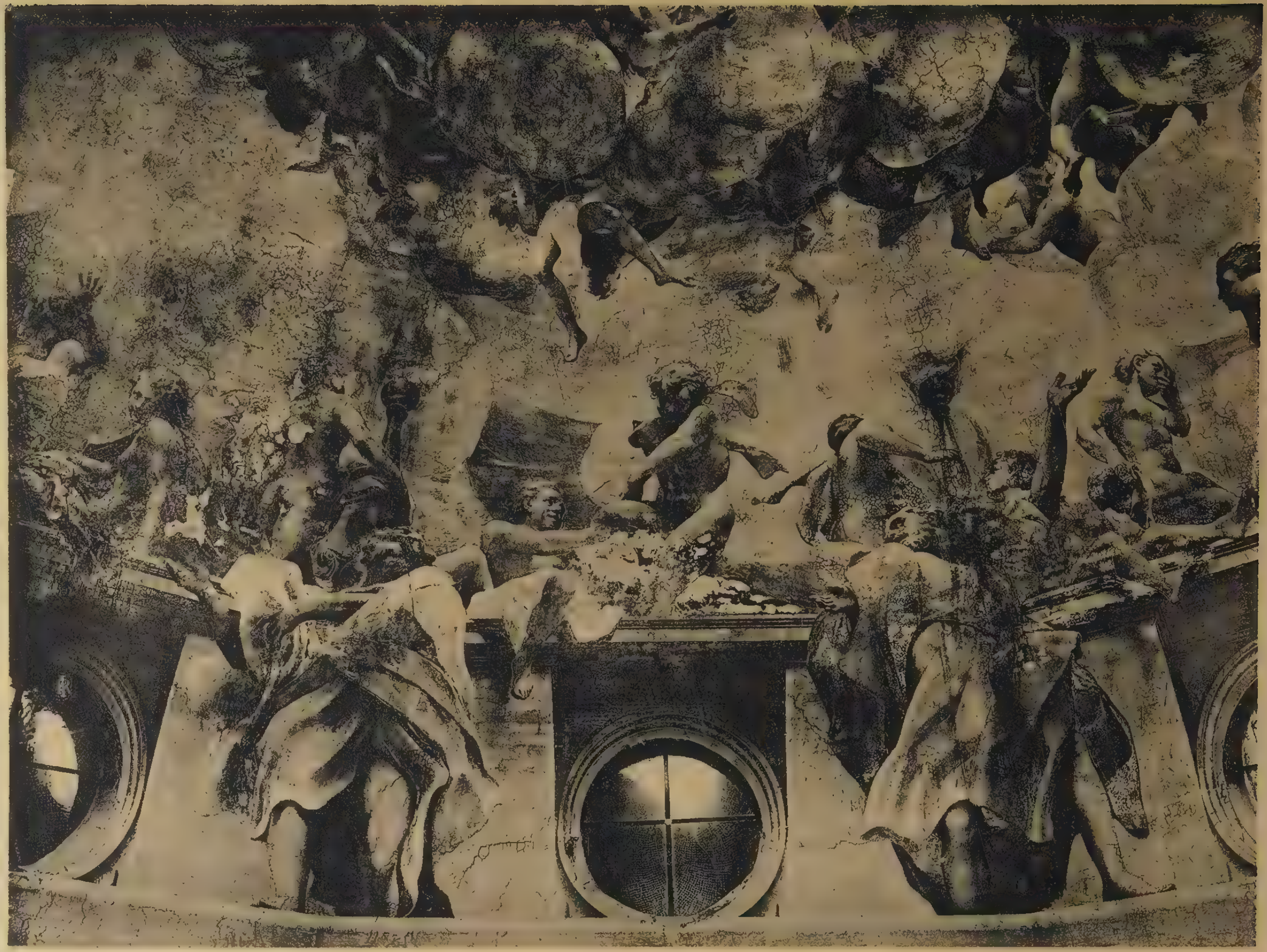


CXCV APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS (Photo. Anderson)

Cupola of Parma Cathedral



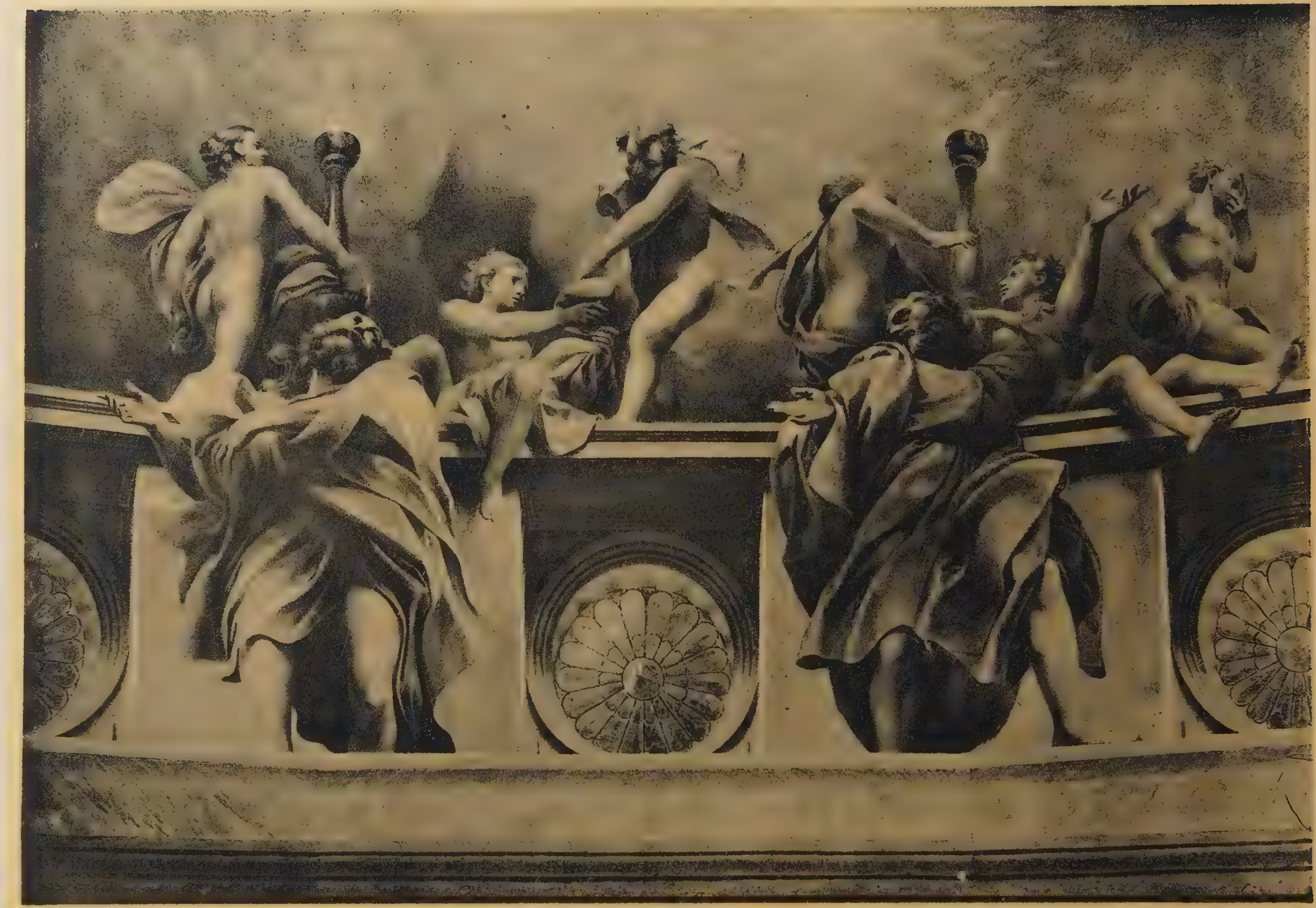
CXCVI APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS. Copy by G. B. Callegari, Carlo Raimondi, and Paolo Toschi (*Photo. Anderson*)
from the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery



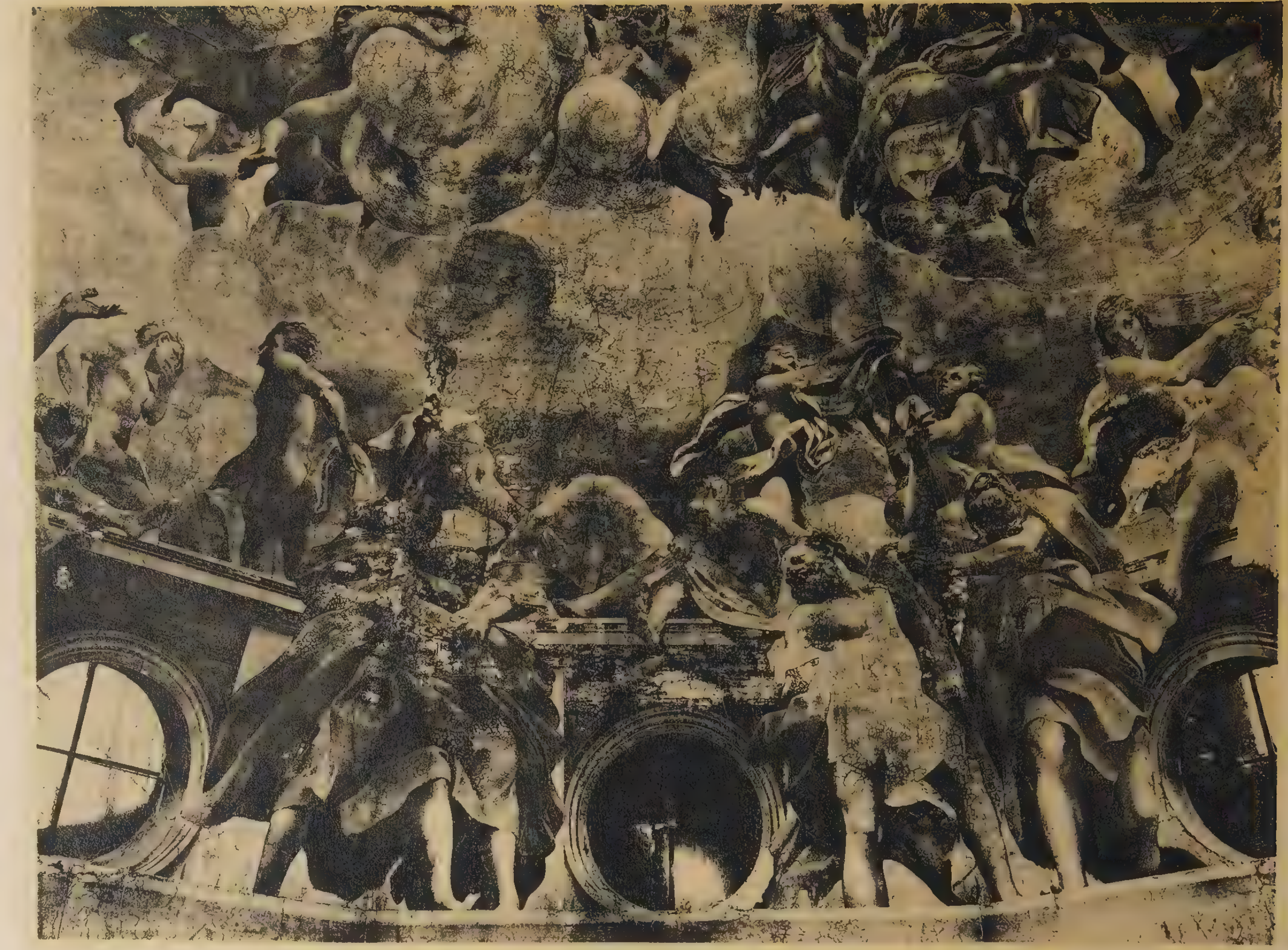
CXCVII

APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS
Cupola of Parma Cathedral

(Photo. Anderson)

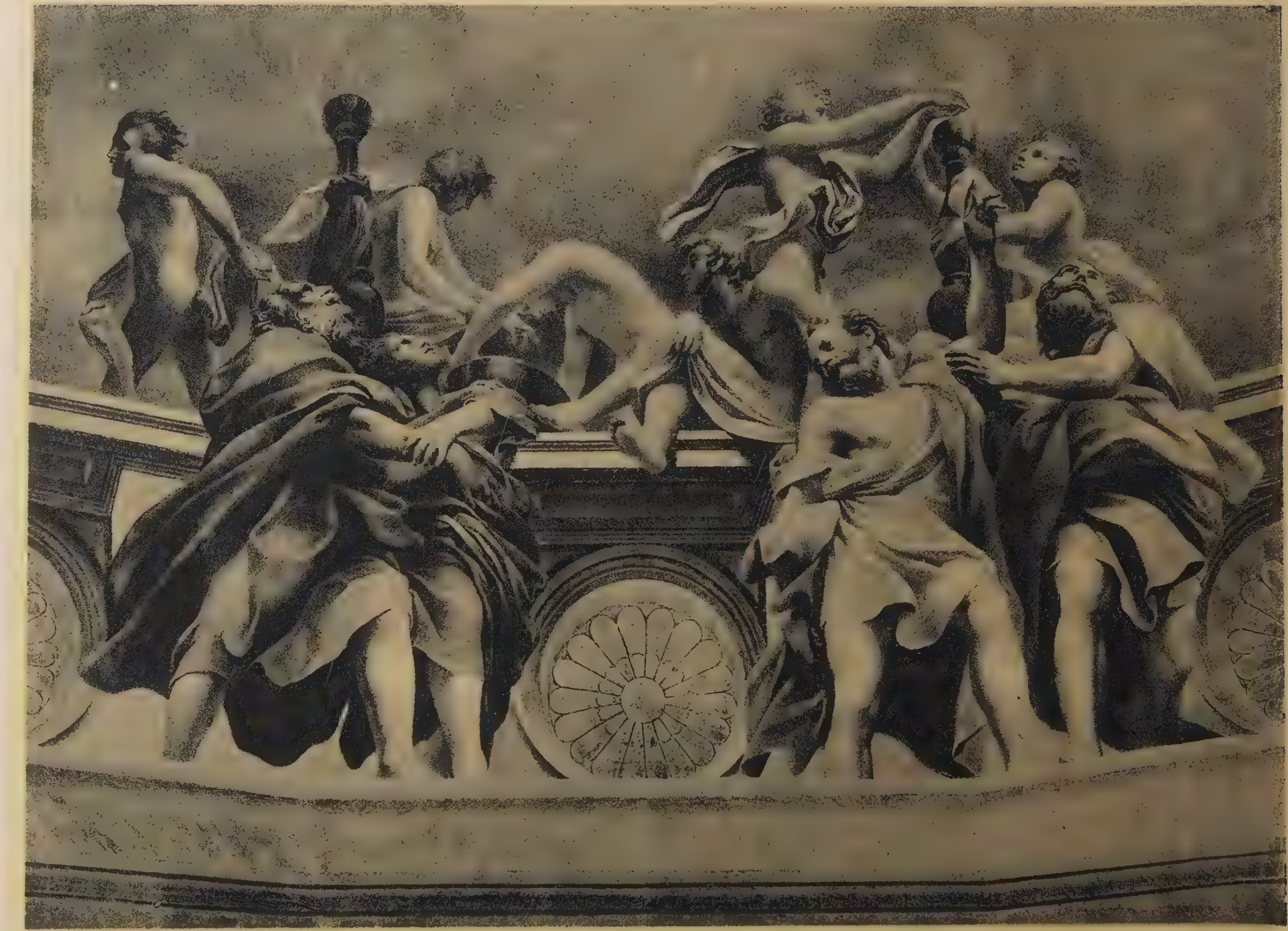


CXCVIII APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS. Copy by G. B. Callegari, Carlo Raimondi, and Paolo Toschi (*Photo. Anderson*)
from the cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery



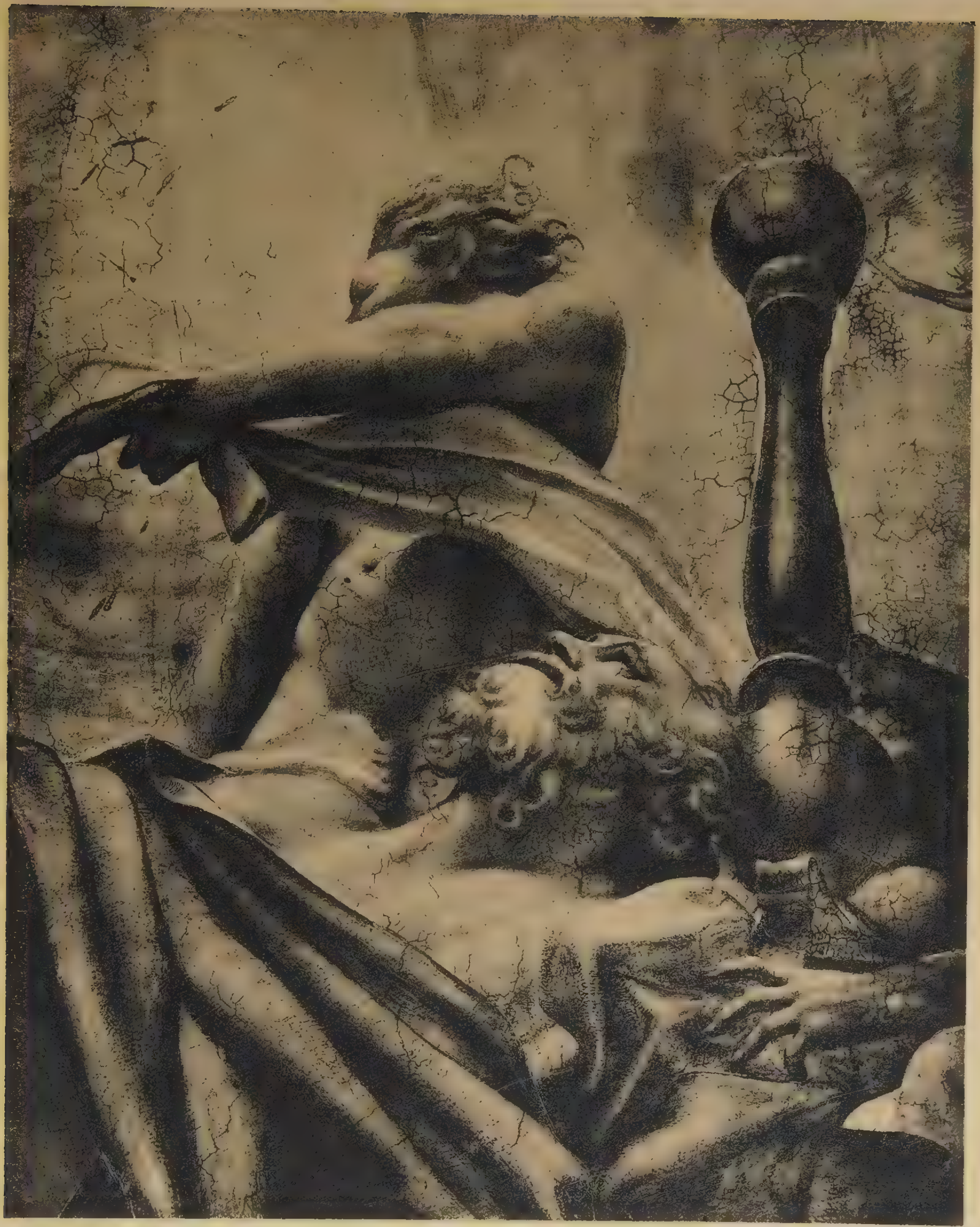
CXCIX APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS (Photo. Anderson)

Cupola of Parma Cathedral

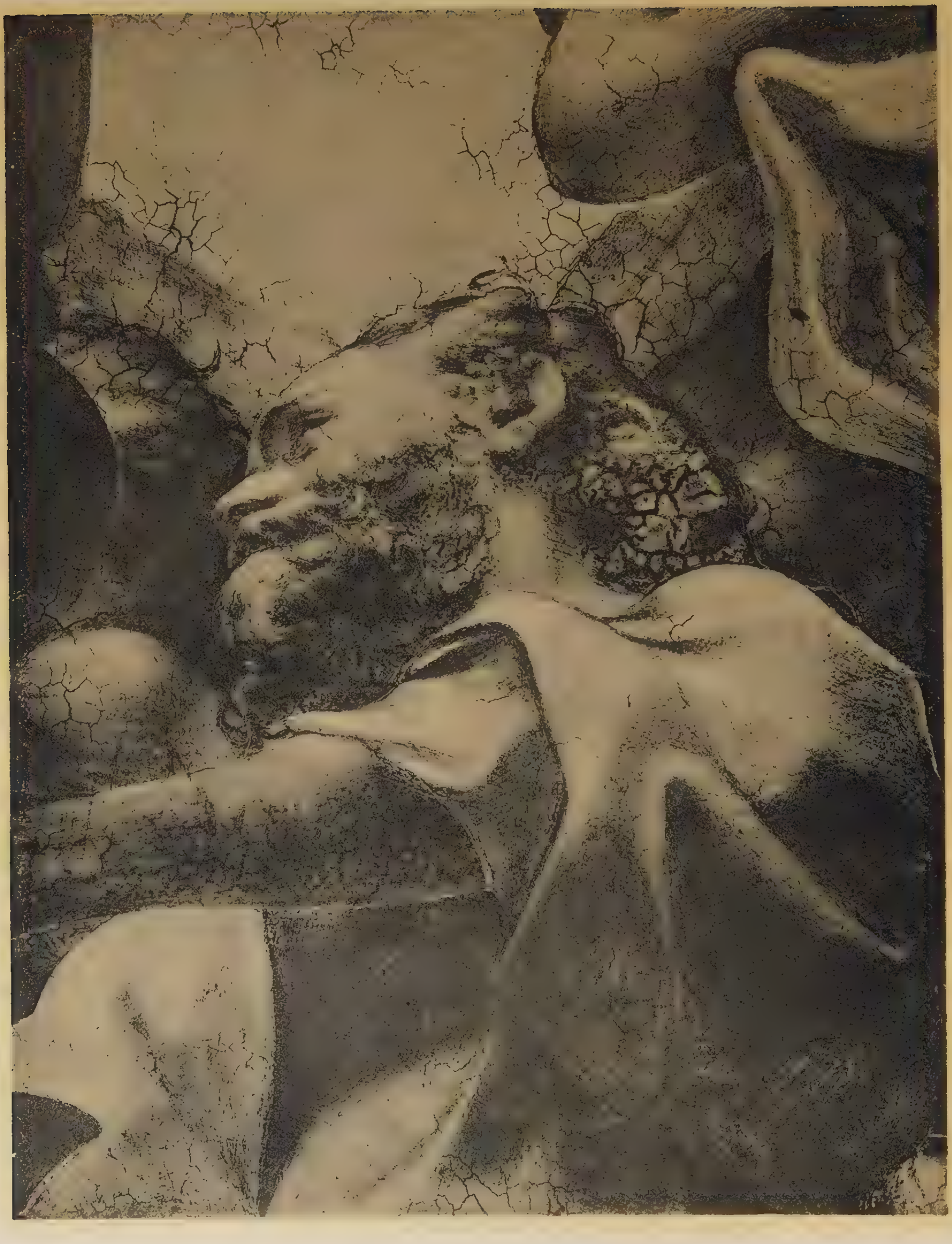


CC APOSTLES AND ADOLESCENTS. COPY BY CARLO RAIMONDI, ROMUALDO BETTOLI, AND PAOLO TOSCHI (Photo. Alinari)

Cupola of Parma Cathedral. Parma, Art Gallery

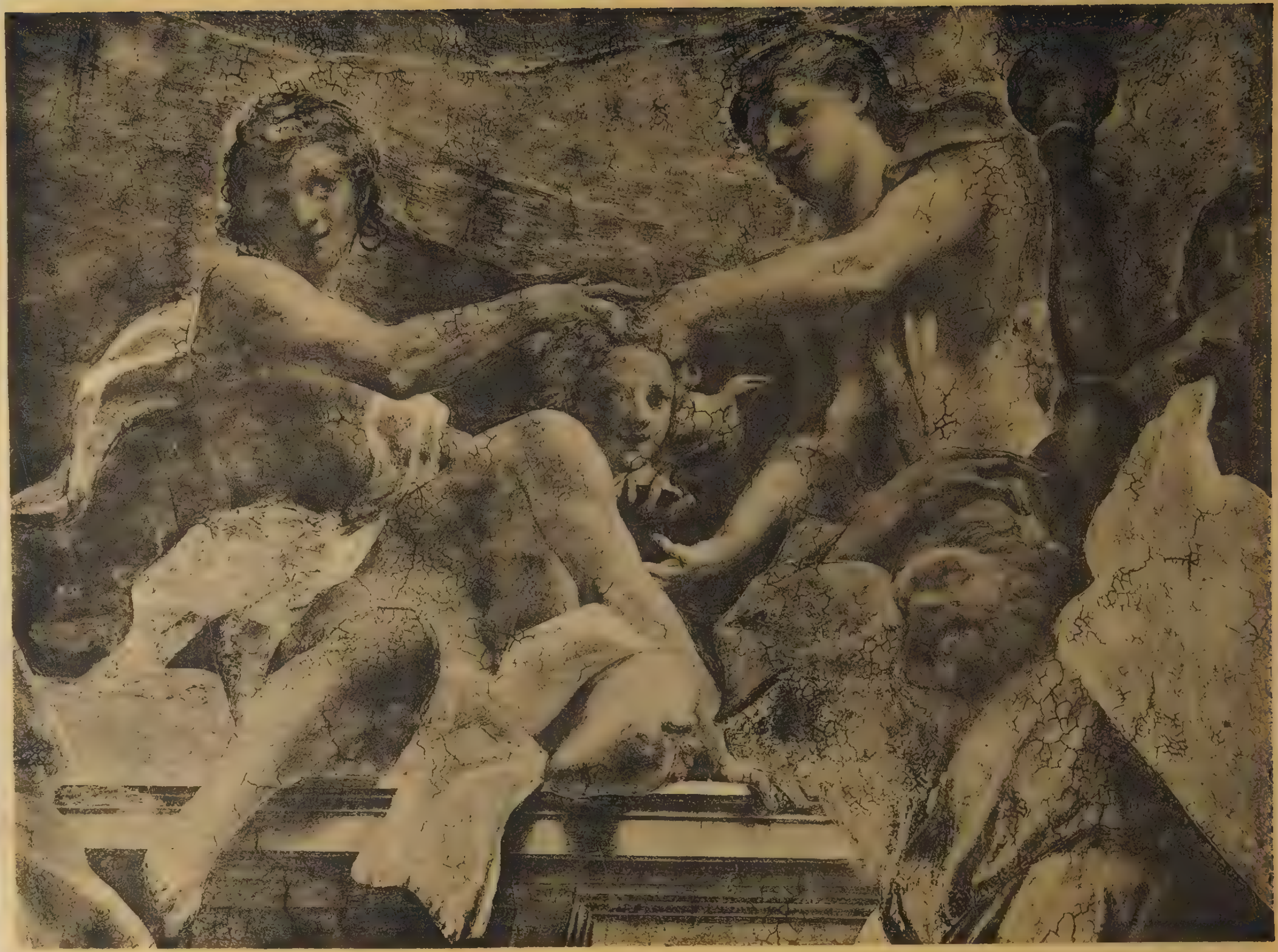


CCI AN APOSTLE AND AN ADOLESCENT (Photo. Anderson)
Cupola of Parma Cathedral



CCII HEAD OF APOSTLE. DETAIL (Photo. Anderson)

Cupola of Parma Cathedral

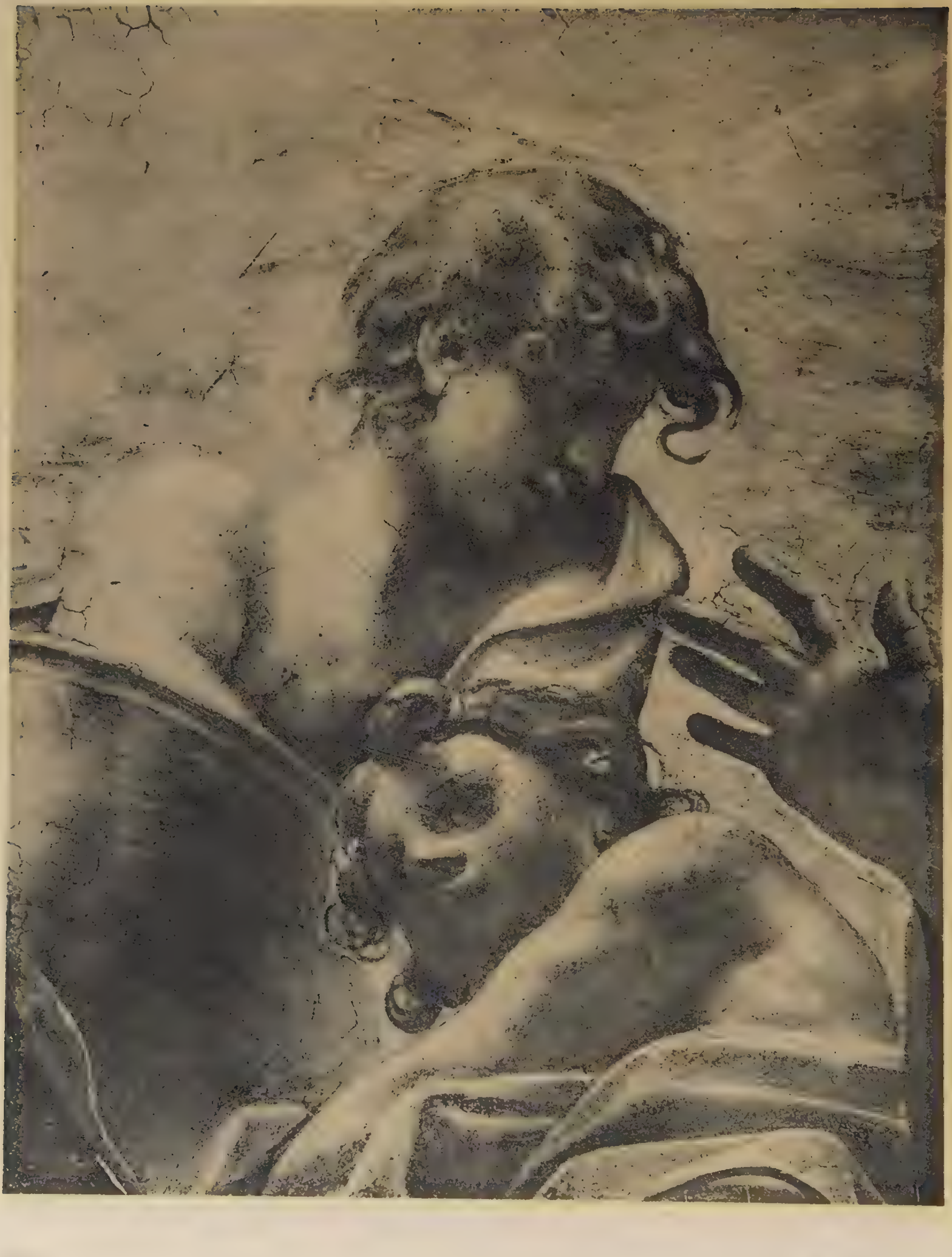


CCIII

AN APOSTLE AND ADOLESCENTS

Cupola of Parma Cathedral

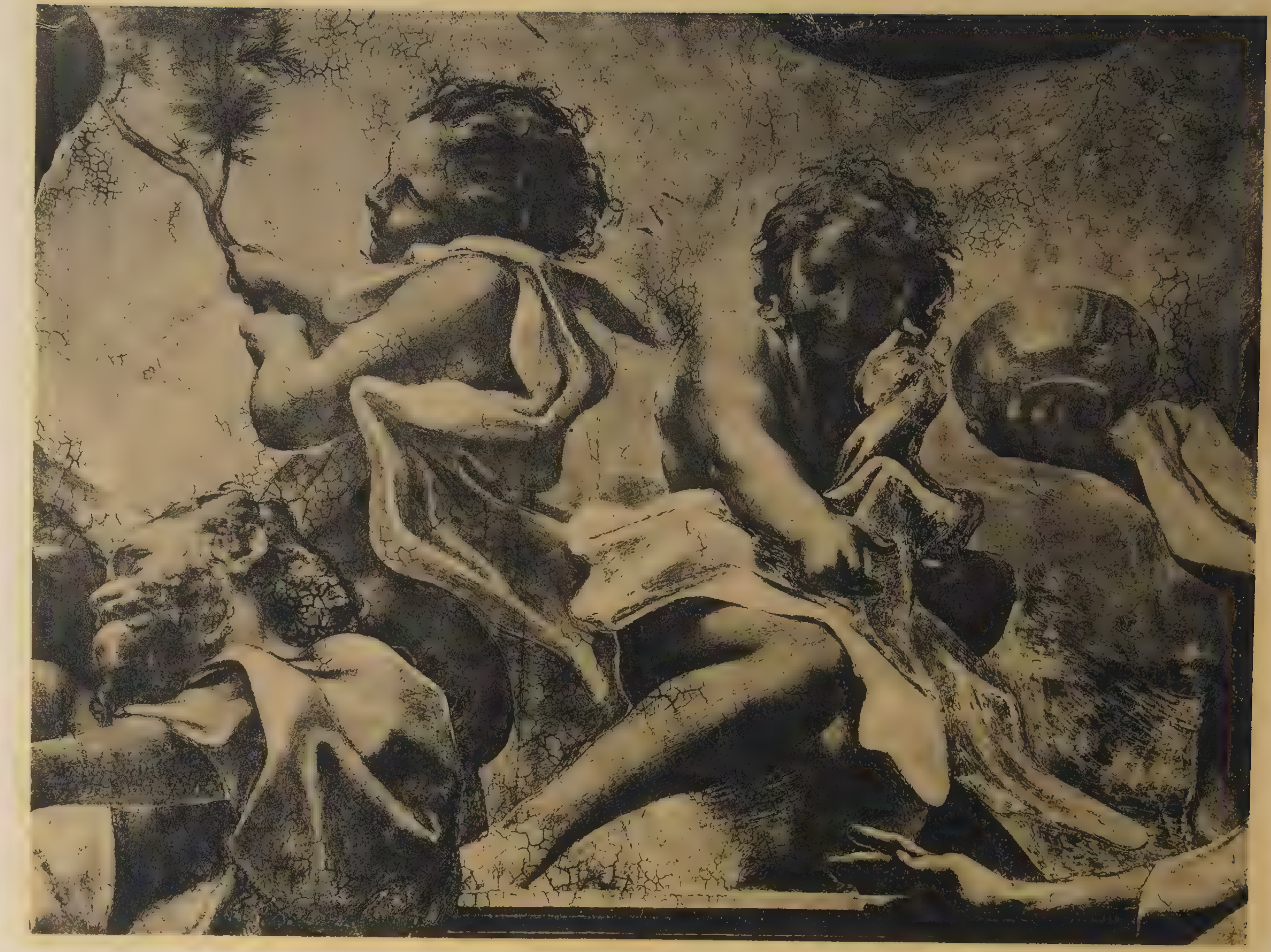
(Photo. Anderson)



CCV

AN ADOLESCENT
Cupola of Parma Cathedral

(Photo. M. P. I.)

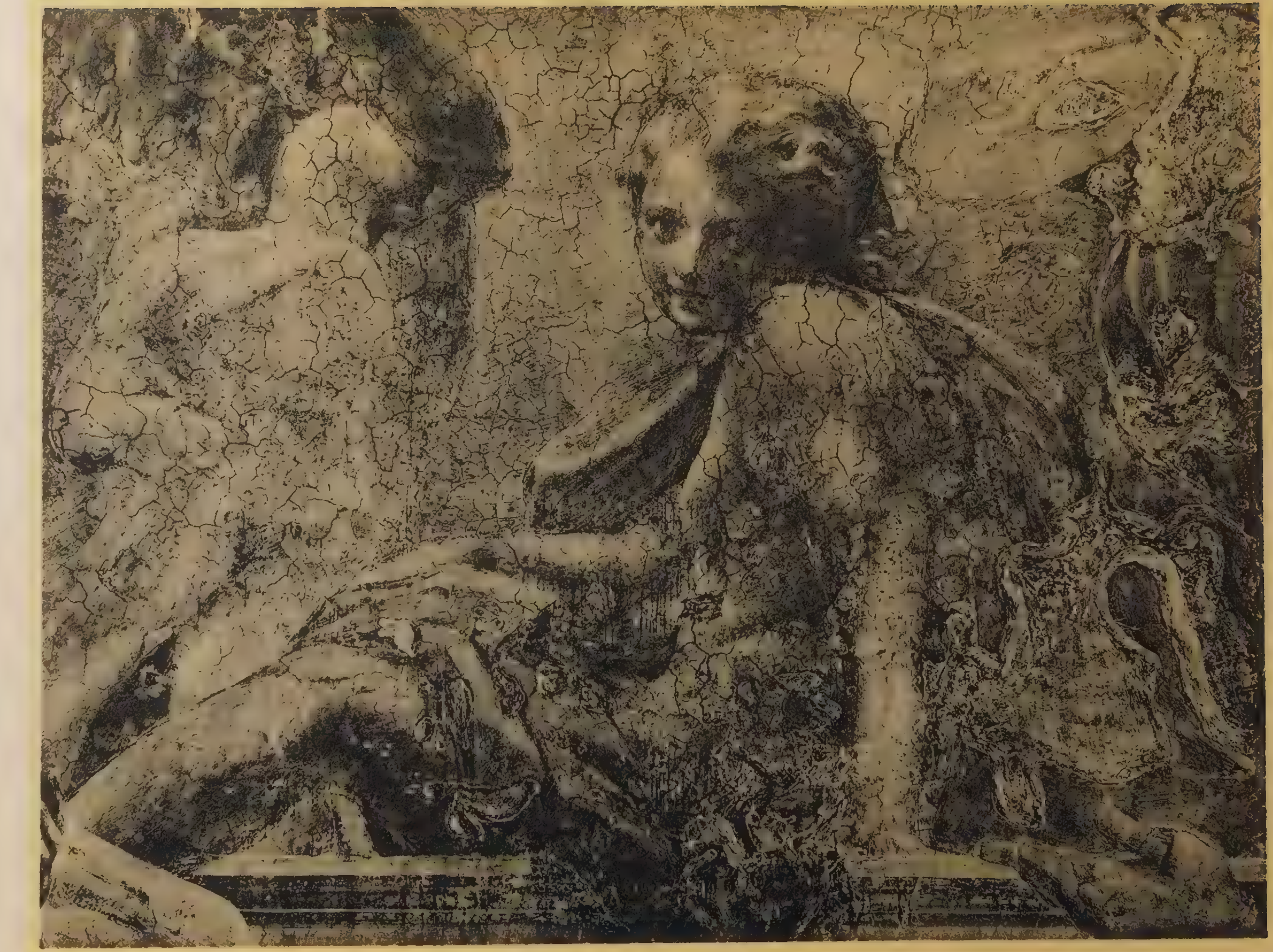


CCV

ADOLESCENTS AND AN APOSTLE

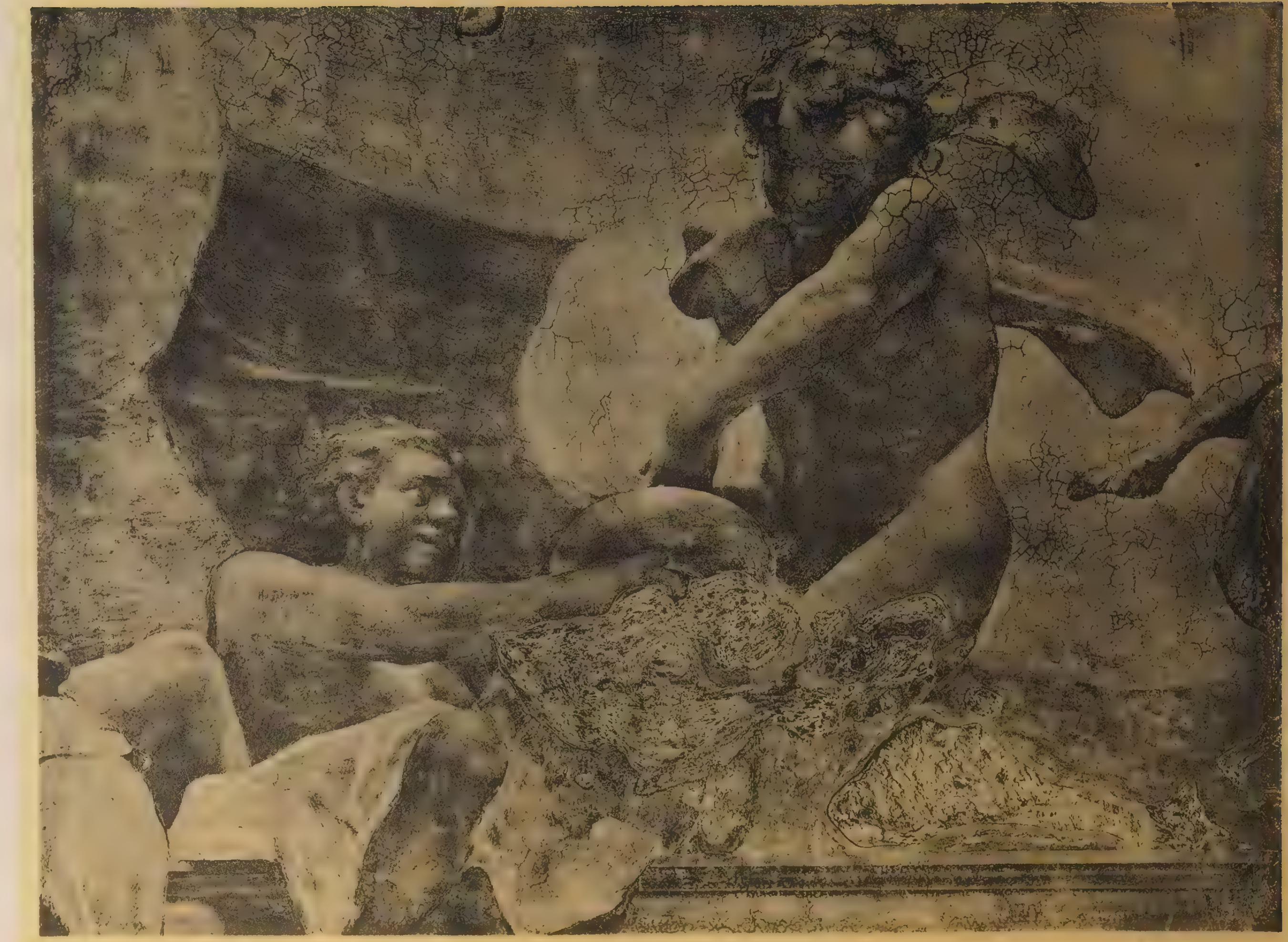
Cupola of Parma Cathedral

(Photo. Anderson)



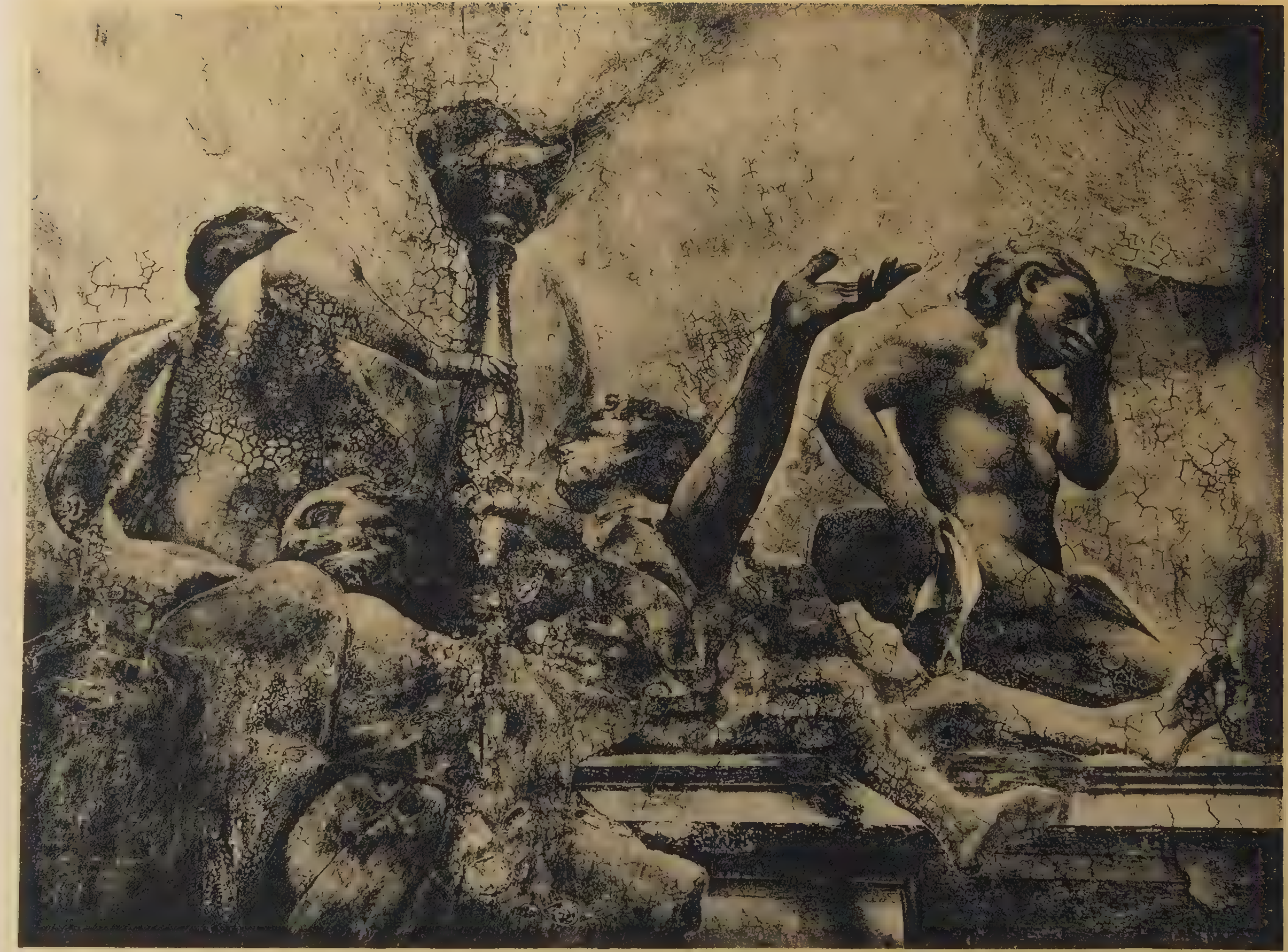
CCVI AN ADOLESCENT (Photo Anderson)

Cupola of Parma Cathedral



CCVII ADOLESCENTS (Photo. Anderson)

Cupola of Parma Cathedral

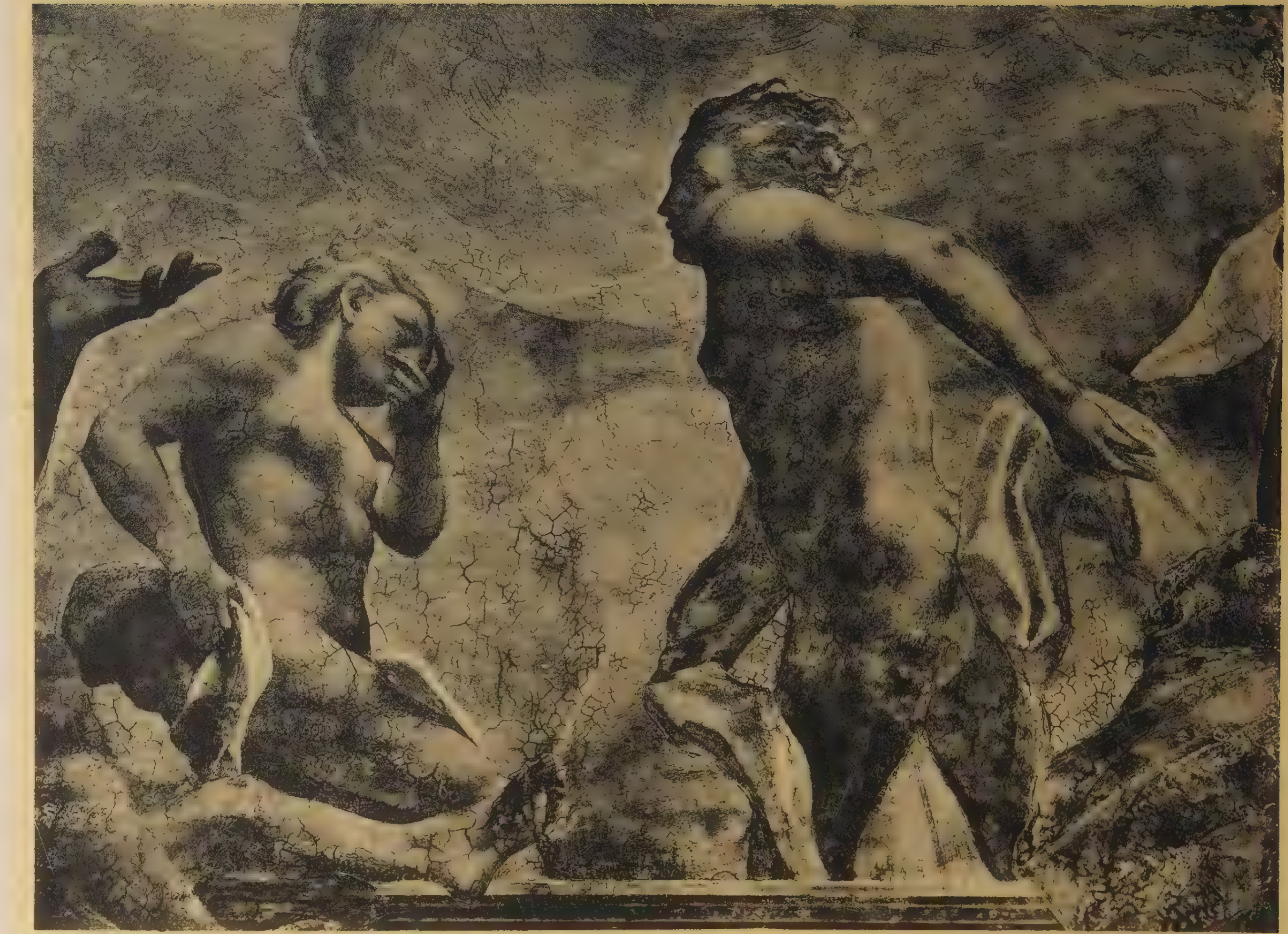


CCVIII

AN APOSTLE AND ADOLESCENTS

Cupola of Parma Cathedral

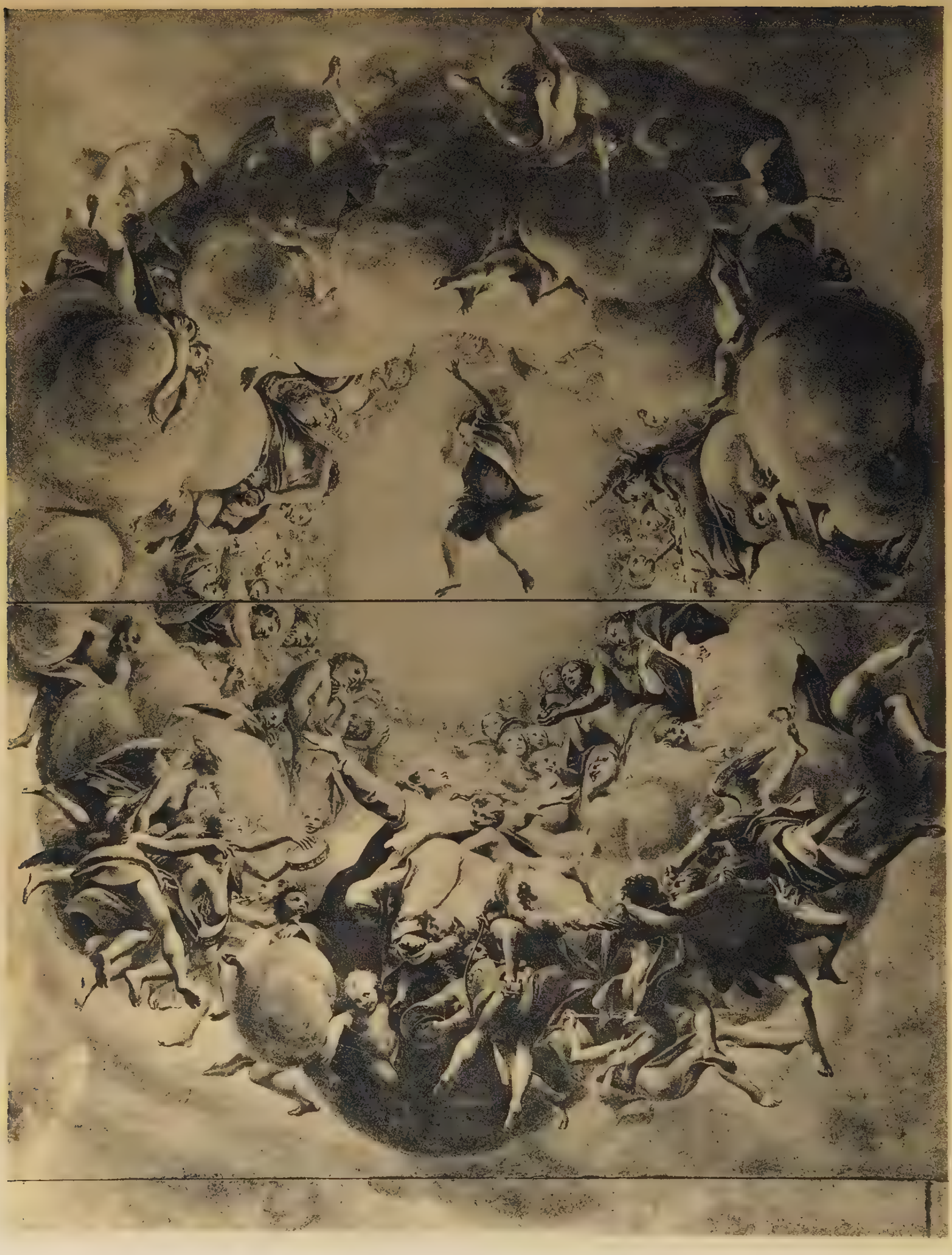
(Photo. Anderson)



CCIX

AN ADOLESCENT
Cupola of Parma Cathedral

(Photo. Anderson)

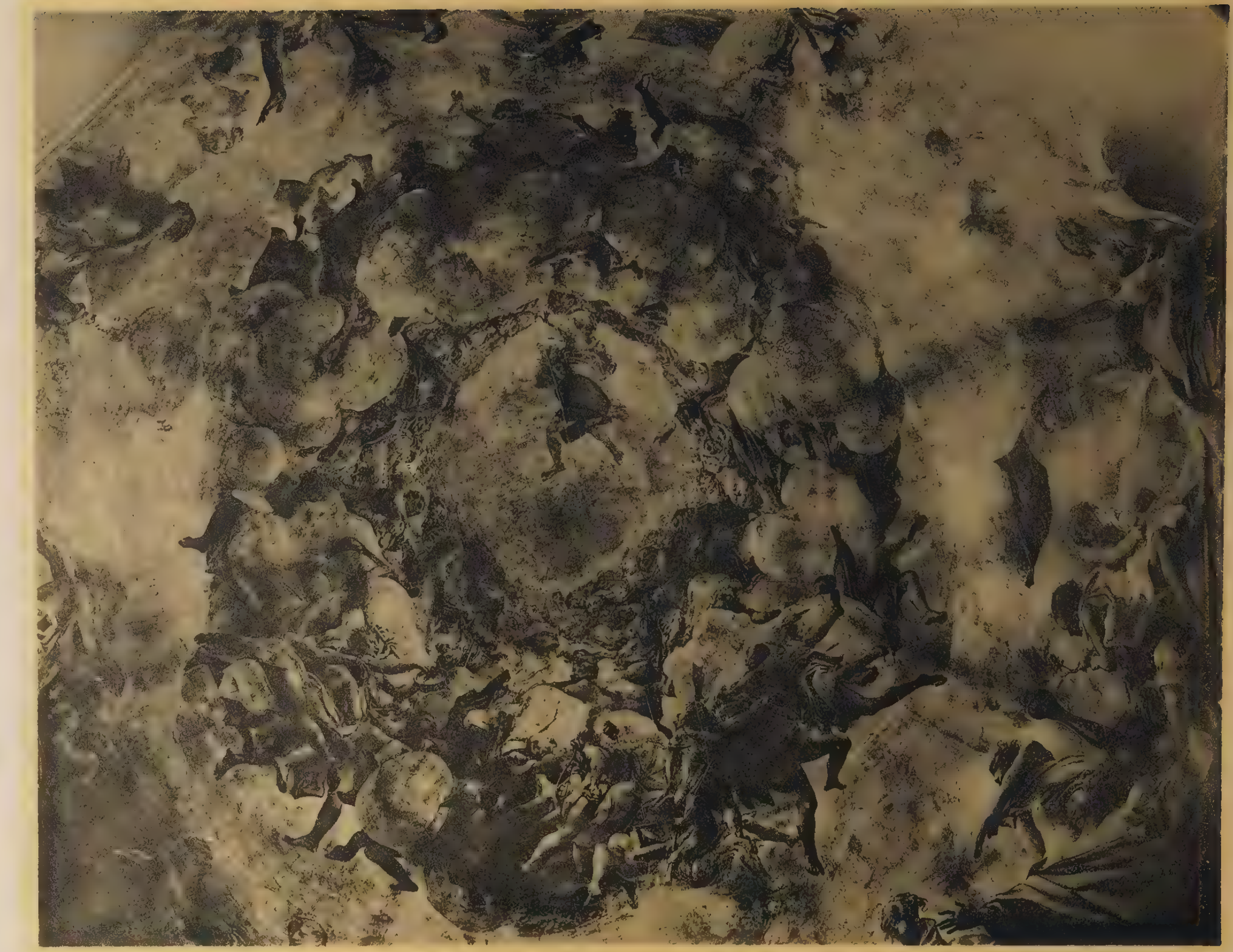


CCX THE VIRGIN TAKEN UP INTO GLORY (Photo. Vaghi)

Centre of the cupola of Parma Cathedral

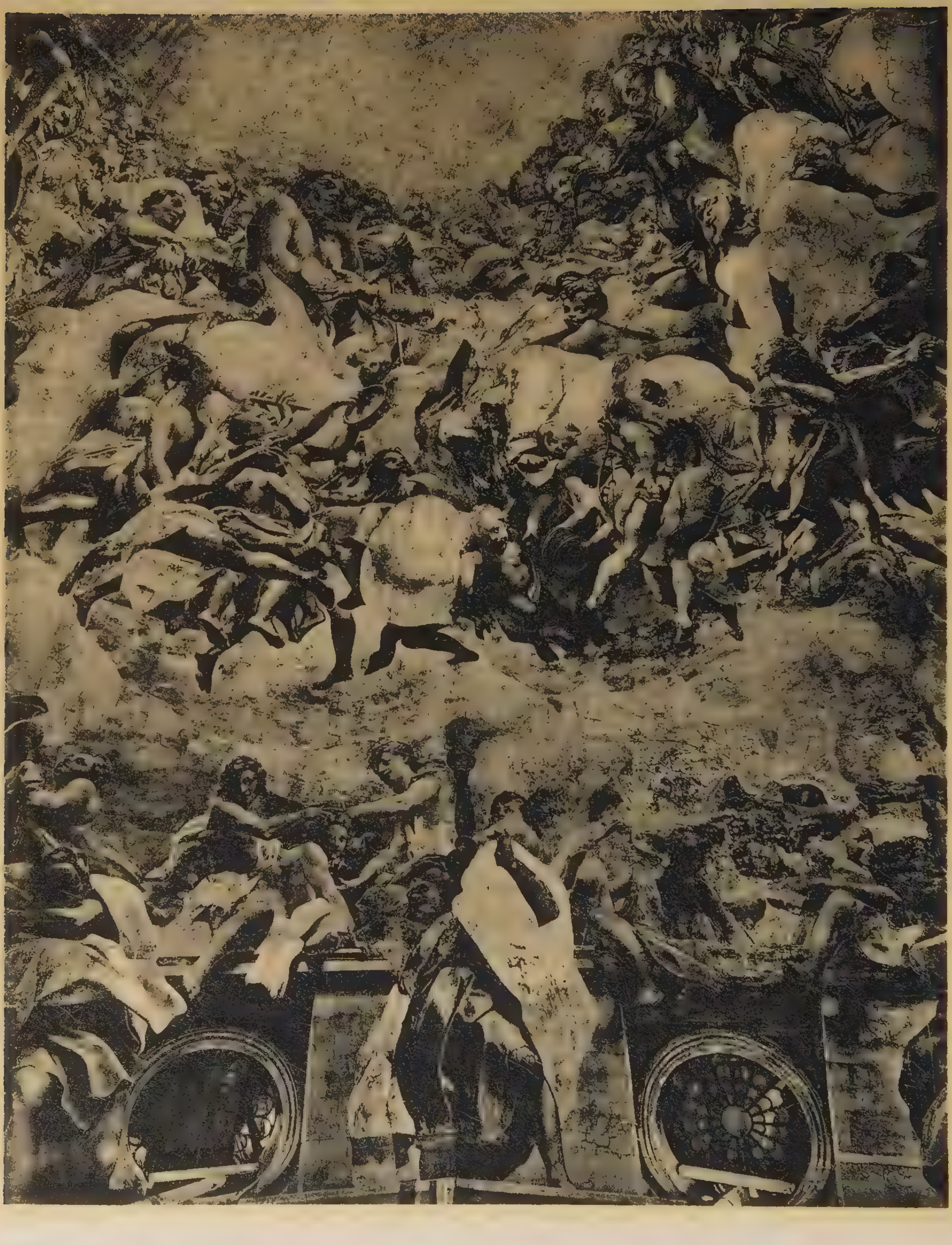
COPY BY CARLO RAIMONDI AND PAOLO TOSCHI

Parma, Art Gallery



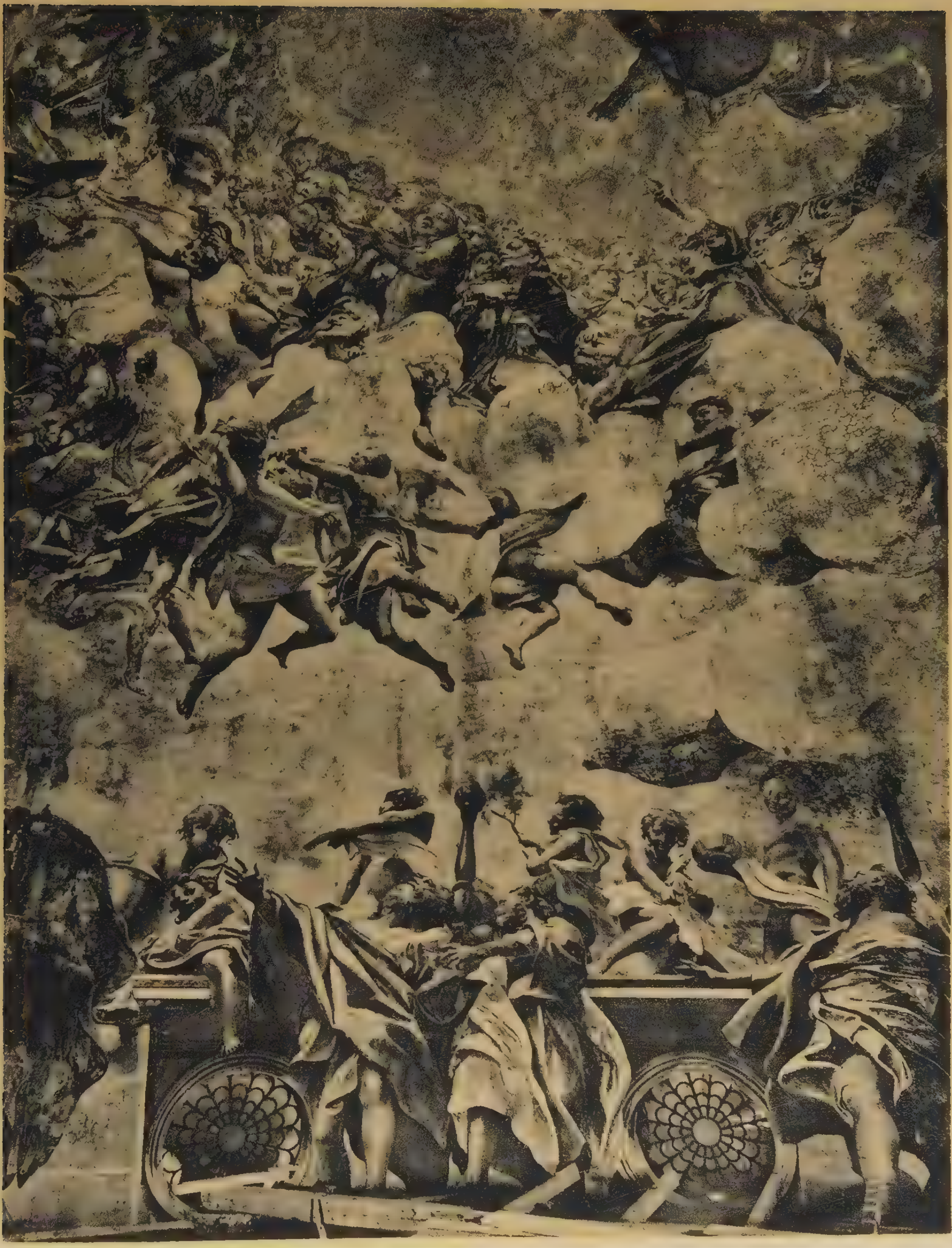
CCXI THE VIRGIN TAKEN UP INTO GLORY (Photo. Vaghi)

Centre of the cupola of Parma Cathedral

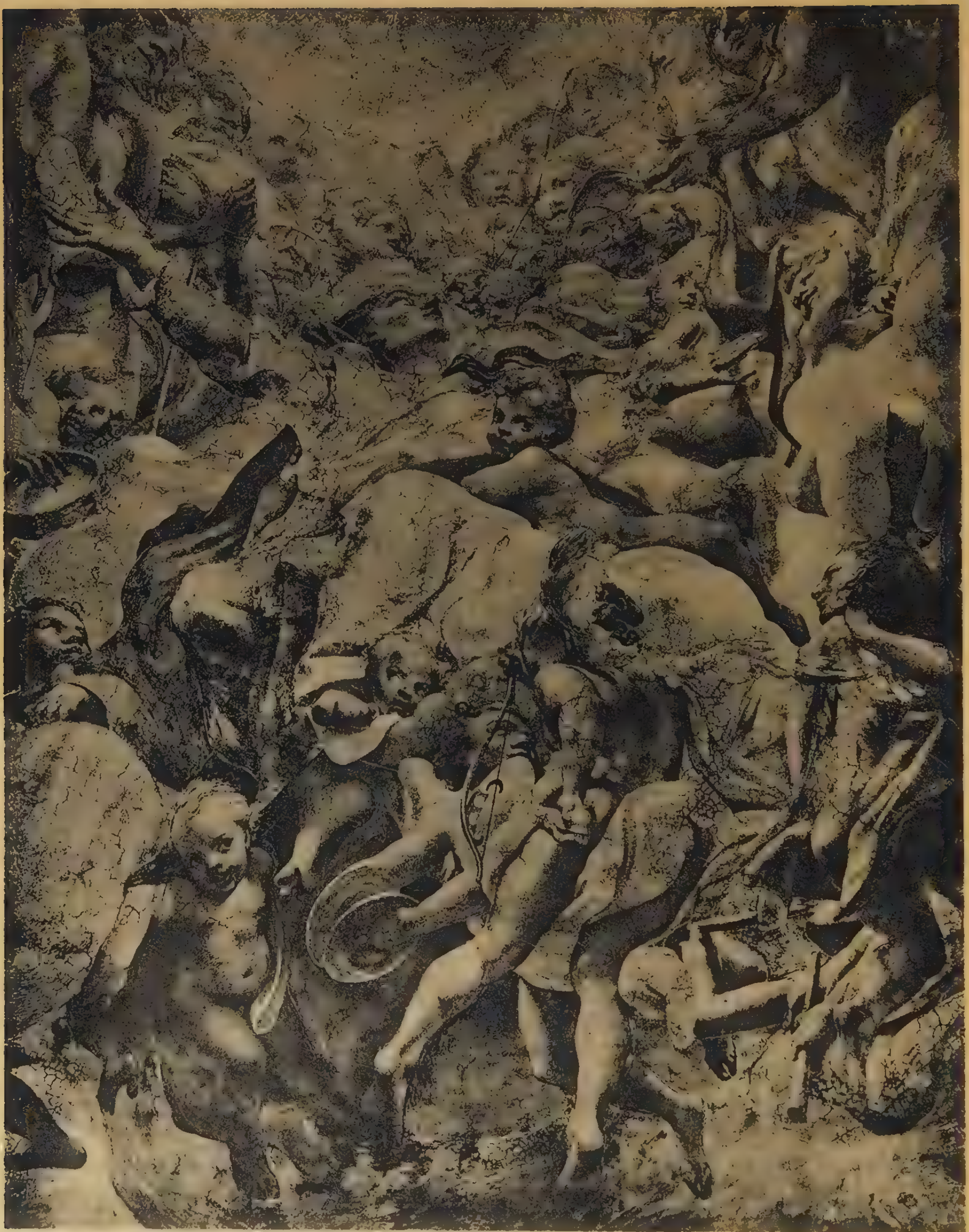


CCXII THE VIRGIN TAKEN UP INTO GLORY, APOSTLES, AND ADOLESCENTS *(Photo. Anderson)*

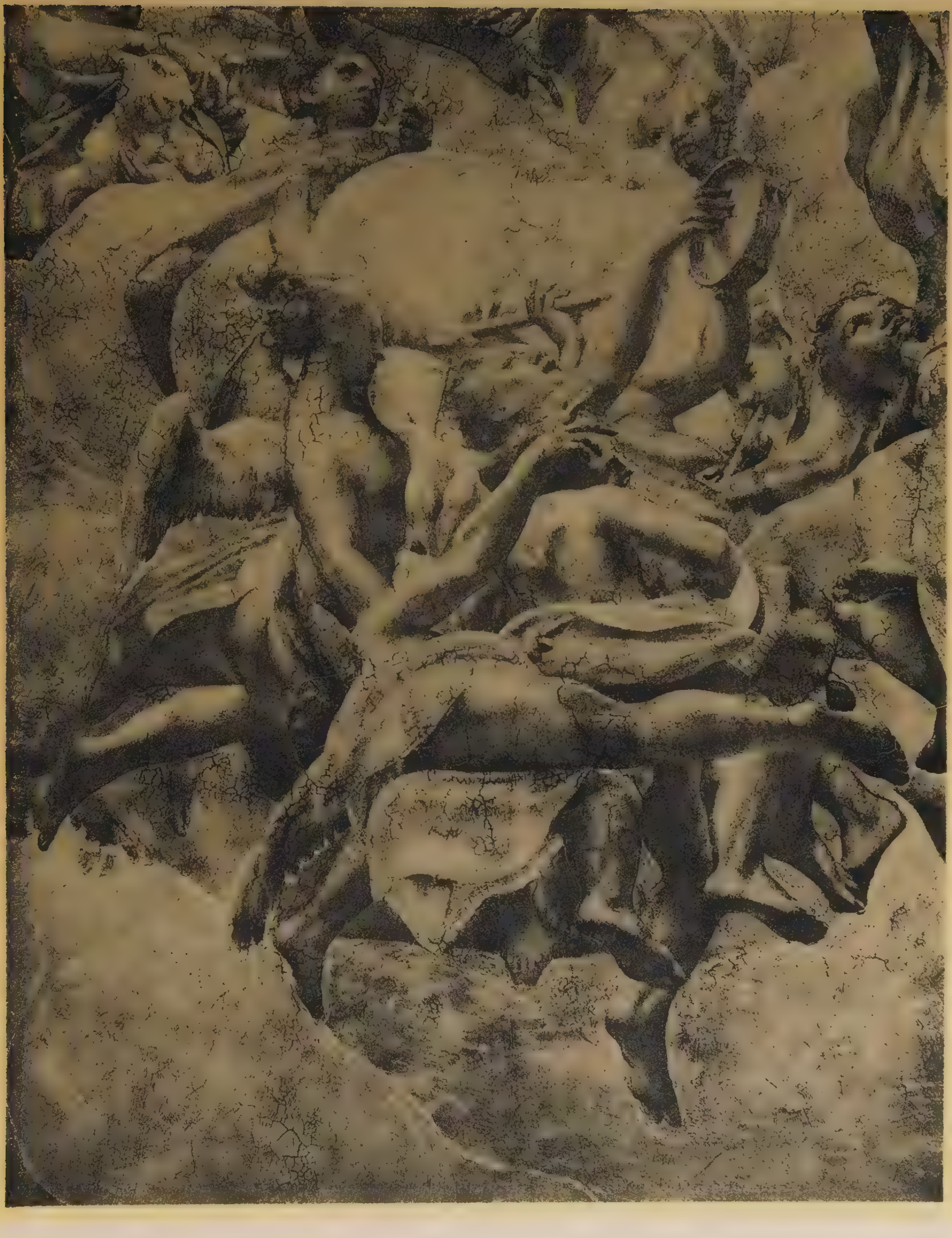
Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



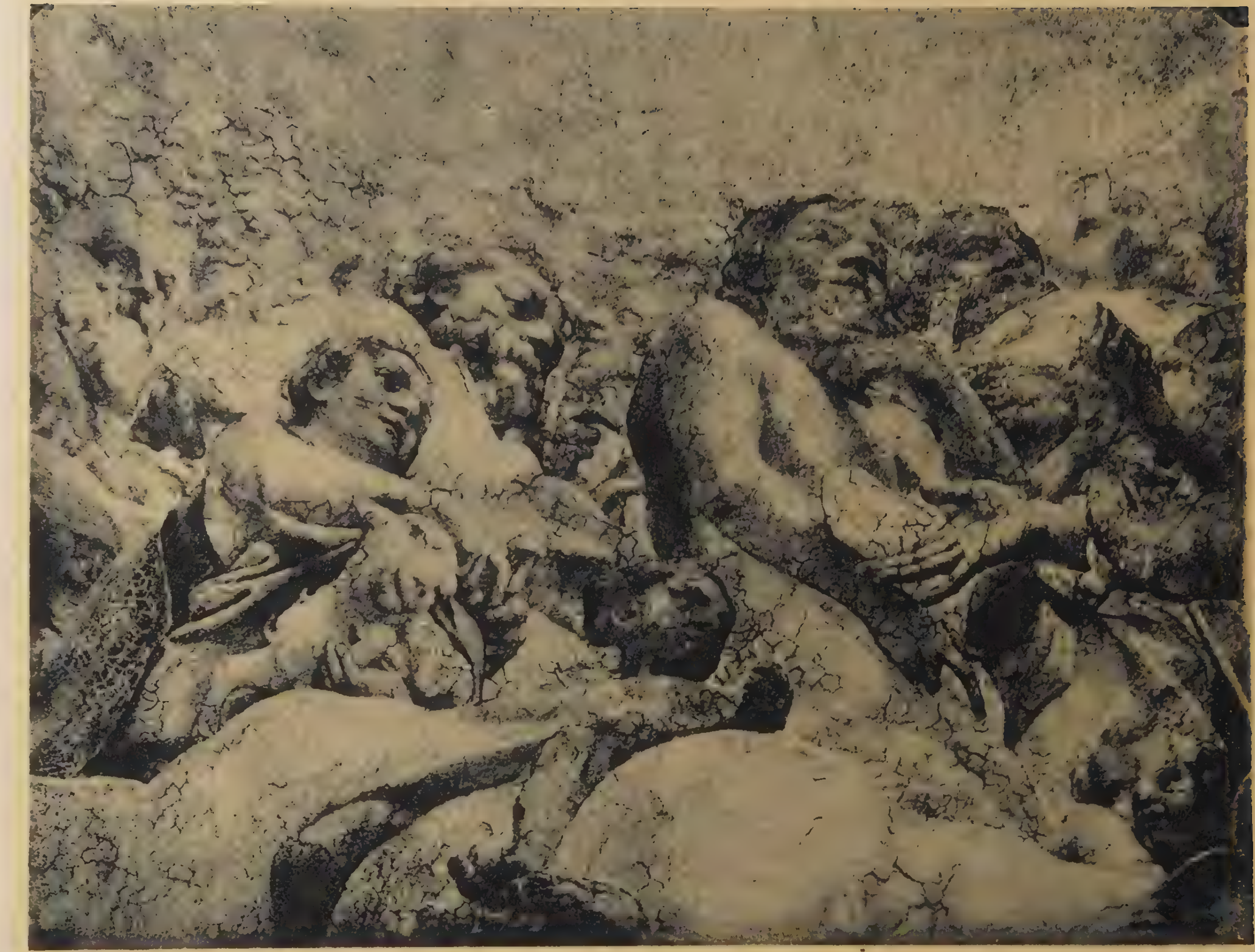
CCXIII THE VIRGIN TAKEN UP INTO GLORY, APOSTLES, AND ADOLESCENTS (*Photo. Anderson*)
Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



CCXIV THE VIRGIN TAKEN UP INTO GLORY. DETAIL. THE VIRGIN (*Photo. Anderson*)
Cupola of Parma Cathedral

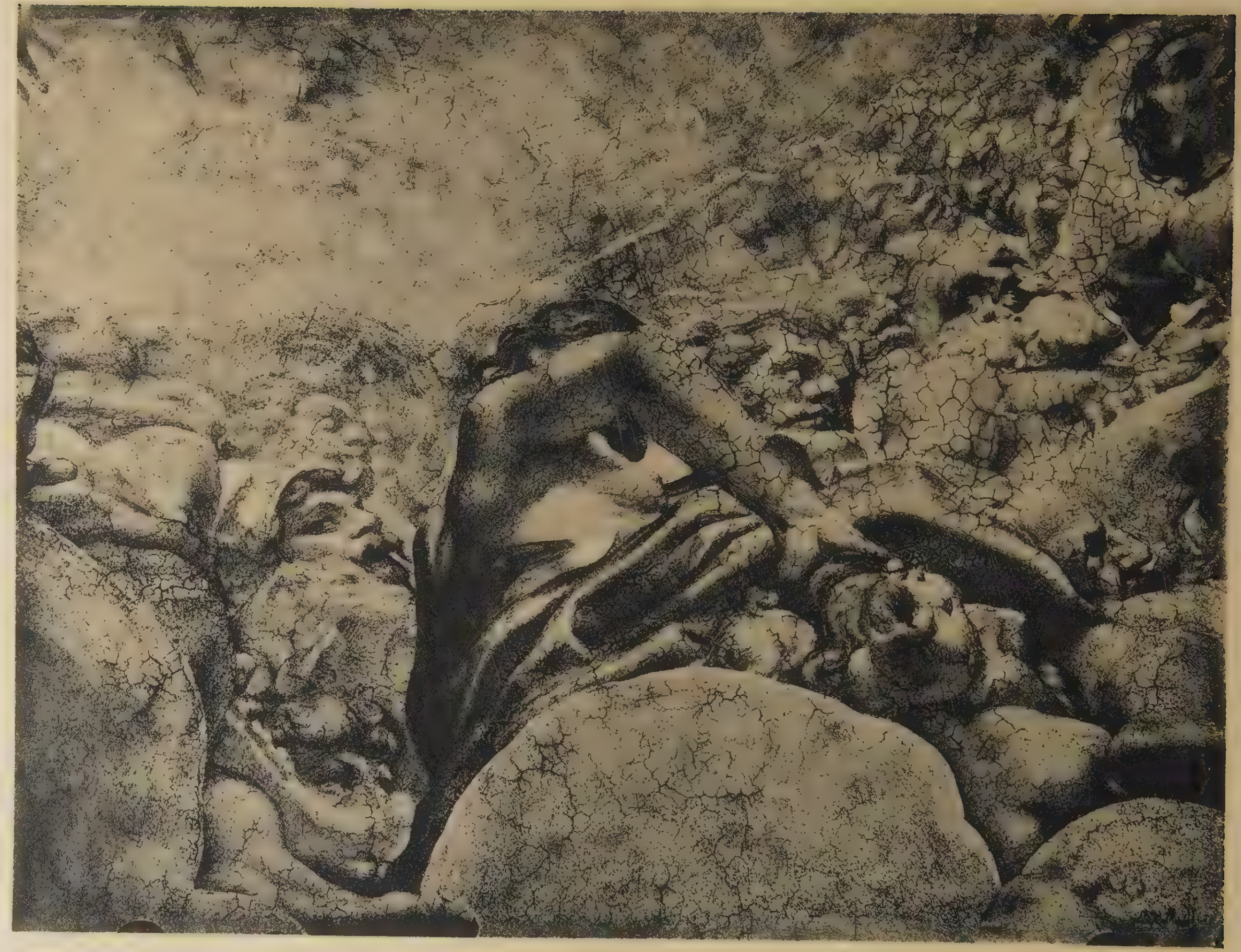


CCXV ANGELS (Photo. Anderson)
Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



CCXVI ADAM, ABRAHAM, AND ISAAC (Photo. Anderson)

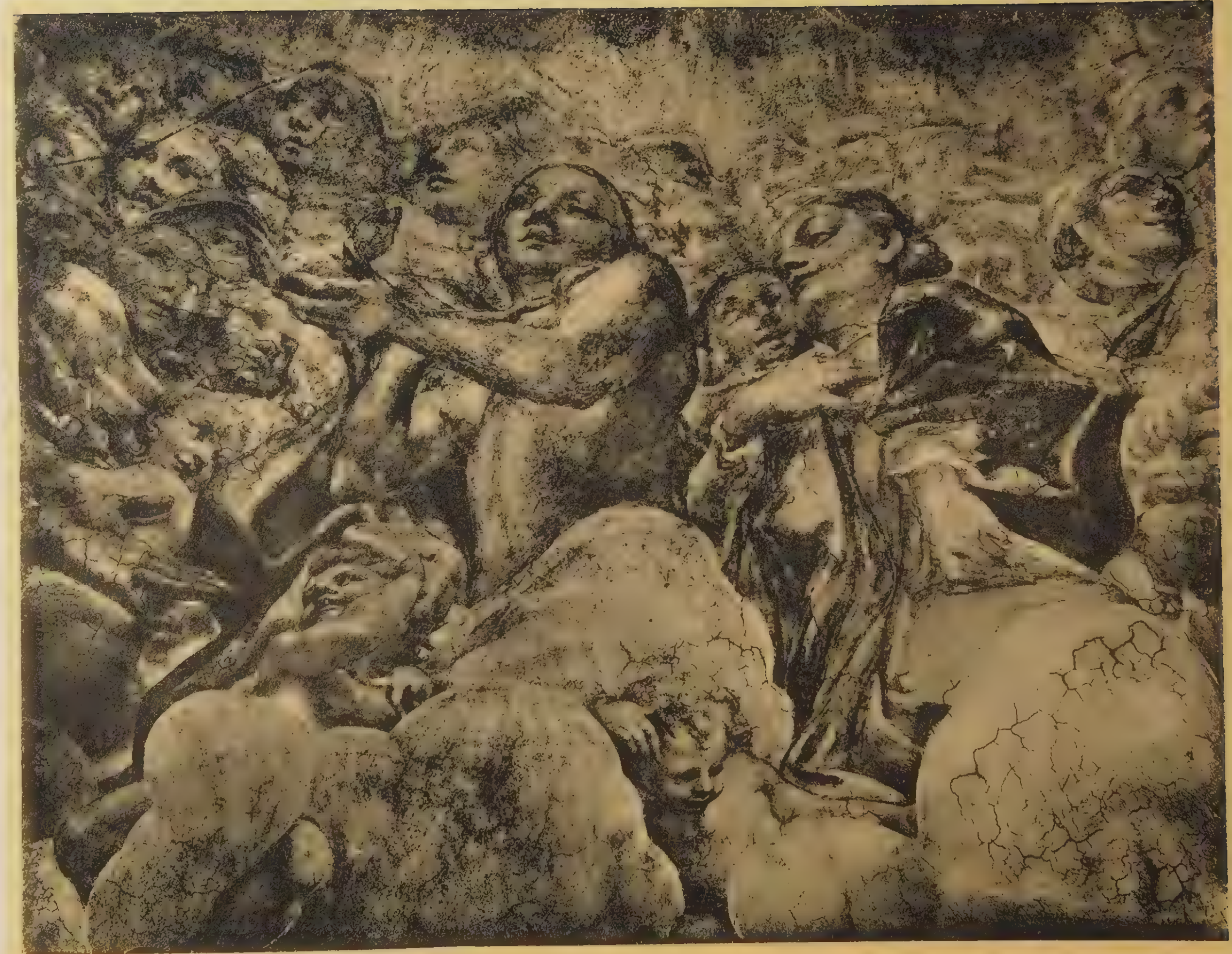
Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



CCXVII

JUDITH WITH THE HEAD OF HOLOFERNES
Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral

(Photo. Arti Grafiche, Bergamo)

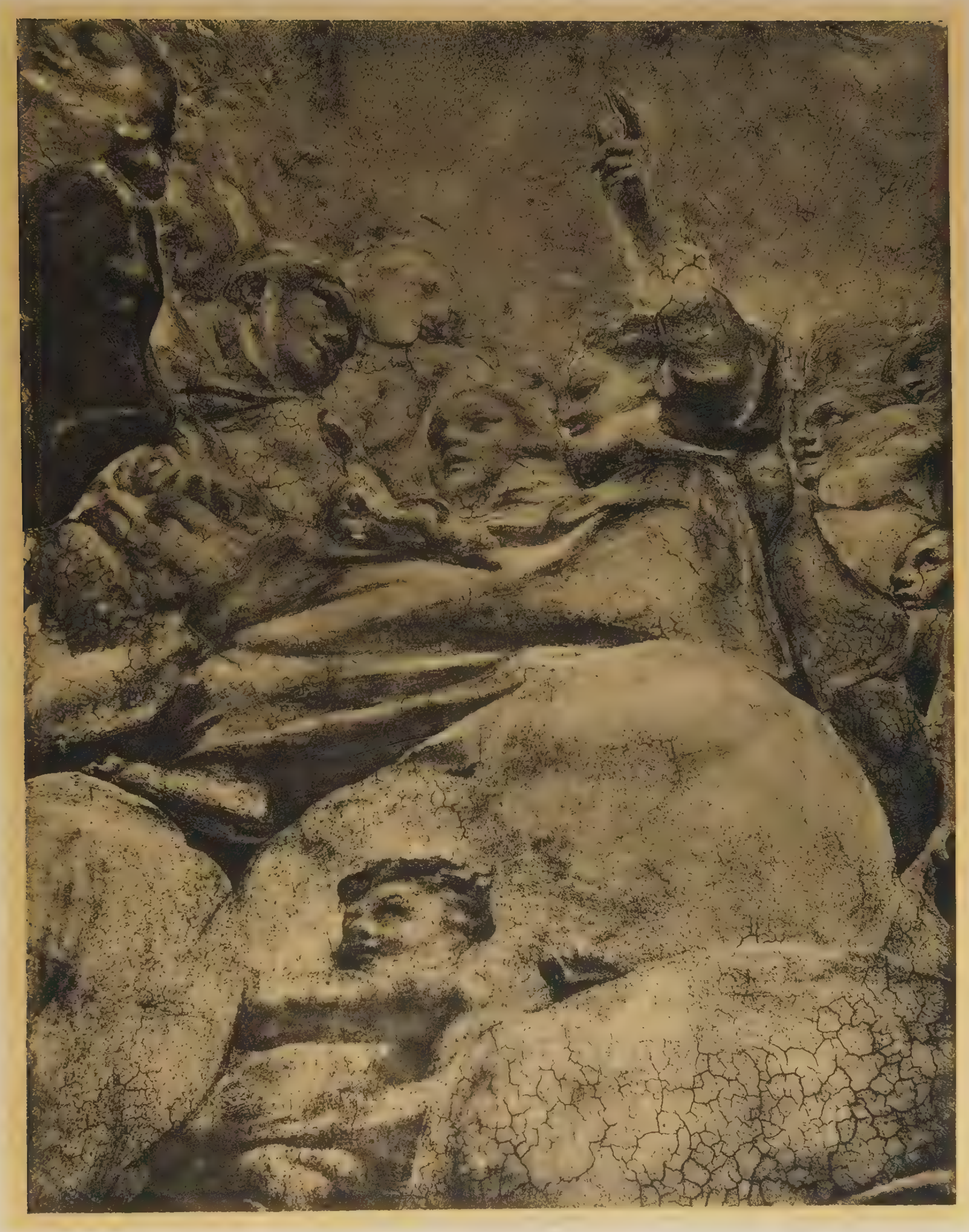


CCXVIII

EVE, HOLY WOMEN, AND ANGELS

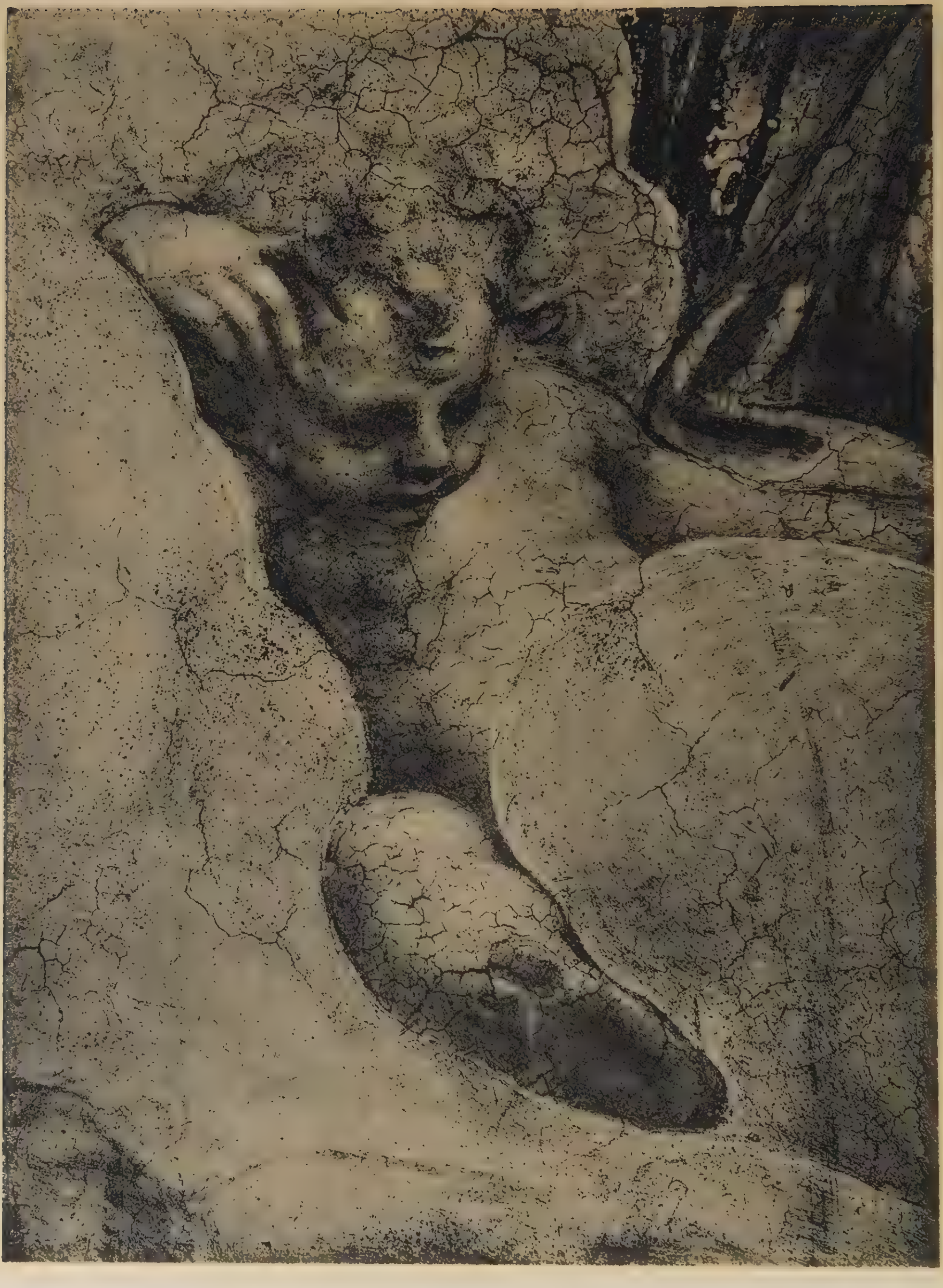
Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral

(Photo. Arti Grafiche, Bergamo)



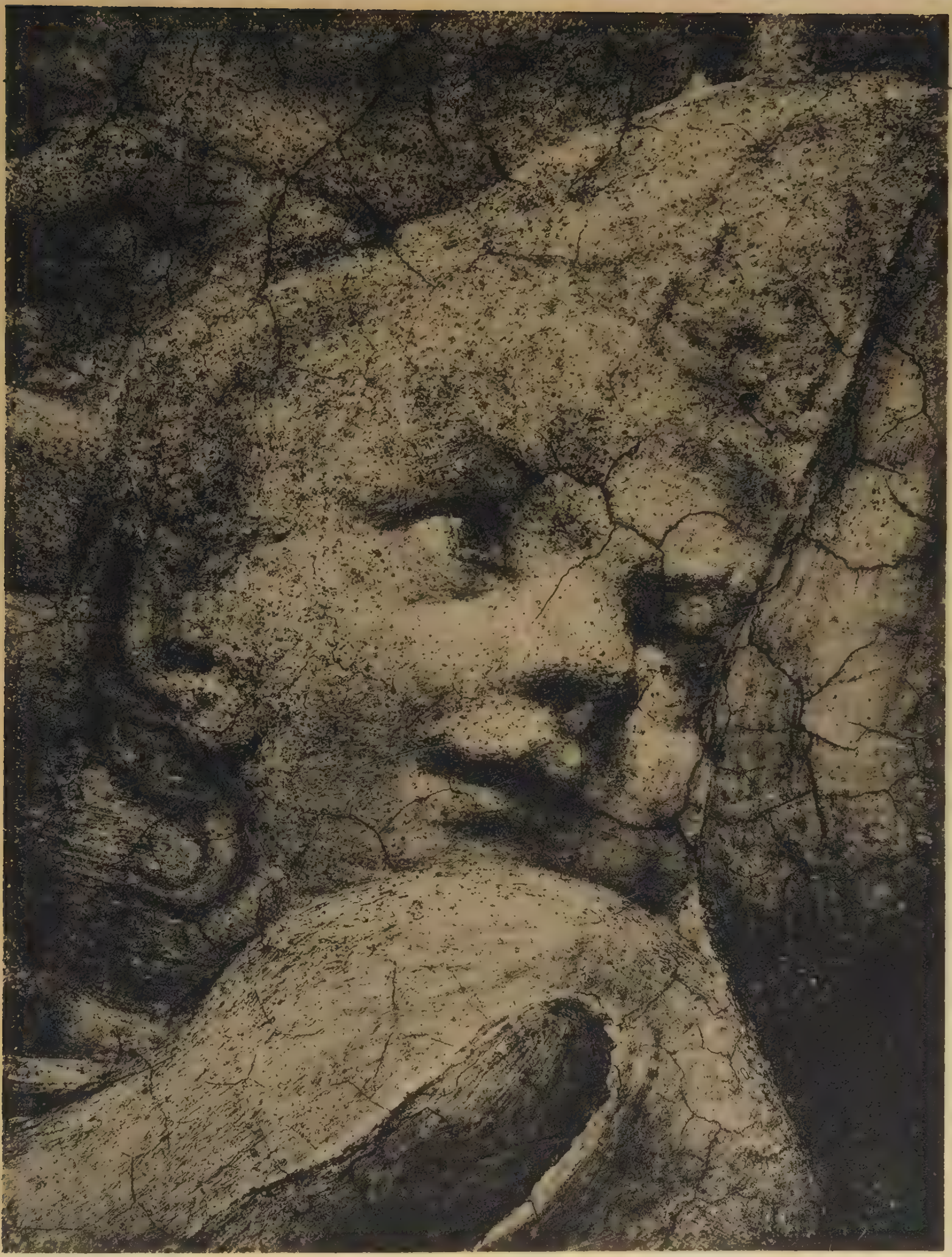
CCXIX HOLY WOMEN AND ANGELS (Photo. Arti Grafiche, Bergamo)

Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



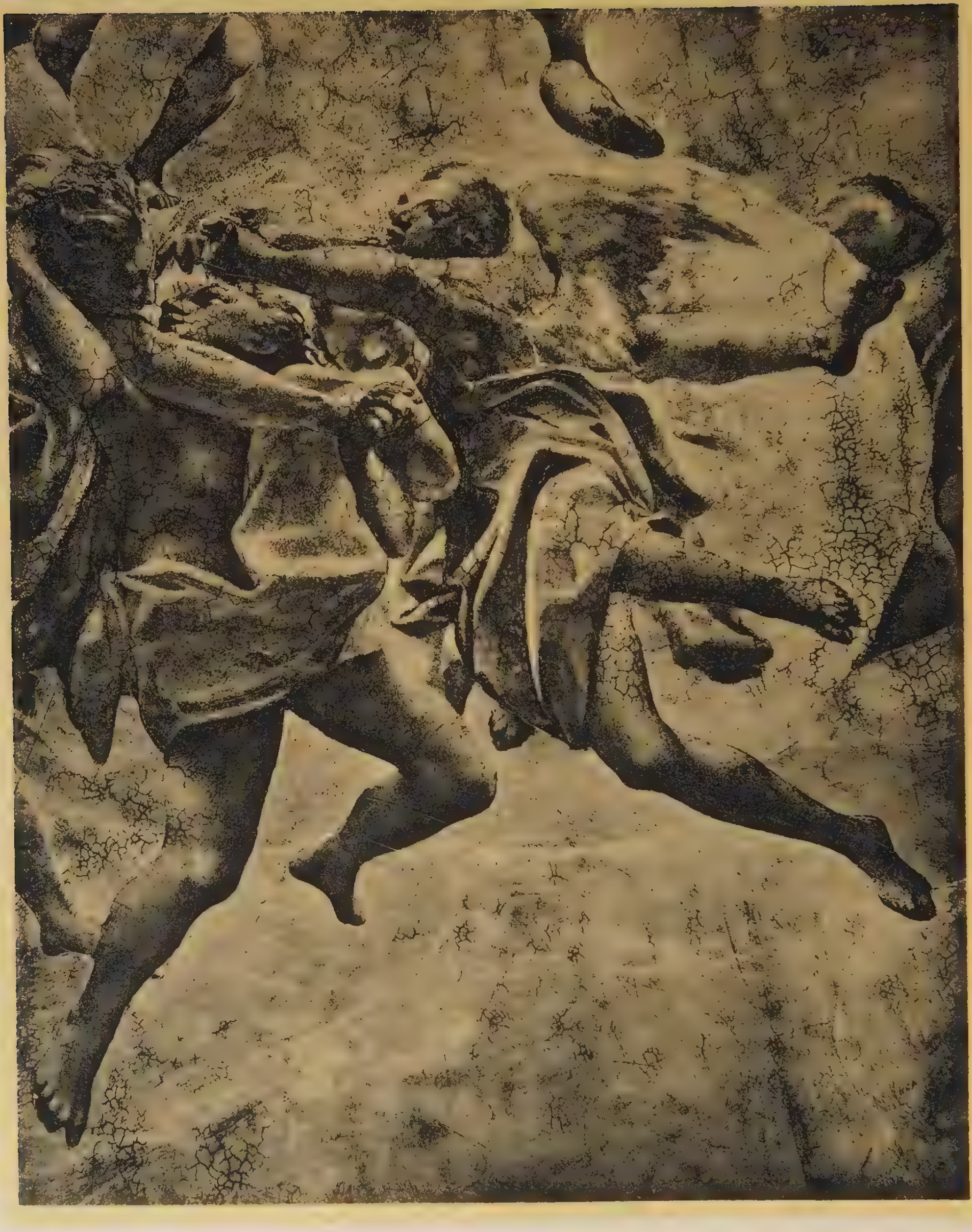
CCXX AN ANGEL (Photo. Anderson)

Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



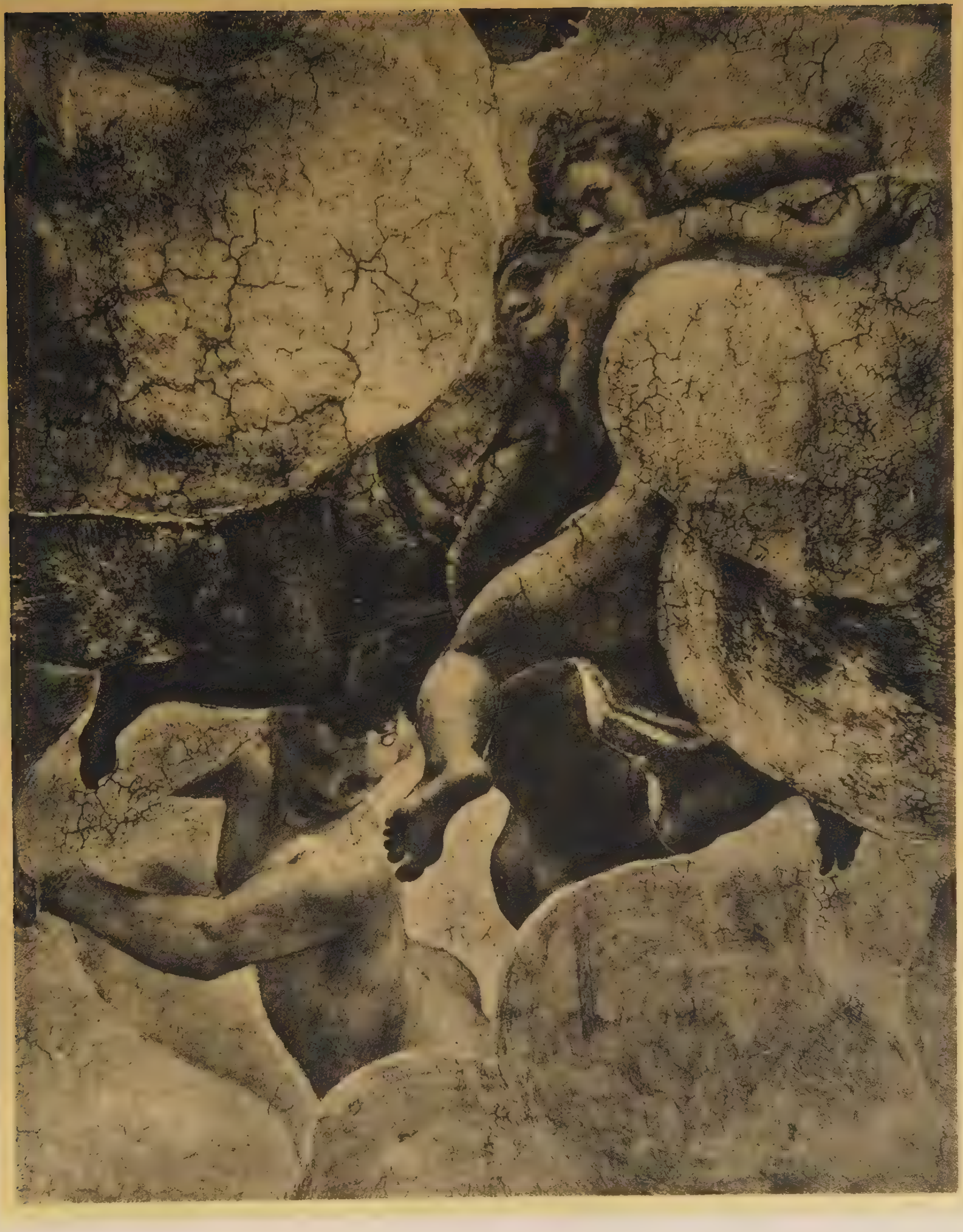
CCXXI HEAD OF ANGEL (Photo. Anderson)

Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



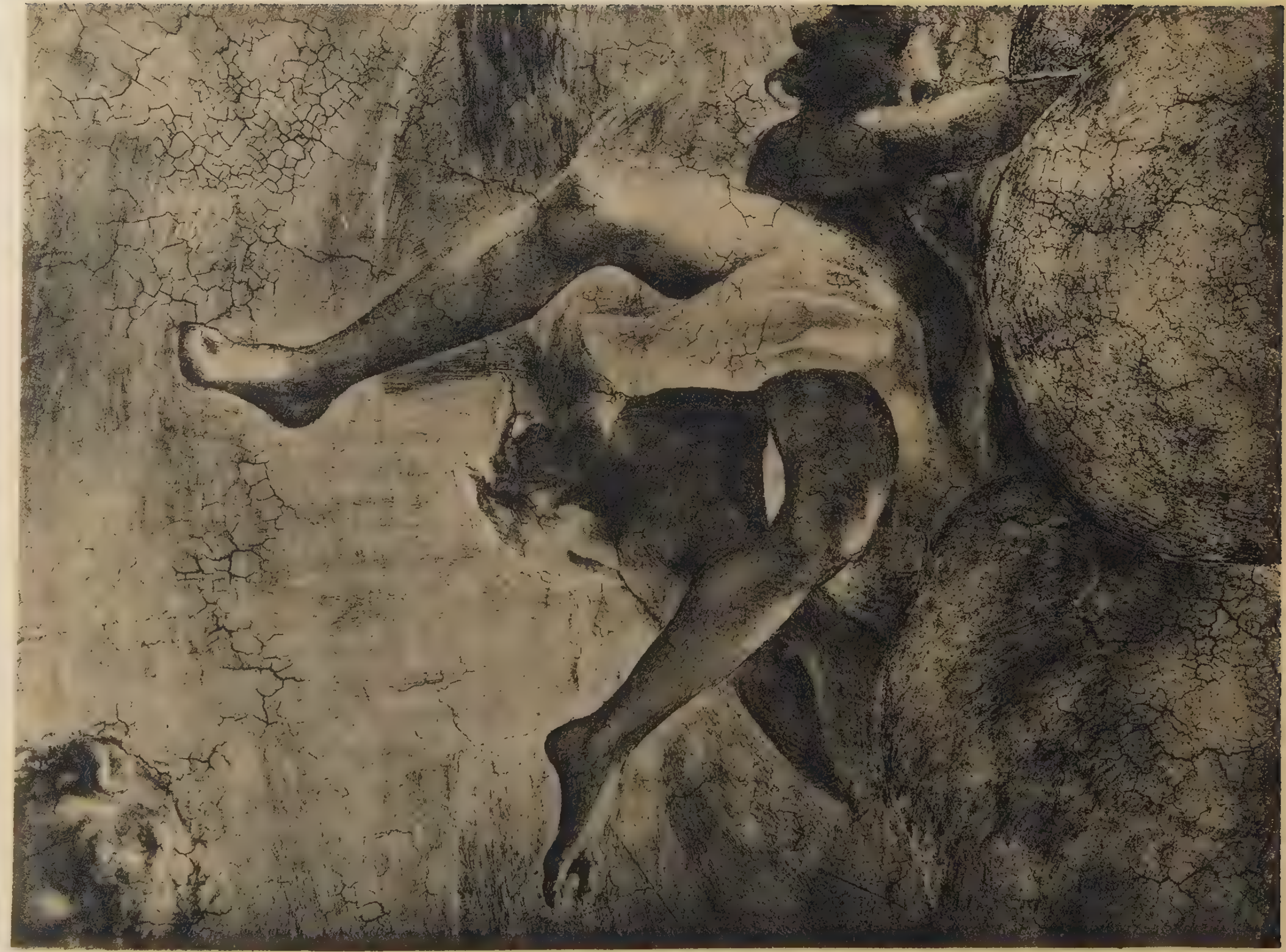
CCXXII ANGELS (Photo. Anderson)

Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral



CCXXIII ANGELS (Photo. Anderson)

Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral

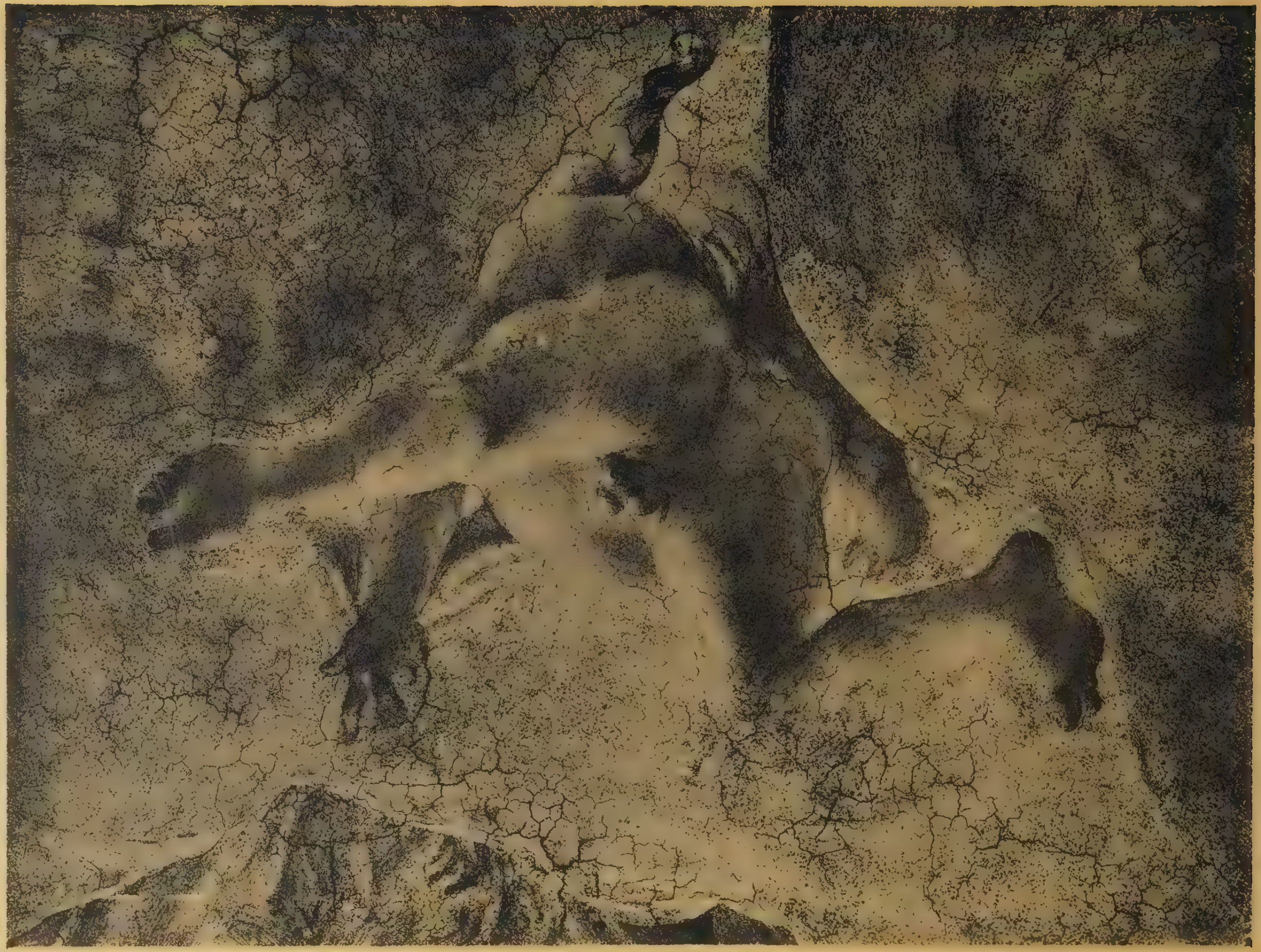


CCXXIV

AN ANGEL

Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral

(Photo. Anderson)

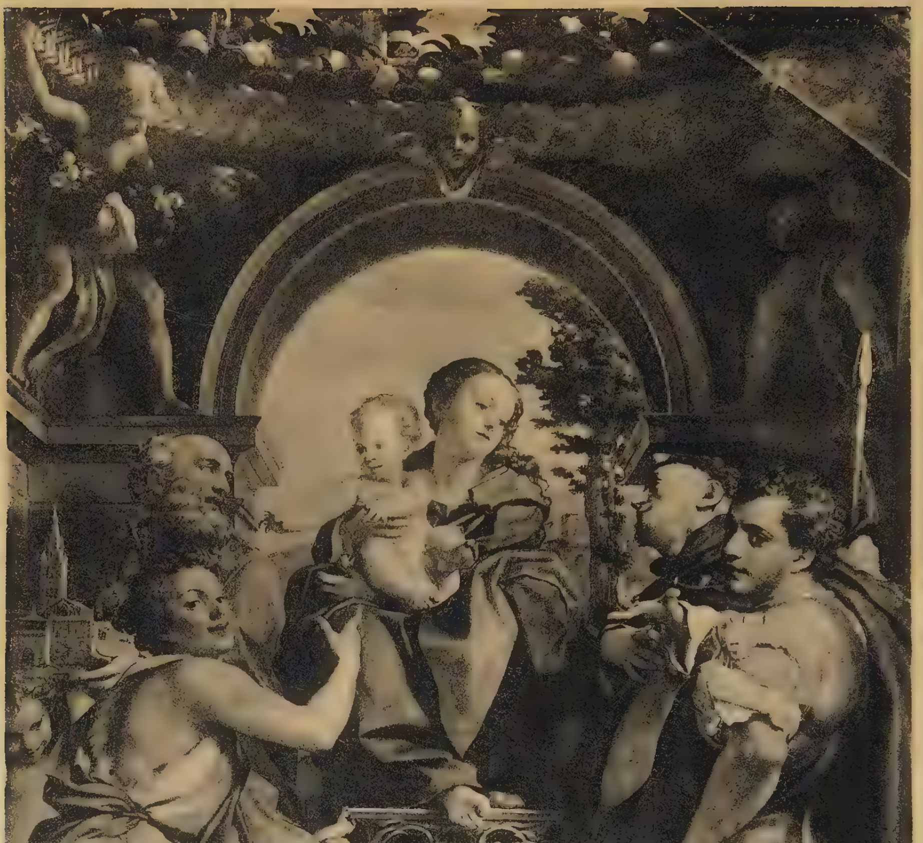


CCXXV

AN ANGEL

Detail of the cupola of Parma Cathedral

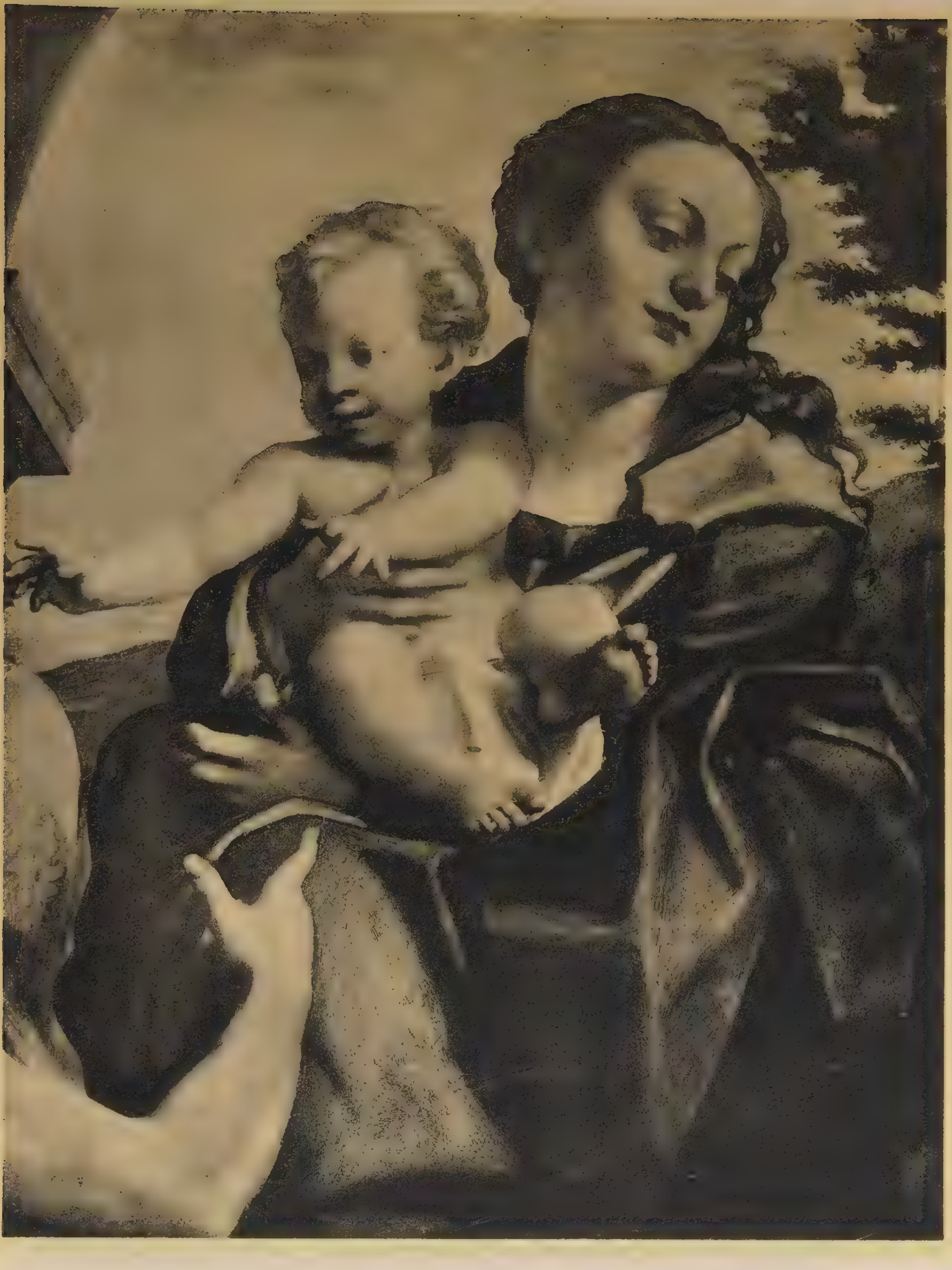
(Photo. Anderson)



CCXXVI

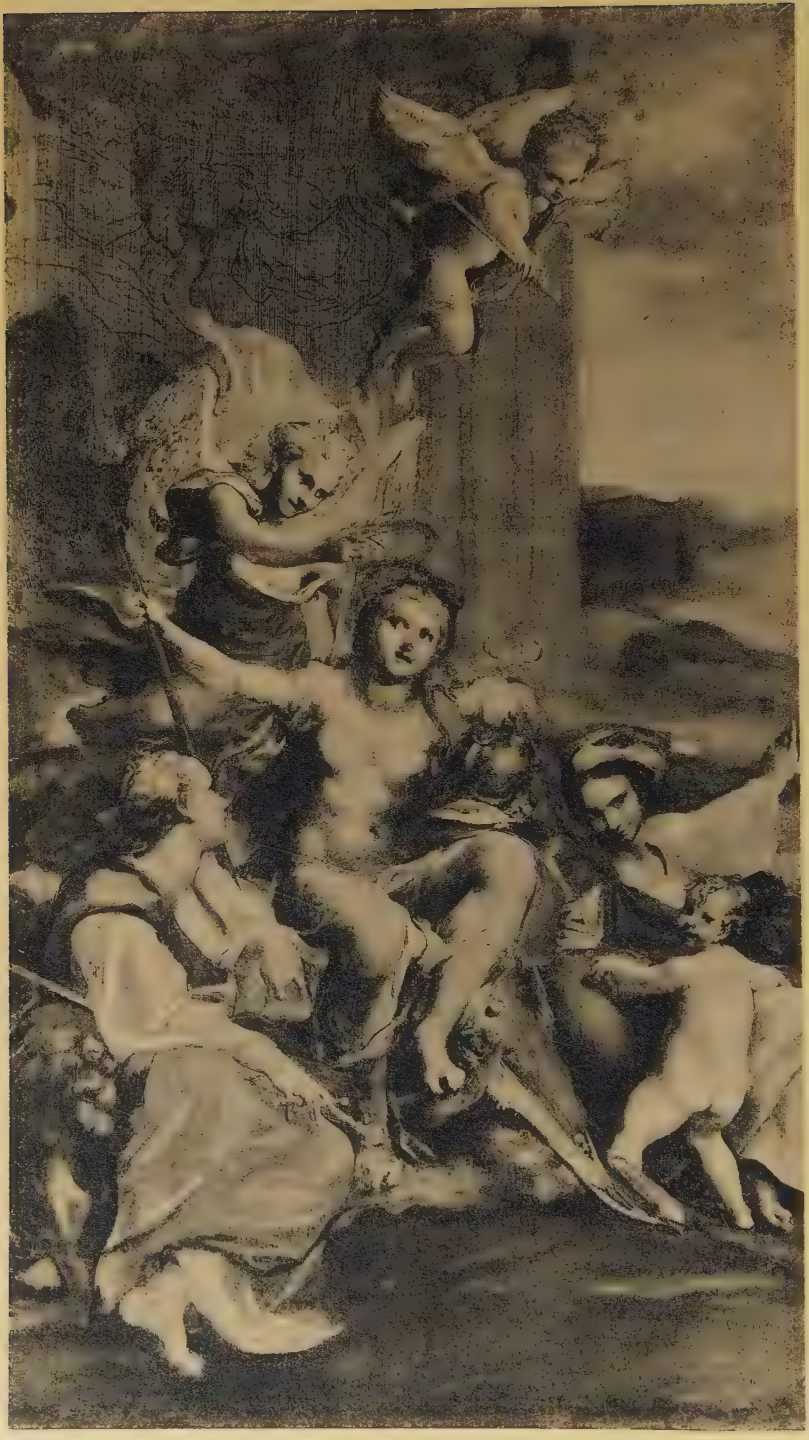
THE MADONNA OF ST. GEORGE
Dresden, Art Gallery

(Photo. Bruckmann)



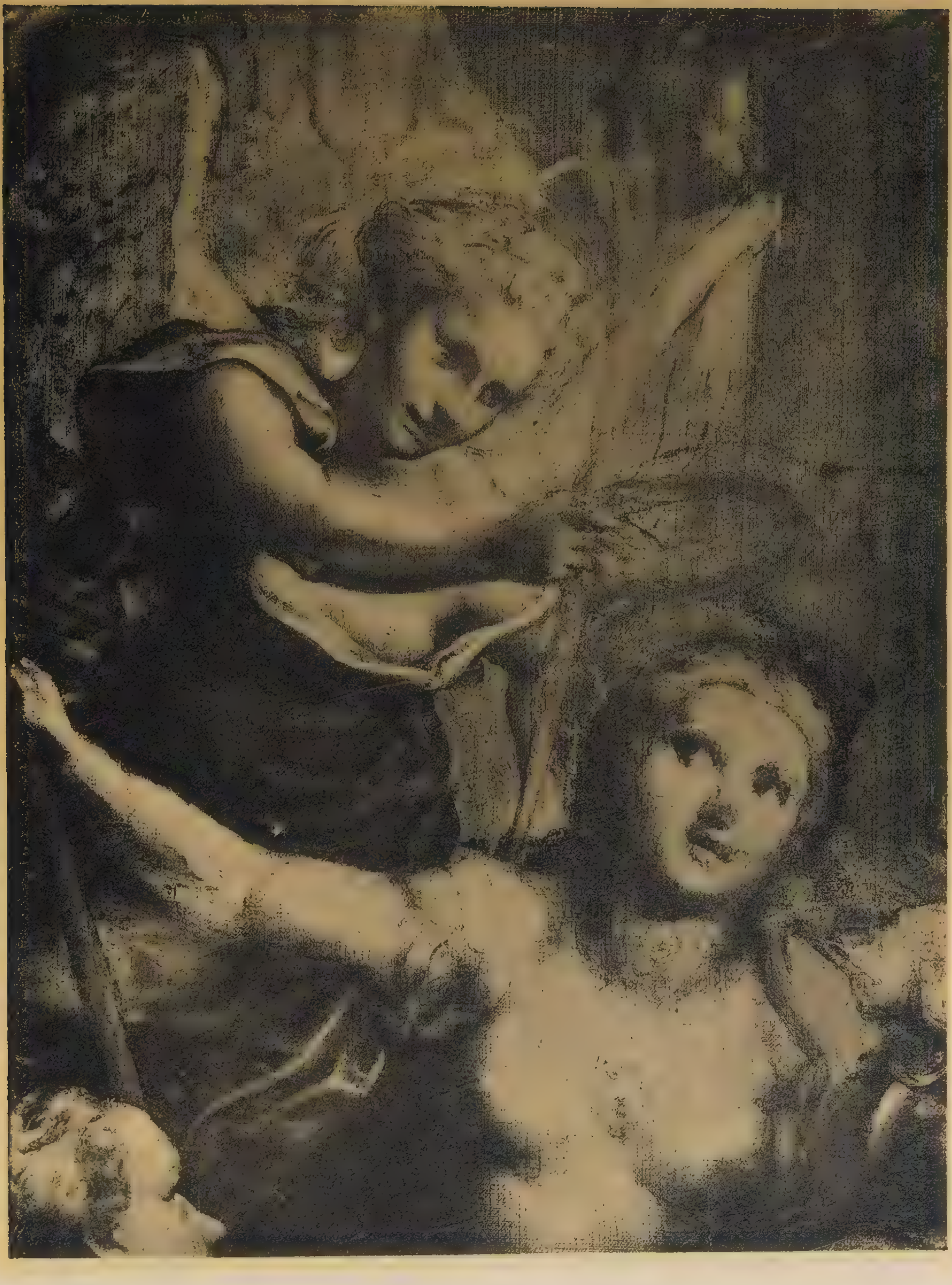
CCXXVII :THE MADONNA OF ST. GEORGE. DETAIL (Photo. Alinari)

Dresden, Art Gallery



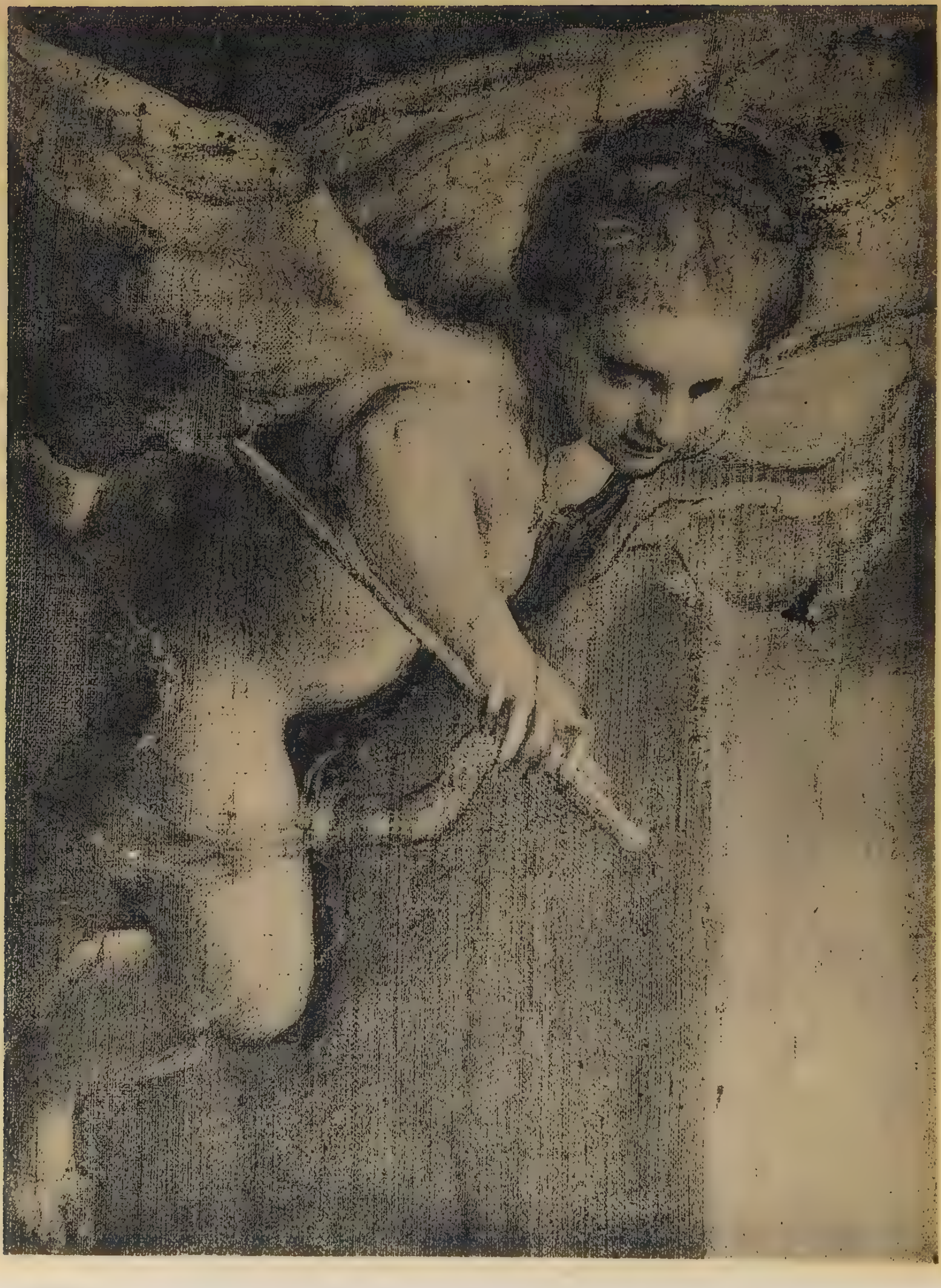
CCXXVIII THE VIRTUES (Photo. Alinari)

Rome, Doria Gallery



CCXXIX THE VIRTUES. DETAIL (*Photo. Calderisi*)

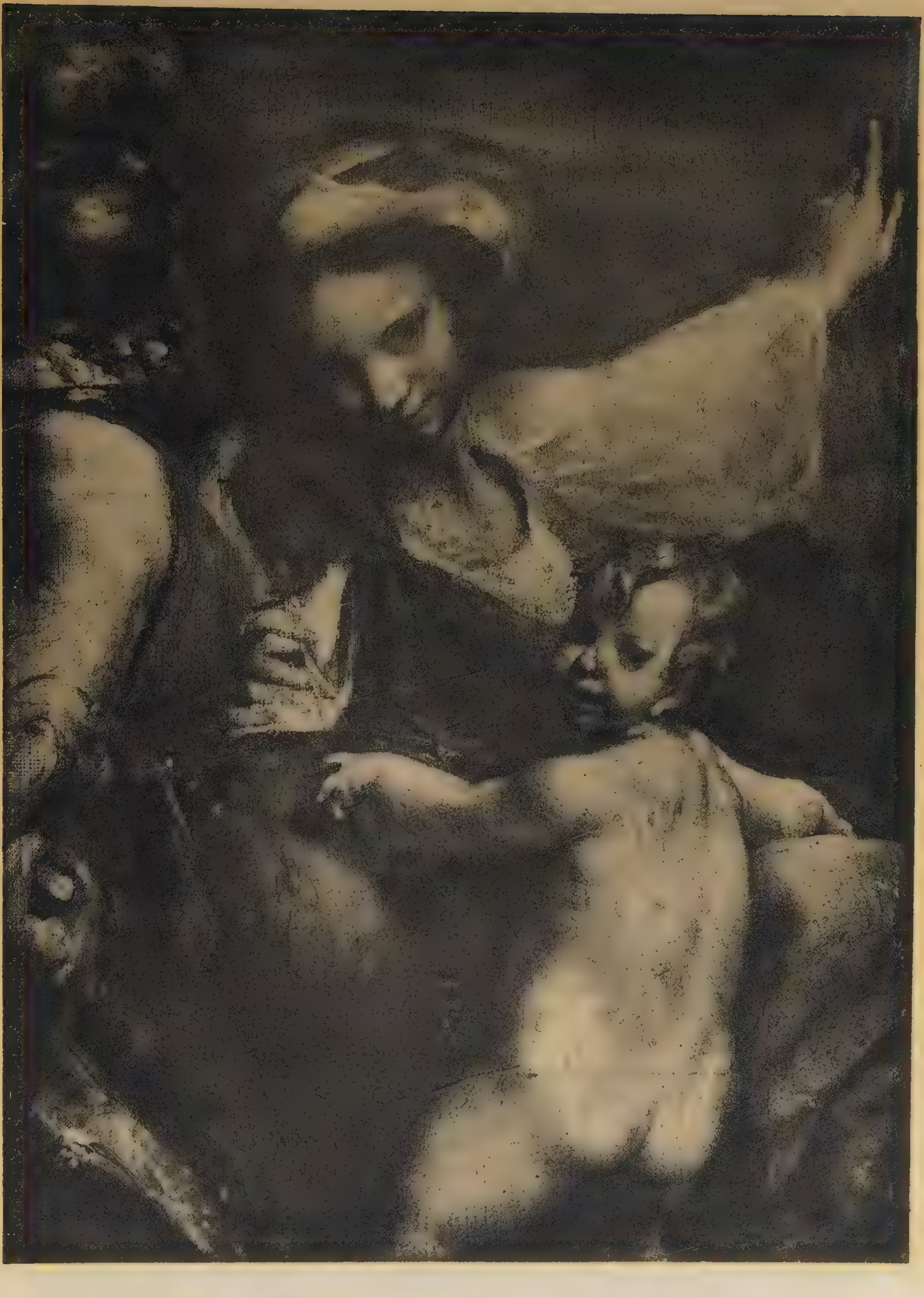
Rome. Doria Gallery



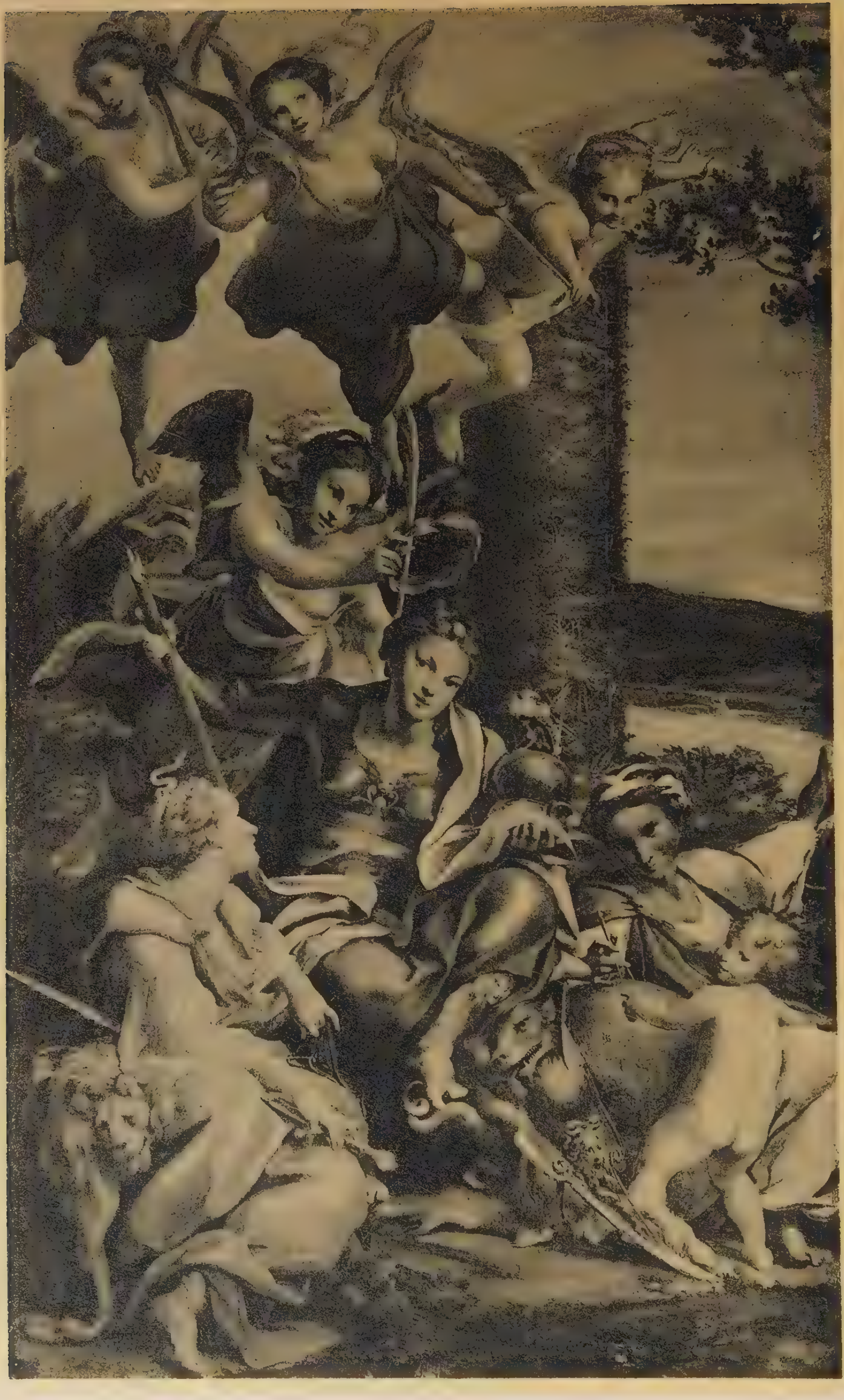
CCXXX

THE VIRTUES. DETAIL
Rome, Doria Gallery

(Photo. Calderisi)

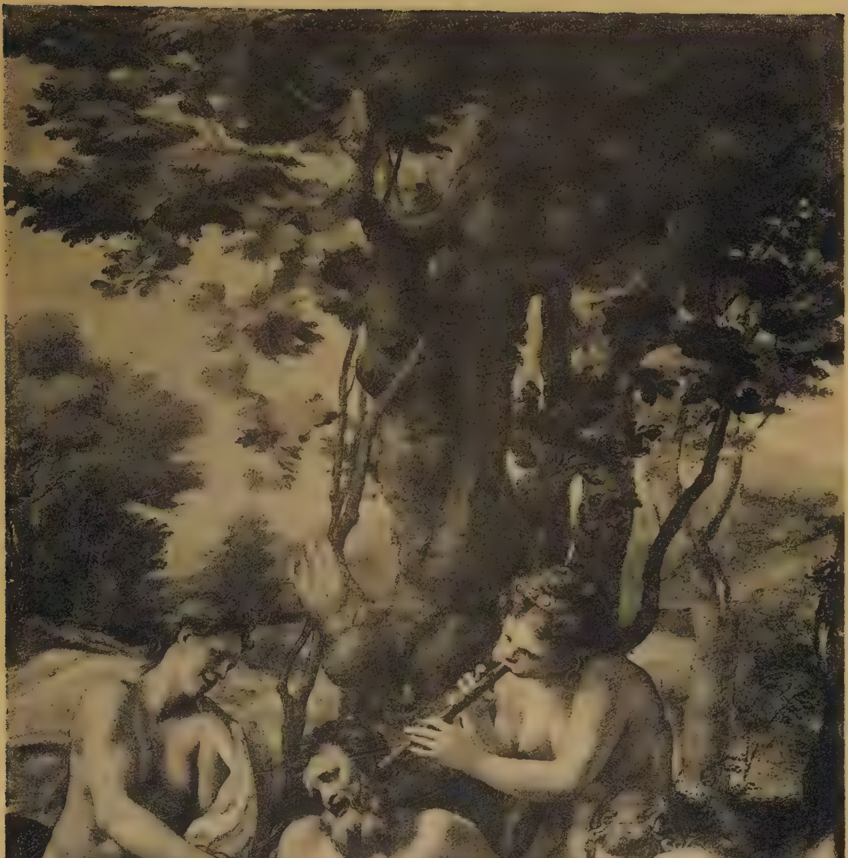


CCXXXI THE VIRTUES. DETAIL (Photo. Calderisi)
Rome, Doria Gallery



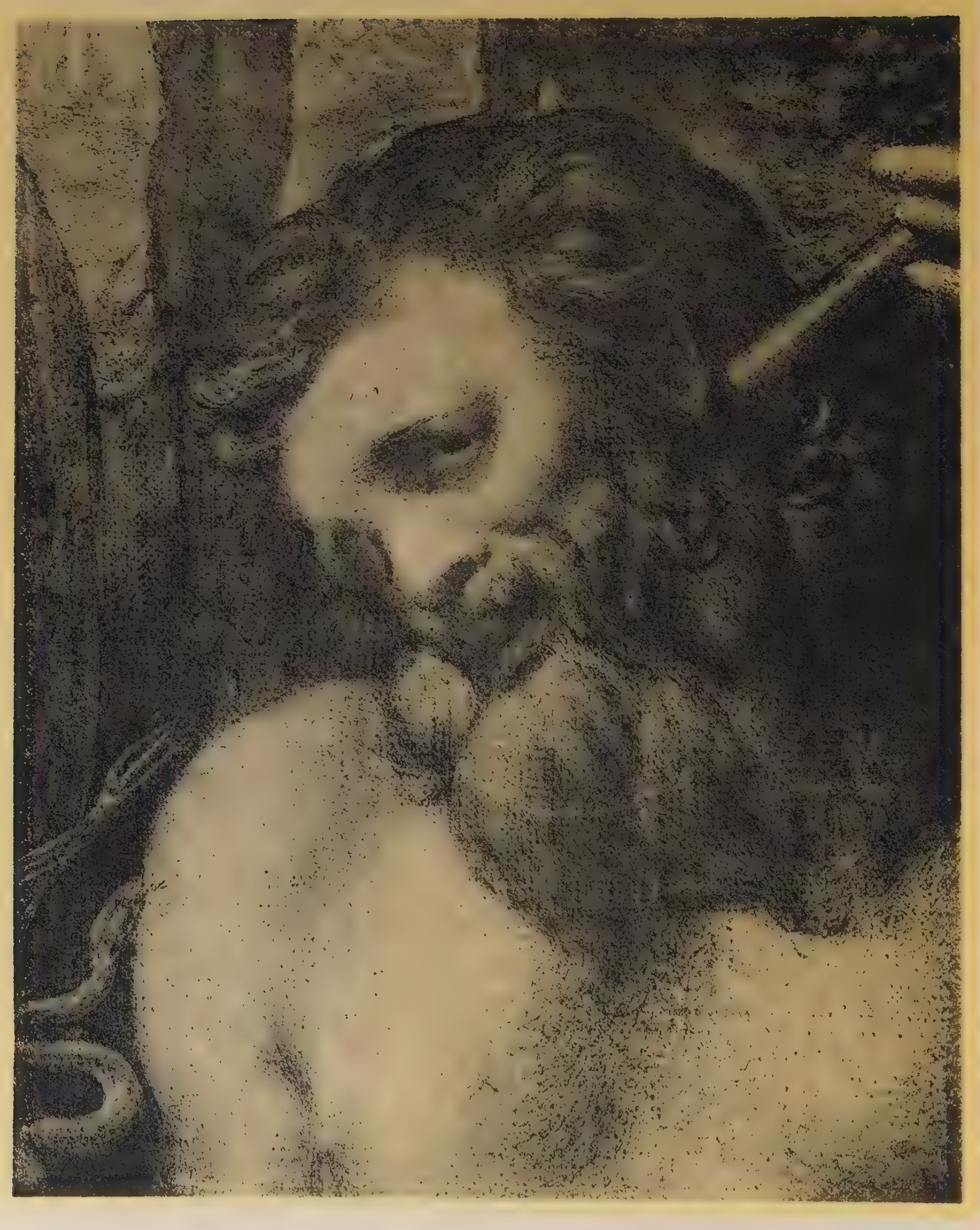
CCXXXII THE VIRTUES (*Arch. Phot. of the Louvre*)

Paris, Louvre



CCXXXIII VICE (*Arch. Phot. of the Louvre*)

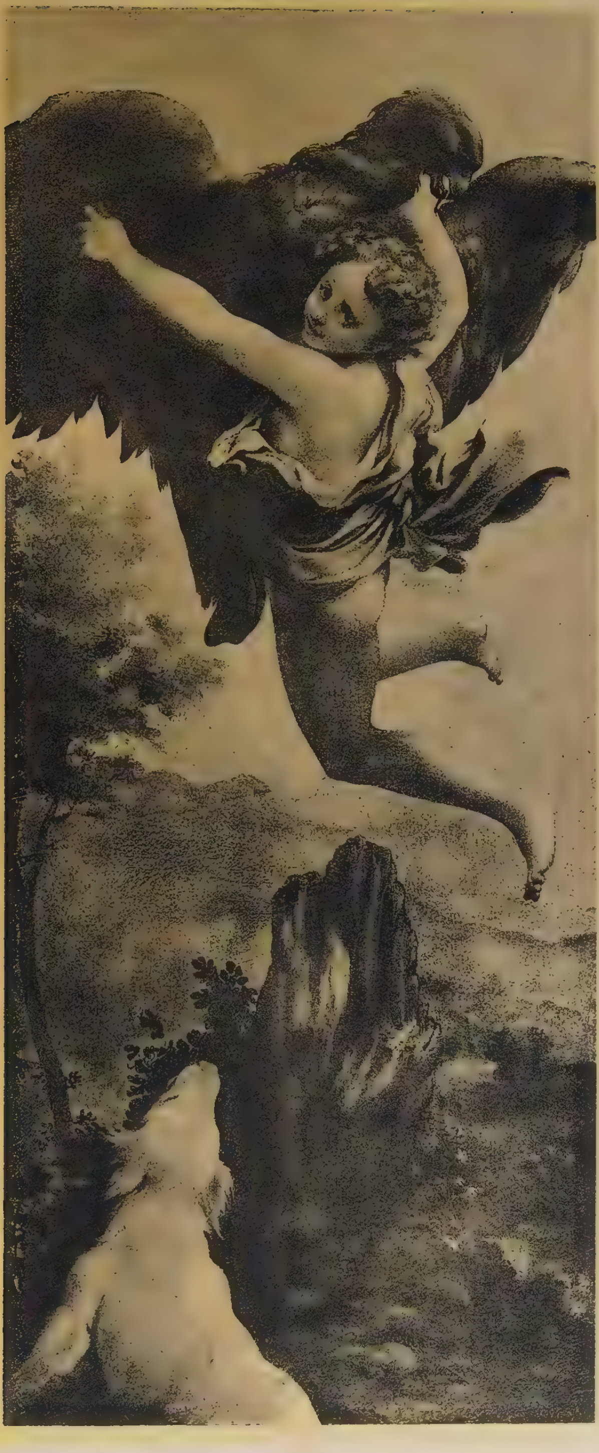
Paris, Louvre



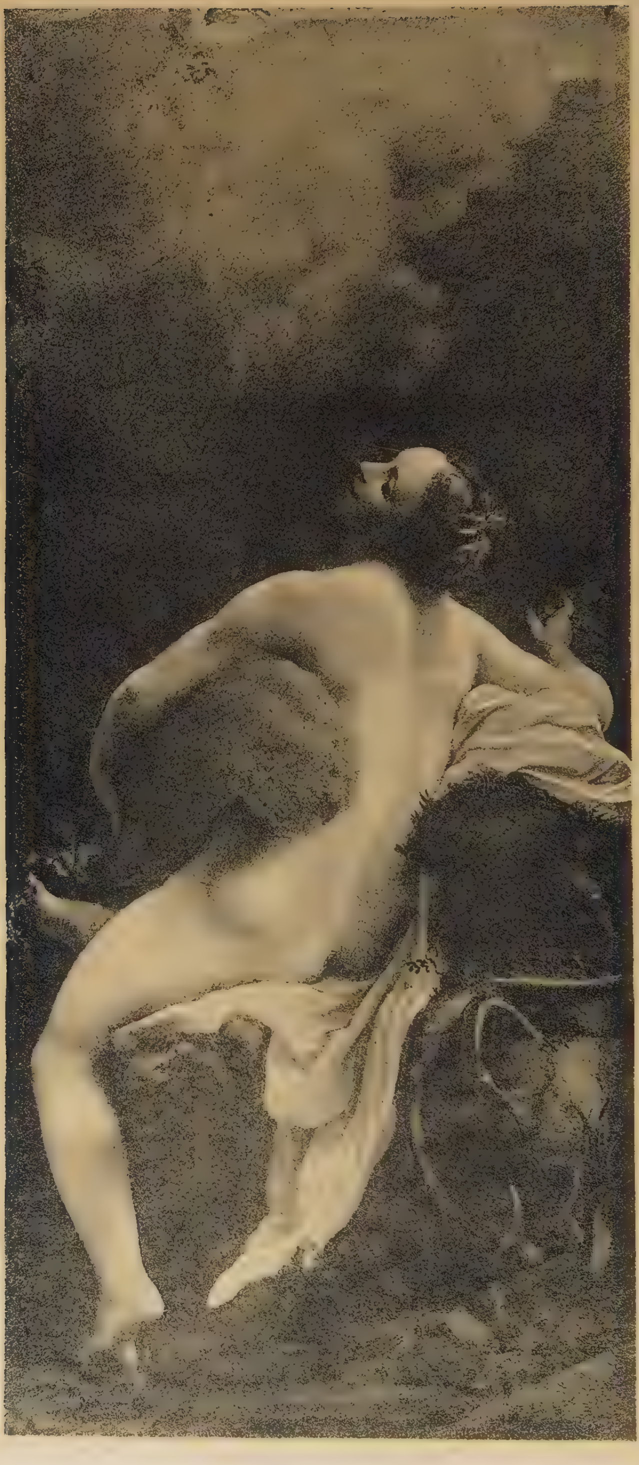
CCXXXIV

VICE. DETAIL
Paris, Louvre

(Arch. Phot. of the Louvre)

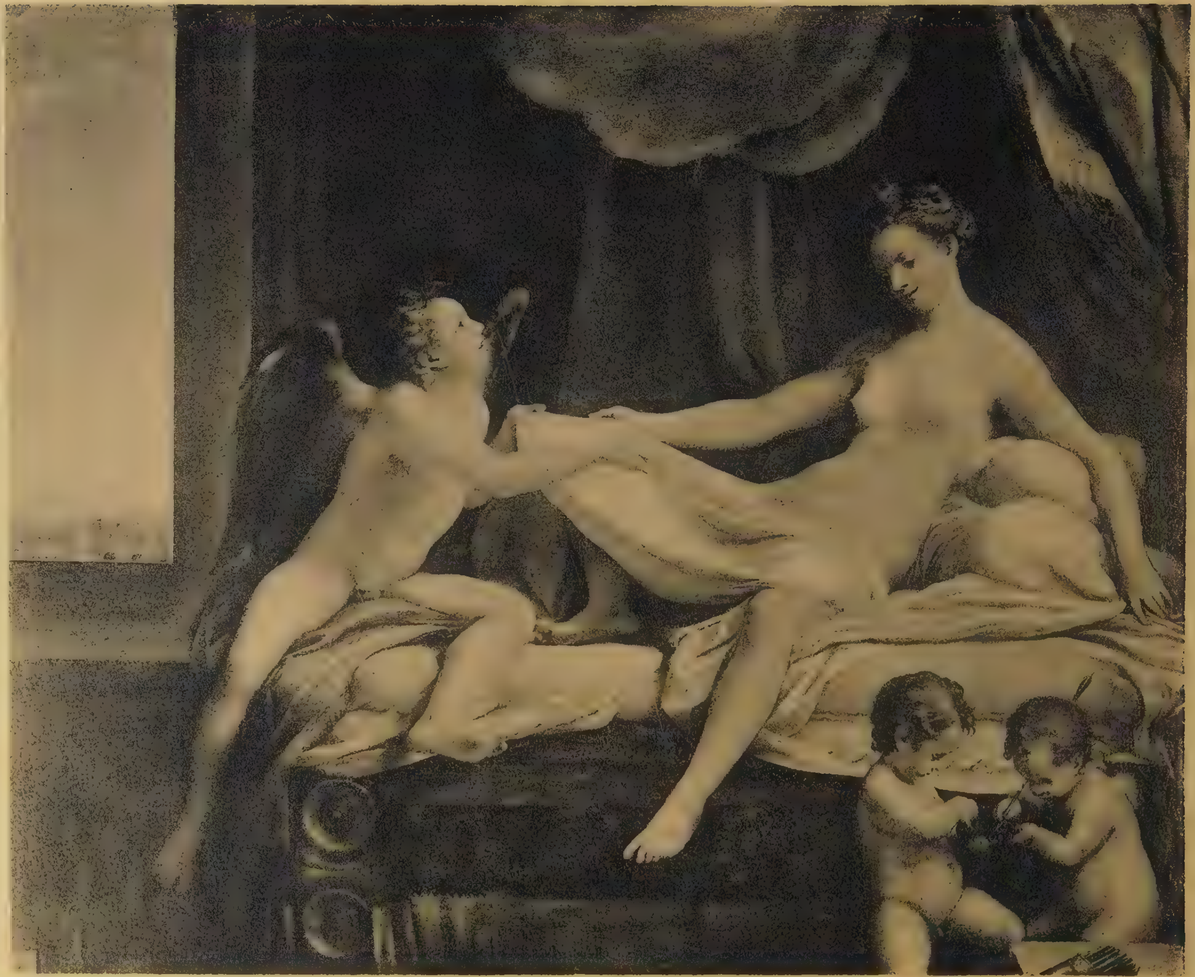


CCXXXV GANYMEDE (Photo. Bruckmann)
Vienna, Art Gallery



CCXXXVI IO (Photo. Bruckmann)

Vienna, Art Gallery

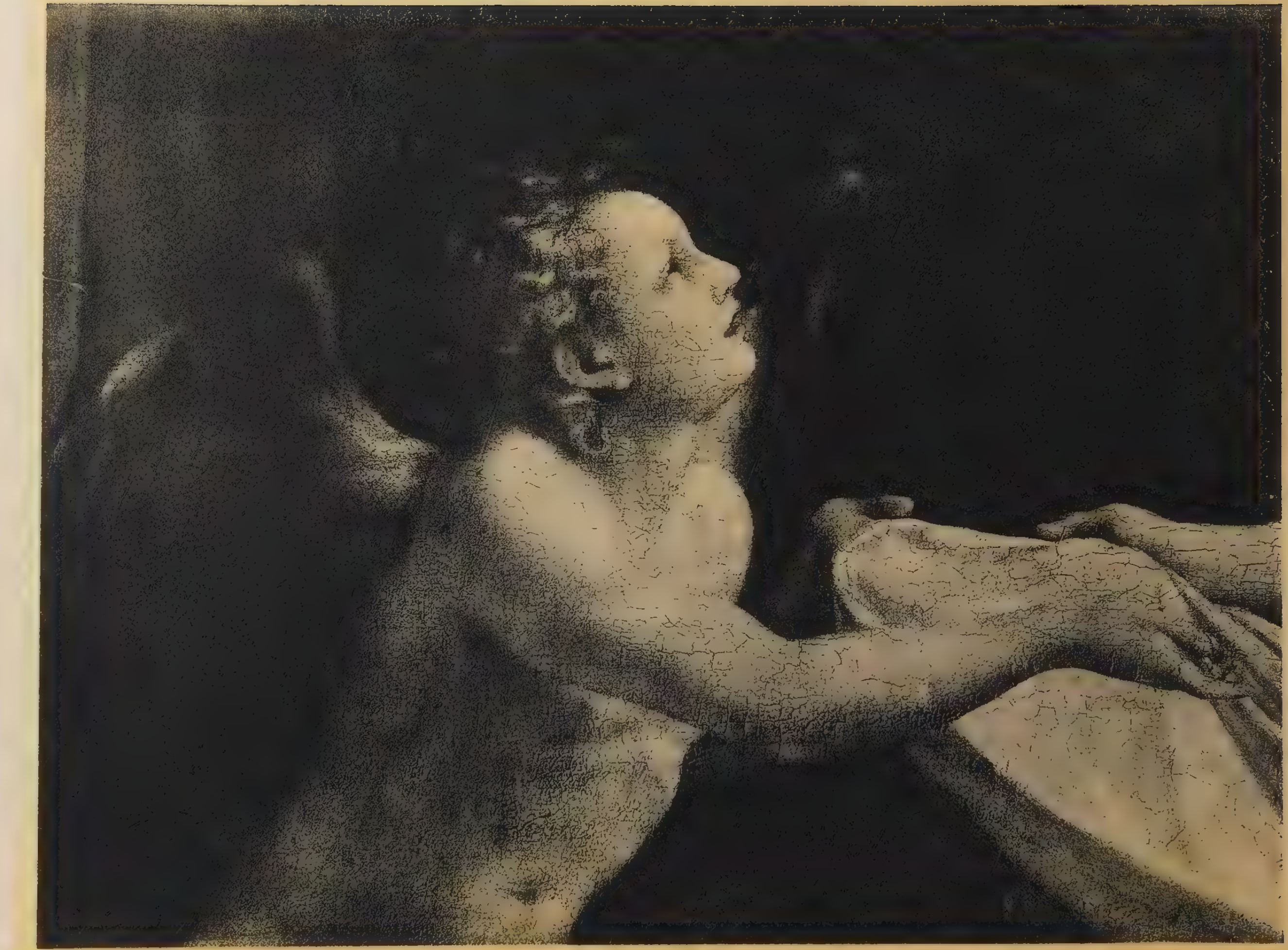


CCXXXVII

DANAË

Rome, Borghese Gallery

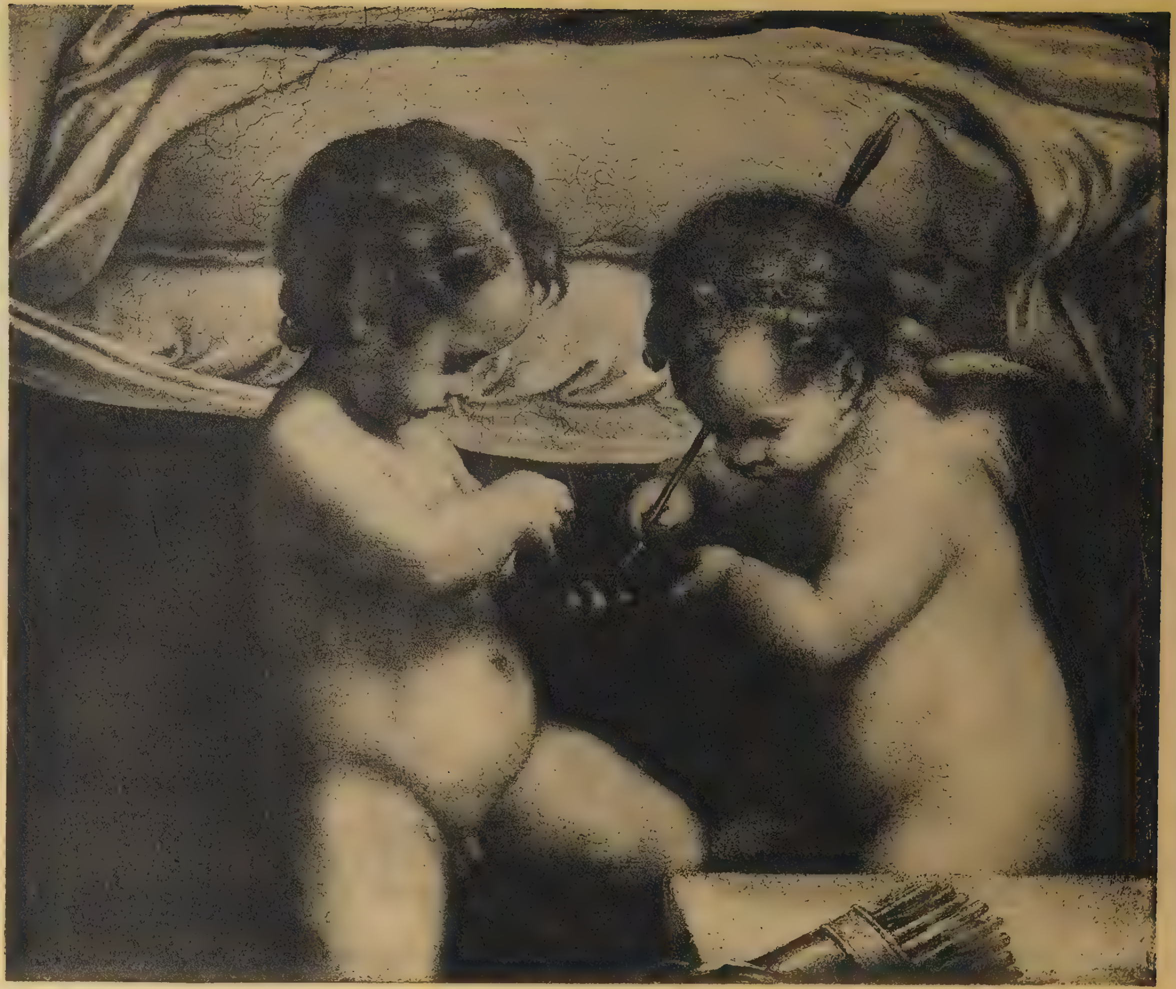
(Photo. Alinari)



CCXXXVIII

DANAË. DETAIL
Rome, Borghese Gallery

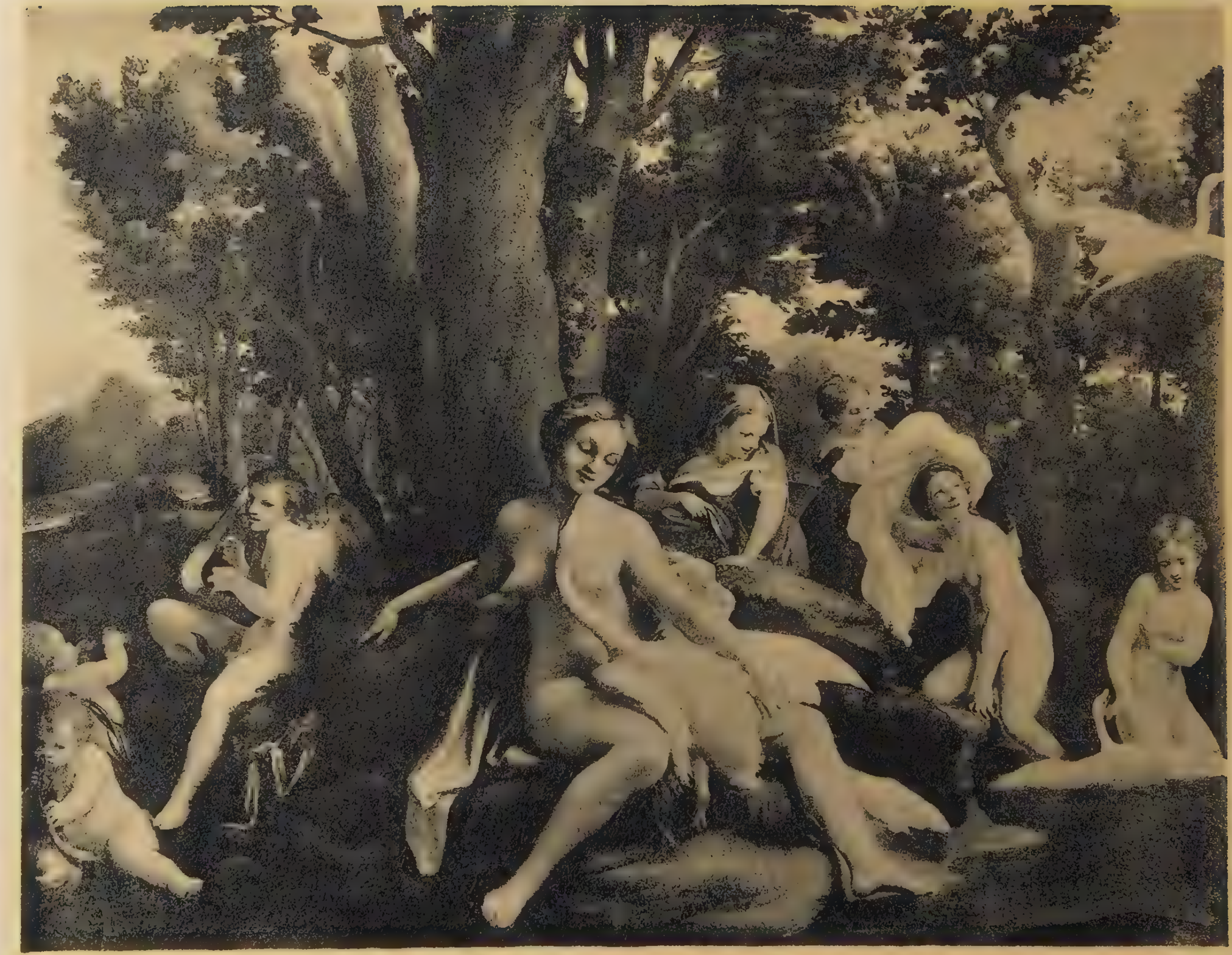
(Photo. Anderson)



CCXXXIX

DANAË. DETAIL
Rome, Borghese Gallery

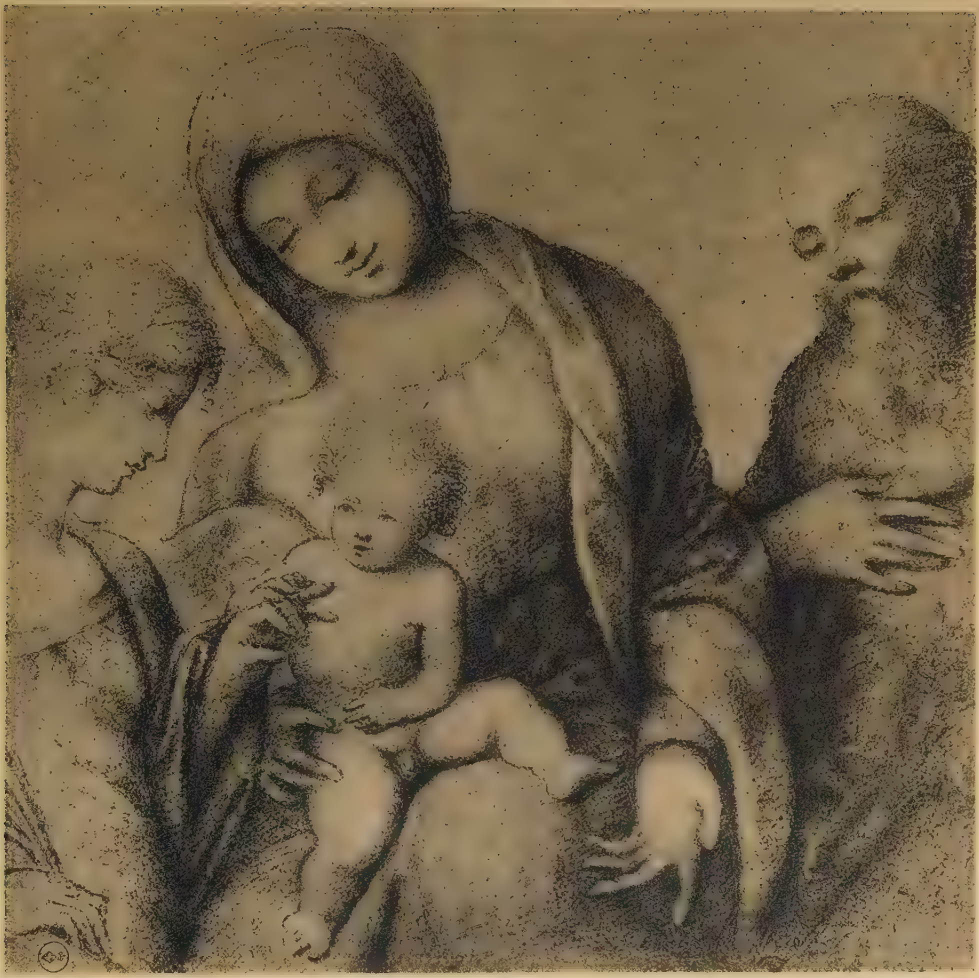
(Photo. Anderson)



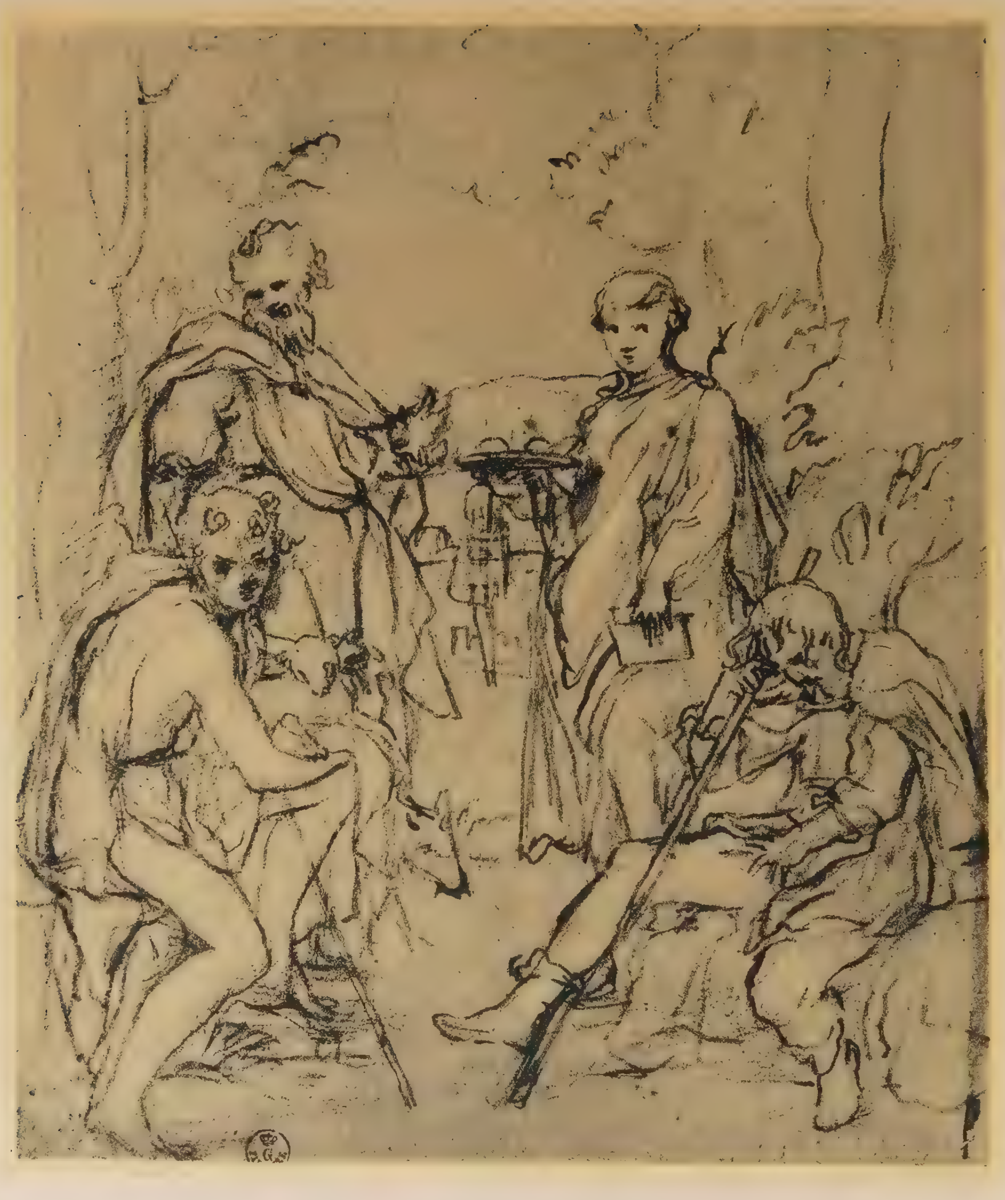
CCXL

LEDA
Berlin, Art Gallery

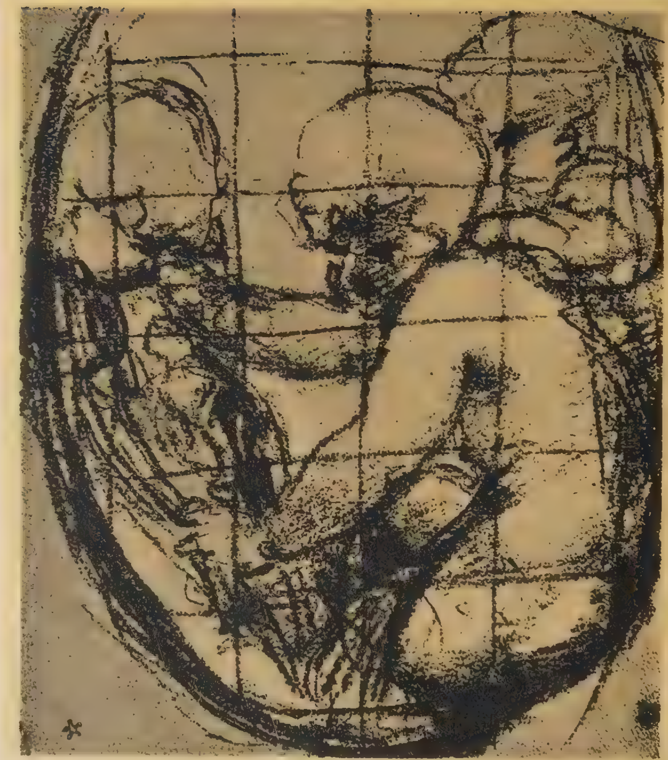
(Photo. Bruckmann)



CCXLI Drawing for a MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE (Photo. Anderson)
Turin, Royal Library

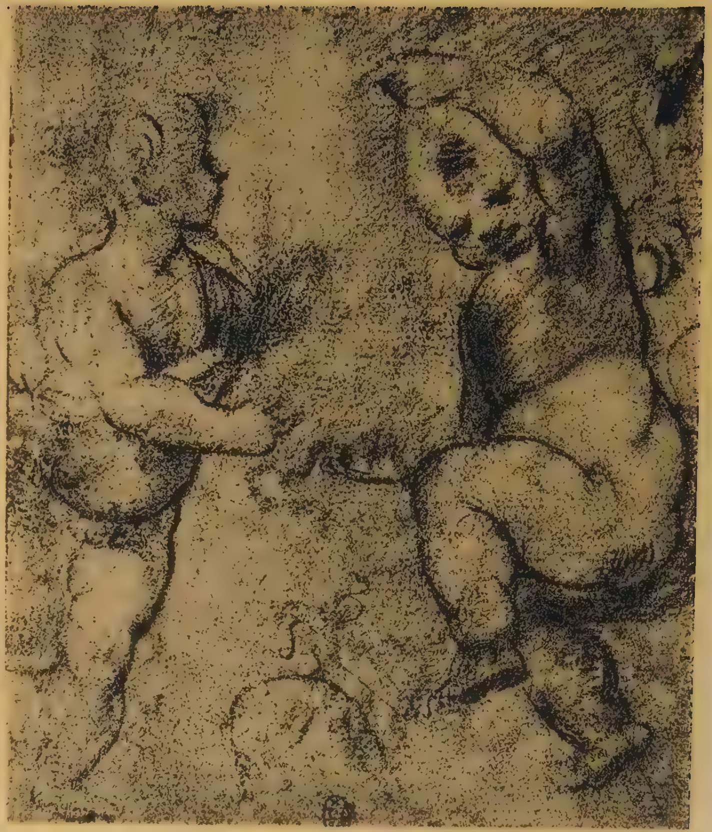


CCXLII Drawing for a picture of FOUR SAINTS. *(Photo. Royal Conservatory, Florence)*
SS. JOHN THE BAPTIST, ANTHONY THE ABBOT, AGATHA, AND ROCH
Florence, Uffizi Gallery



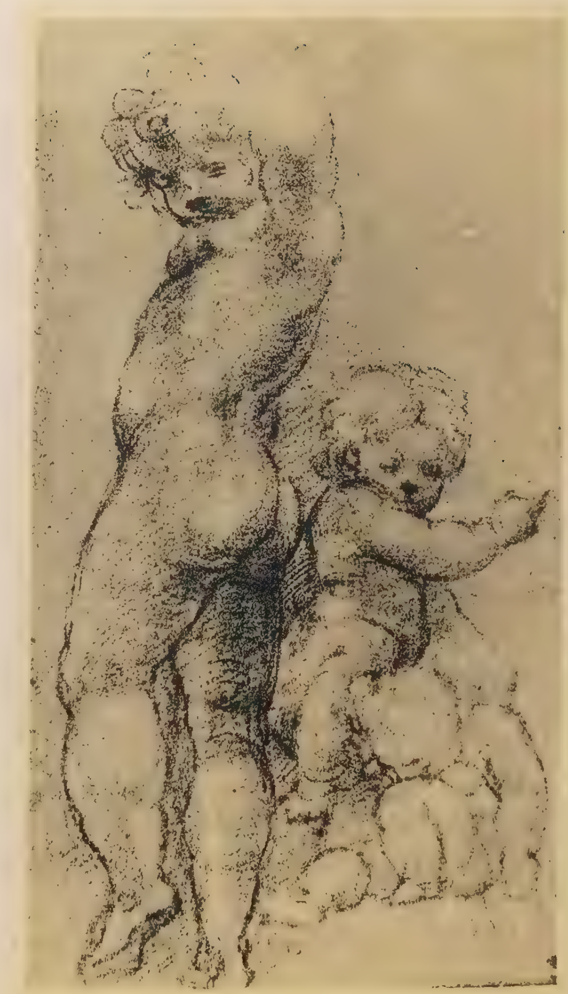
CCXLI

a. PUTTI
Drawing for the Camera di S. Paolo
London, Wilton House



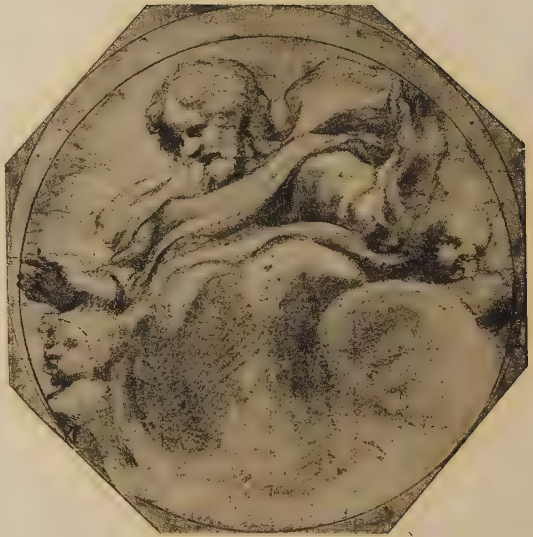
b. PUTTI
Drawing for the Camera di S. Paolo
Hamburg, Art Gallery

(Photo. Rompel)



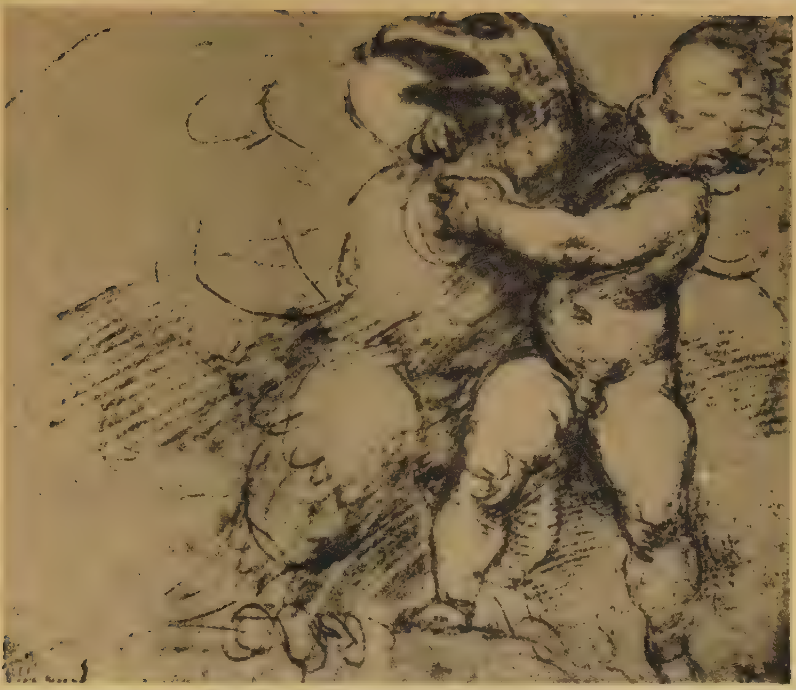
CCXLIV

a. PUTTI
Drawing
London, Wilton House

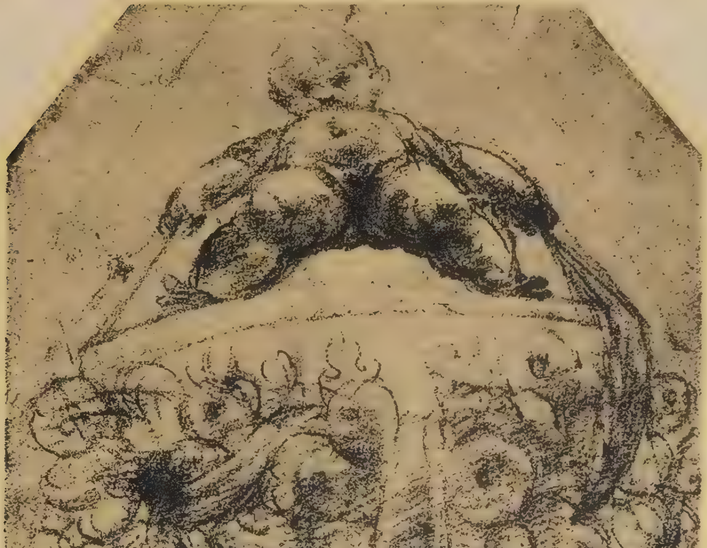


b. THE REDEEMER IN GLORY
Drawing
Chatsworth, Collection of the Duke of Devonshire

a.



b.

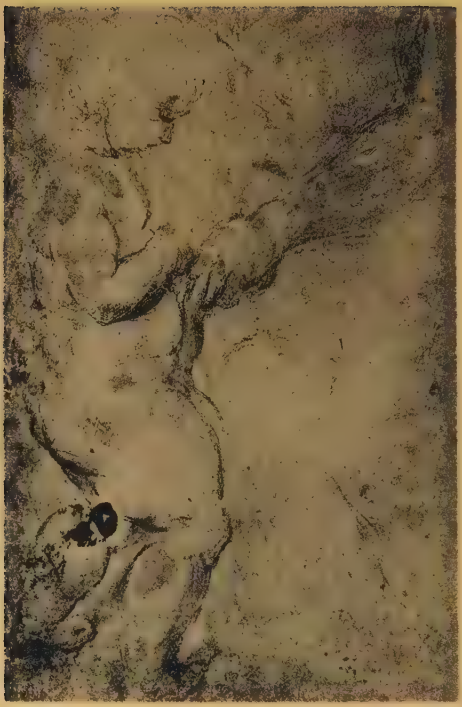


CCXLV

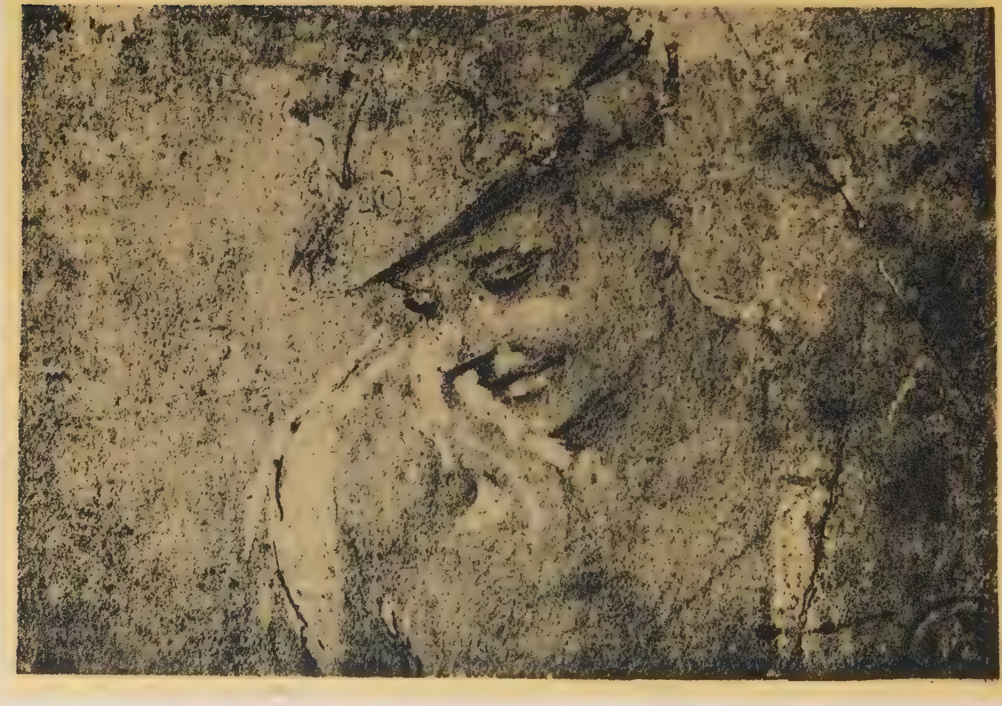
a. PUTTO WITH THE SYMBOL OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST
London, Collection of Robert Witt

b. PUTTO WITH FRUIT
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum

a.



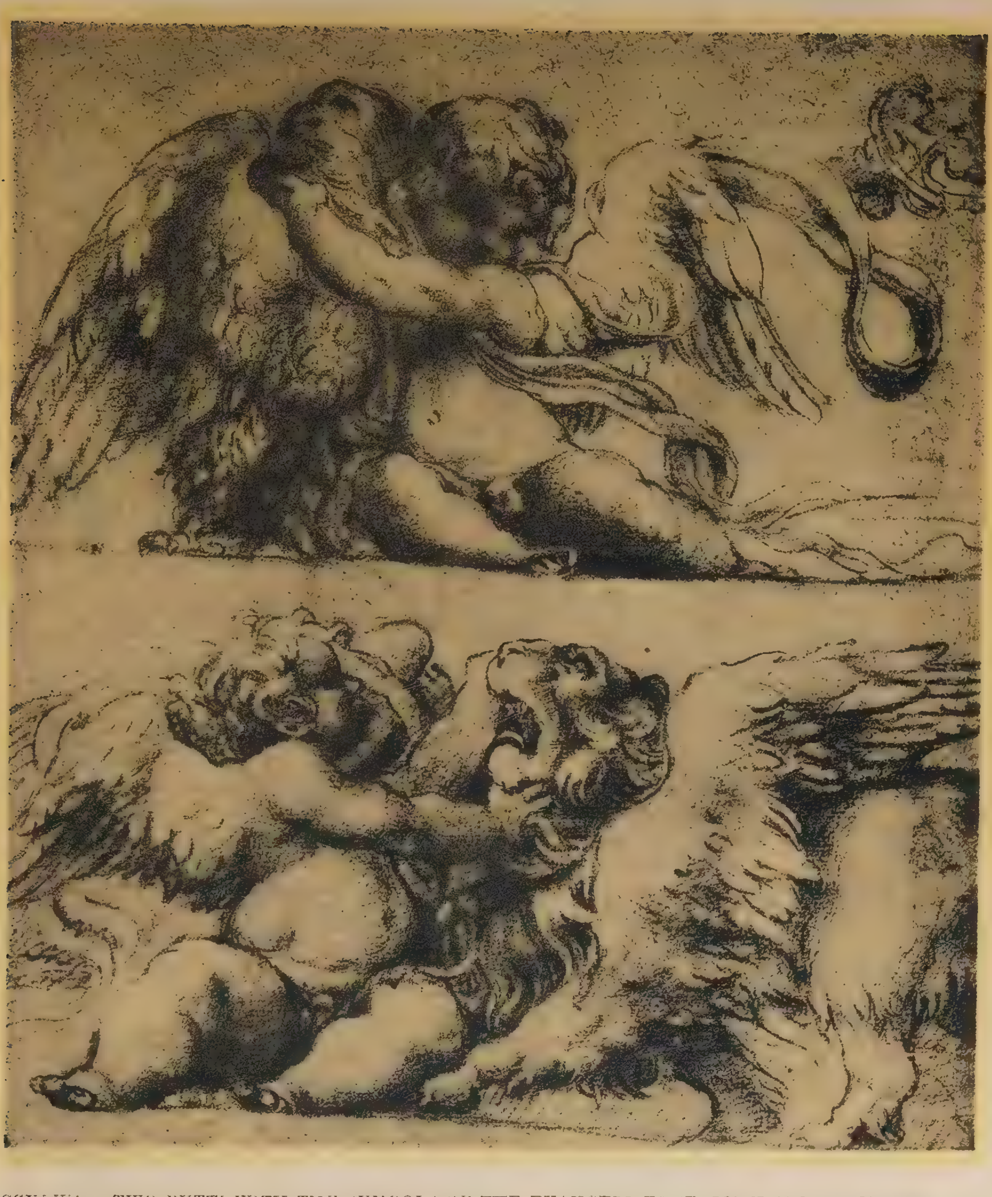
b.



CCXLVI

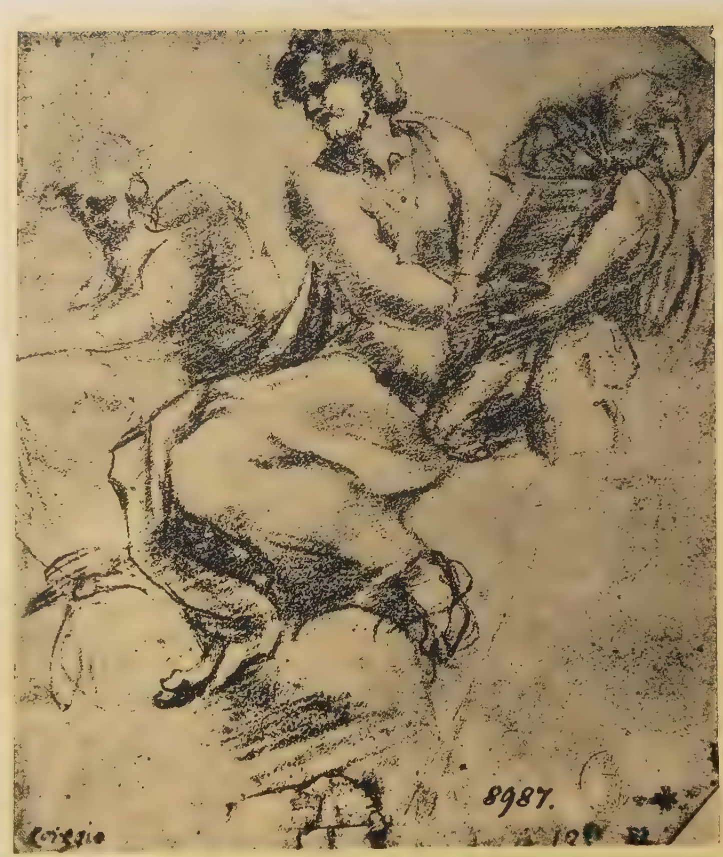
a. CUPID. Drawing for the School of Love (*British Museum Photograph*)
London, British Museum

b. HEAD OF MERCURY (*Photo. Royal Conservatory, Florence*
Drawing for the School of Love
Florence, Uffizi Gallery



CCXLVII TWO PUTTI WITH THE SYMBOLS OF THE EVANGELISTS ST. JOHN AND ST. MARK

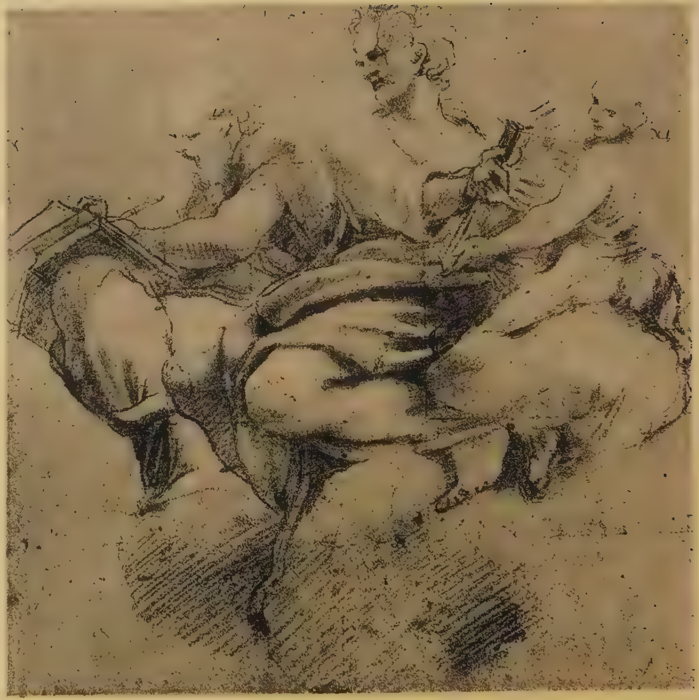
Paris, Louvre *(Photo. Alinari)*



CCXLVIII

a. ST. MATTHEW AND ST. JEROME

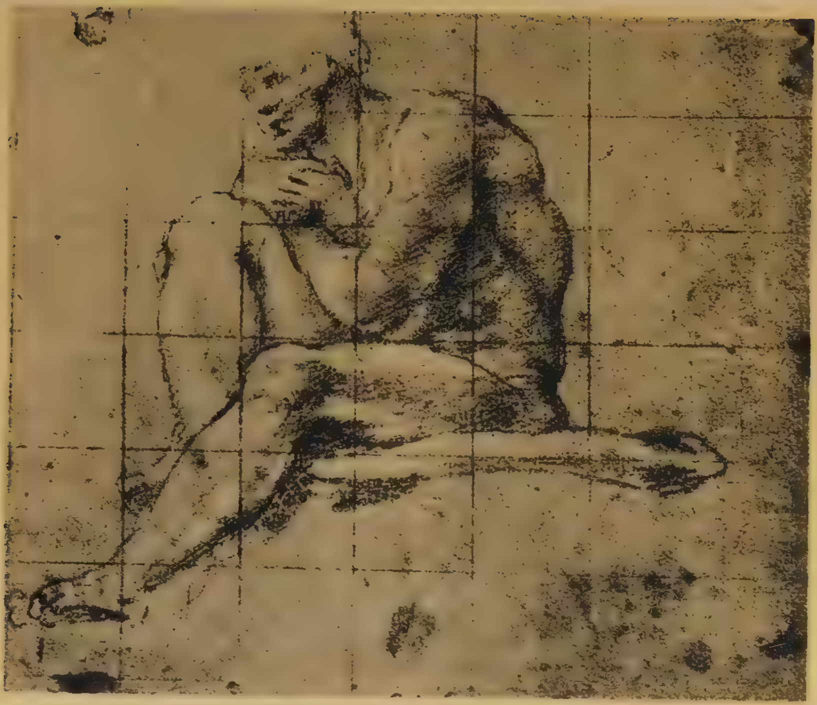
DRAWING FOR ONE OF THE PENDENTIVES
OF THE CUPOLA OF S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA, PARMA
Munich, Graphische Sammlung



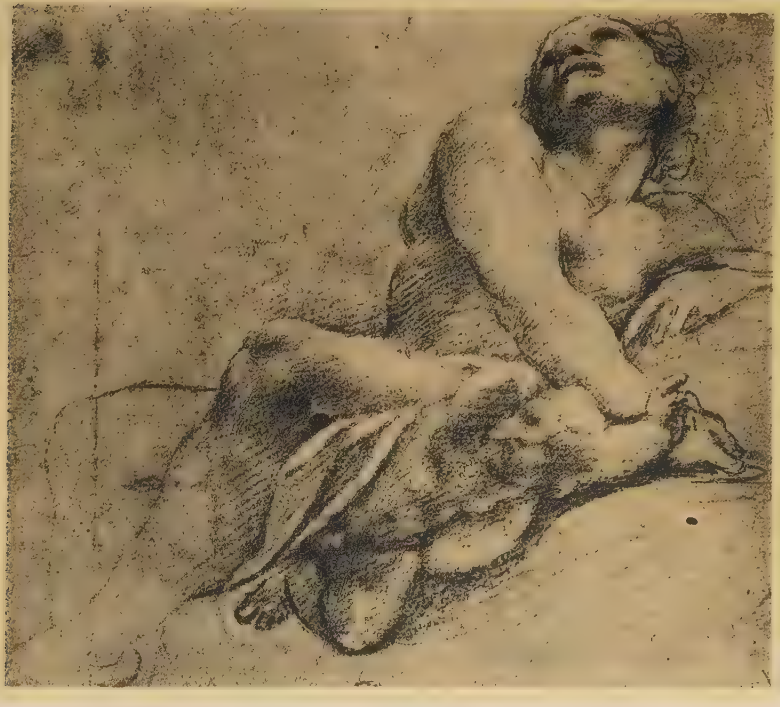
b. ST. MATTHEW AND ST. JEROME

DRAWING FOR ONE OF THE PENDENTIVES
OF THE CUPOLA OF S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA, PARMA
Royal Library, Windsor Castle

a.



b.

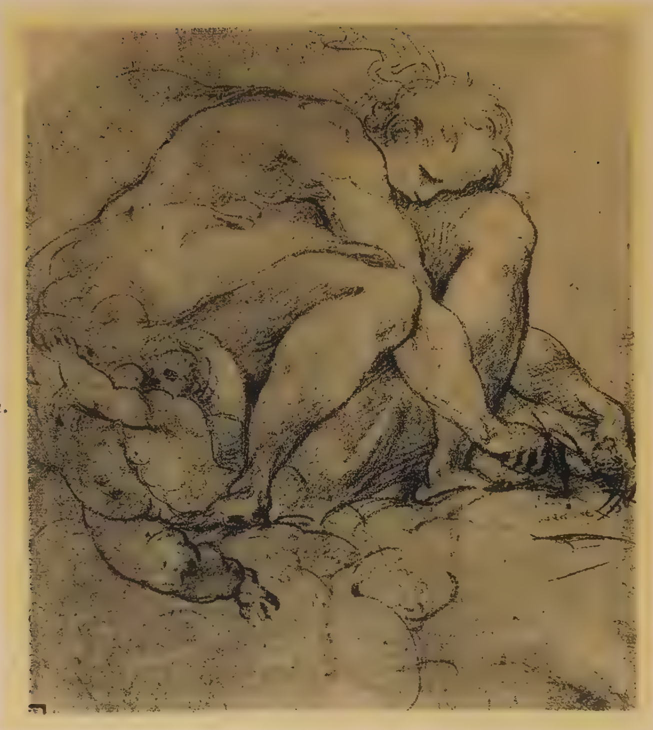


CCXLIX

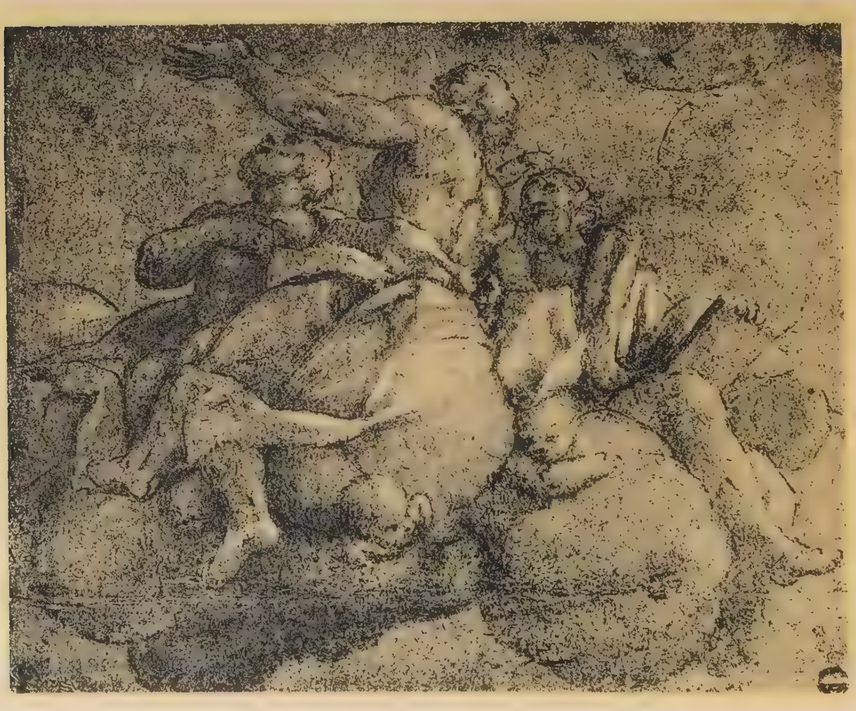
a. Drawing for the figure of ST. PAUL
for the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma
Vienna, Albertina library

b. Drawing for the figure of ST. JAMES
for the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma
Paris, Louvre

a.



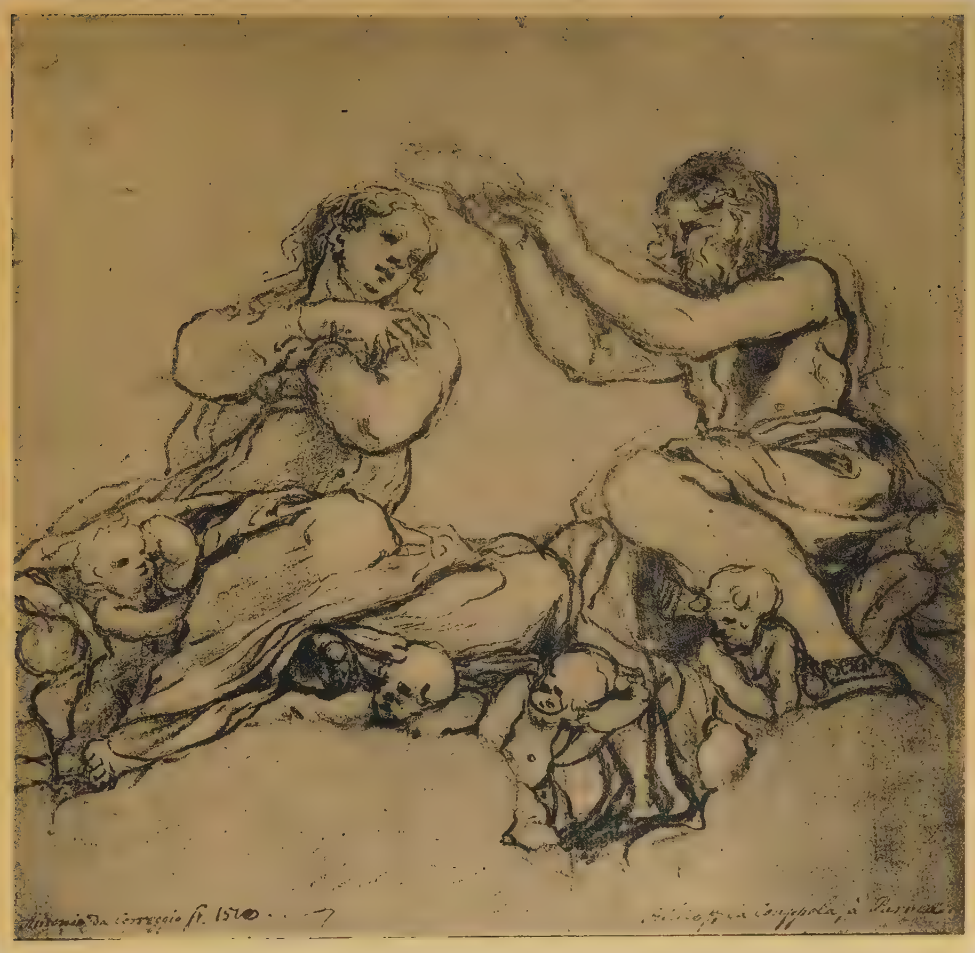
b.



CCL

Drawing for an APOSTLE
for the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma
London, British Museum

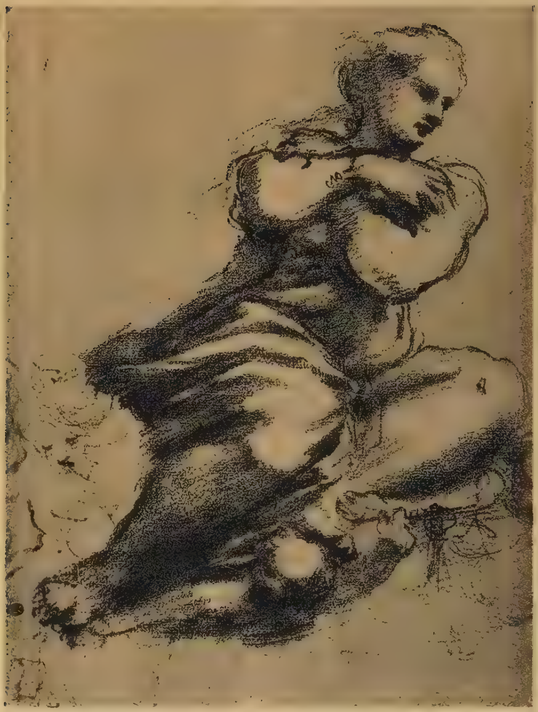
b. Group of SAINTS. *(Correggio ?)*
Drawing, presumably, for the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma
Vienna, Art Gallery


Antonio da correggio ft. 1520
cuppola, à Parma

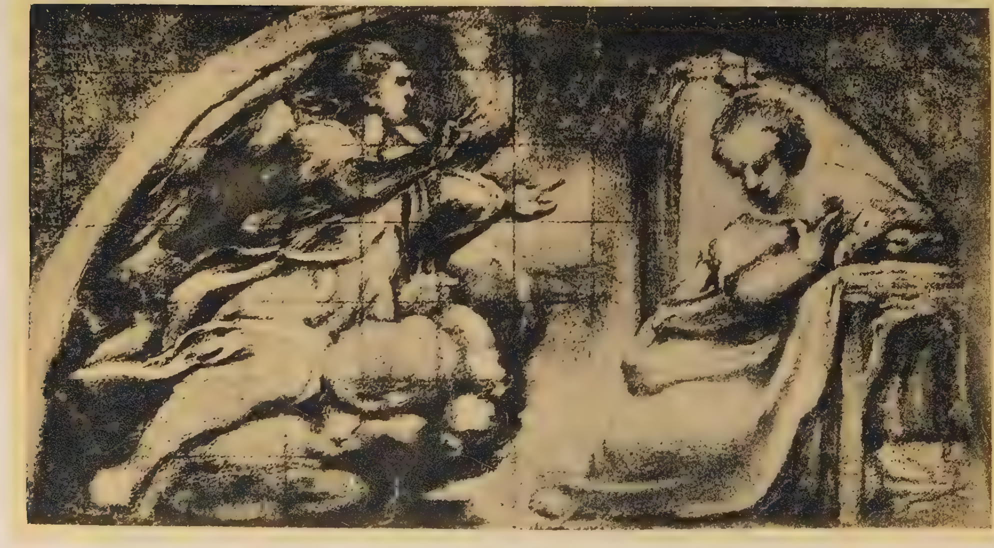
CCLI

DRAWING FOR THE CORONATION OF THE MADONNA
Weimar, Museum

a.



b.

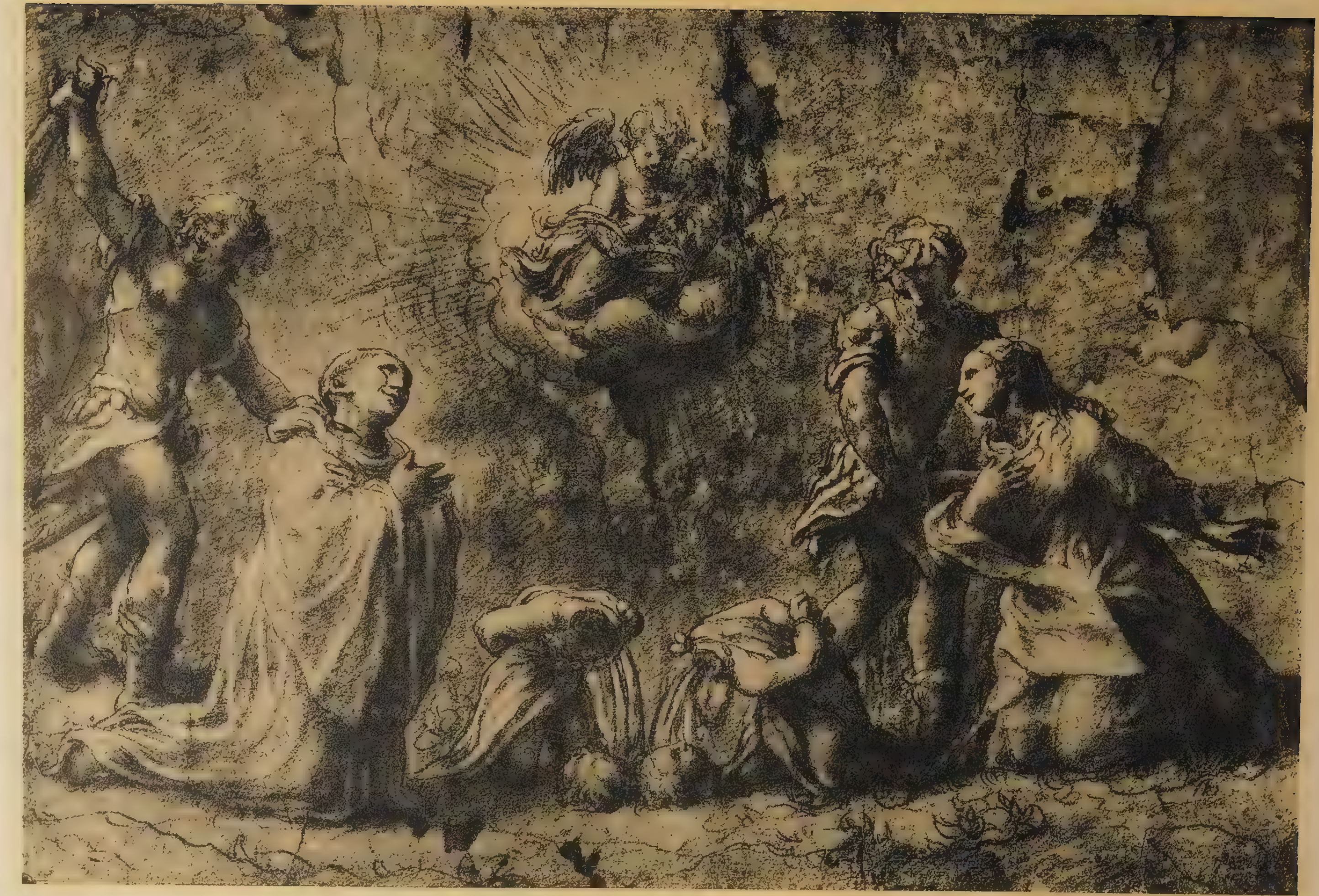


CCLII

a. DRAWING FOR THE CORONATION OF THE MADONNA
Paris, Louvre

(Photo. Alinari)

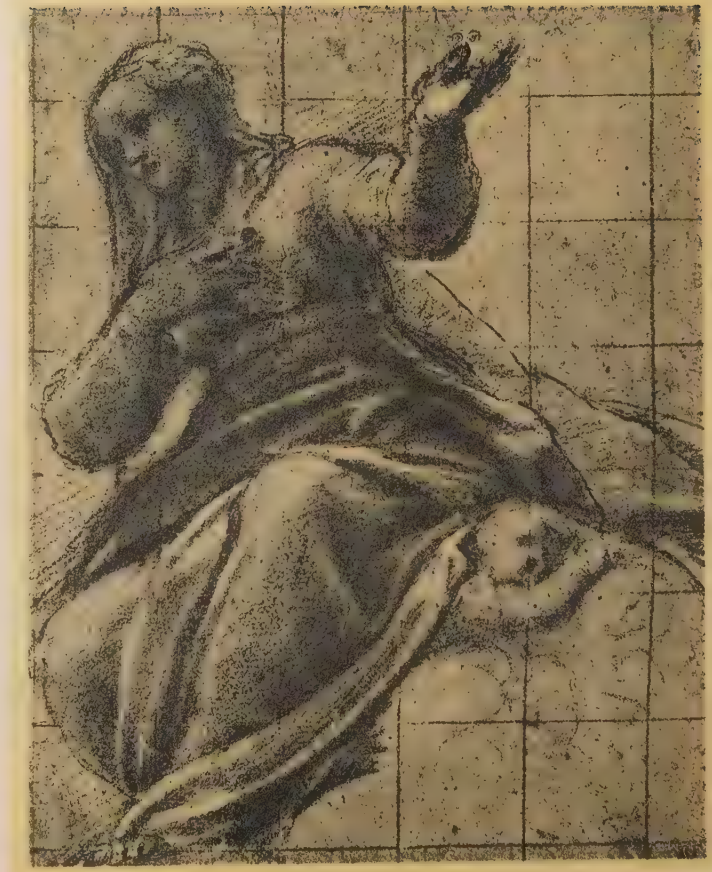
b. DRAWING FOR THE ANNUNCIATION
London, Wilton House



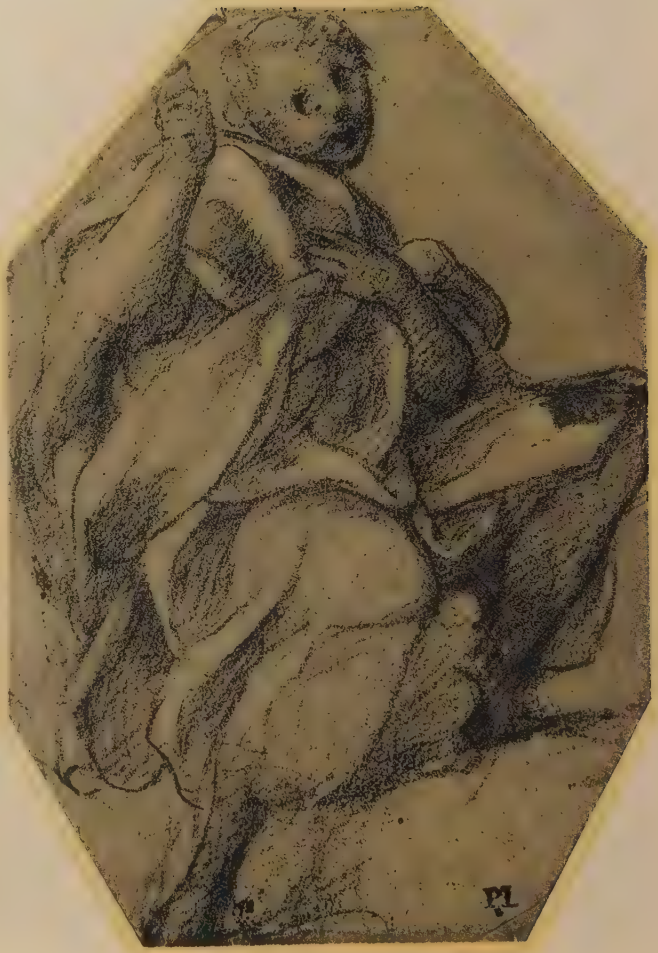
CCLII

DRAWING FOR THE MARTYRDOM OF SS. PLACIDUS, FLAVIA, EUTYCHIUS, AND VICTORINUS
Paris Louvre

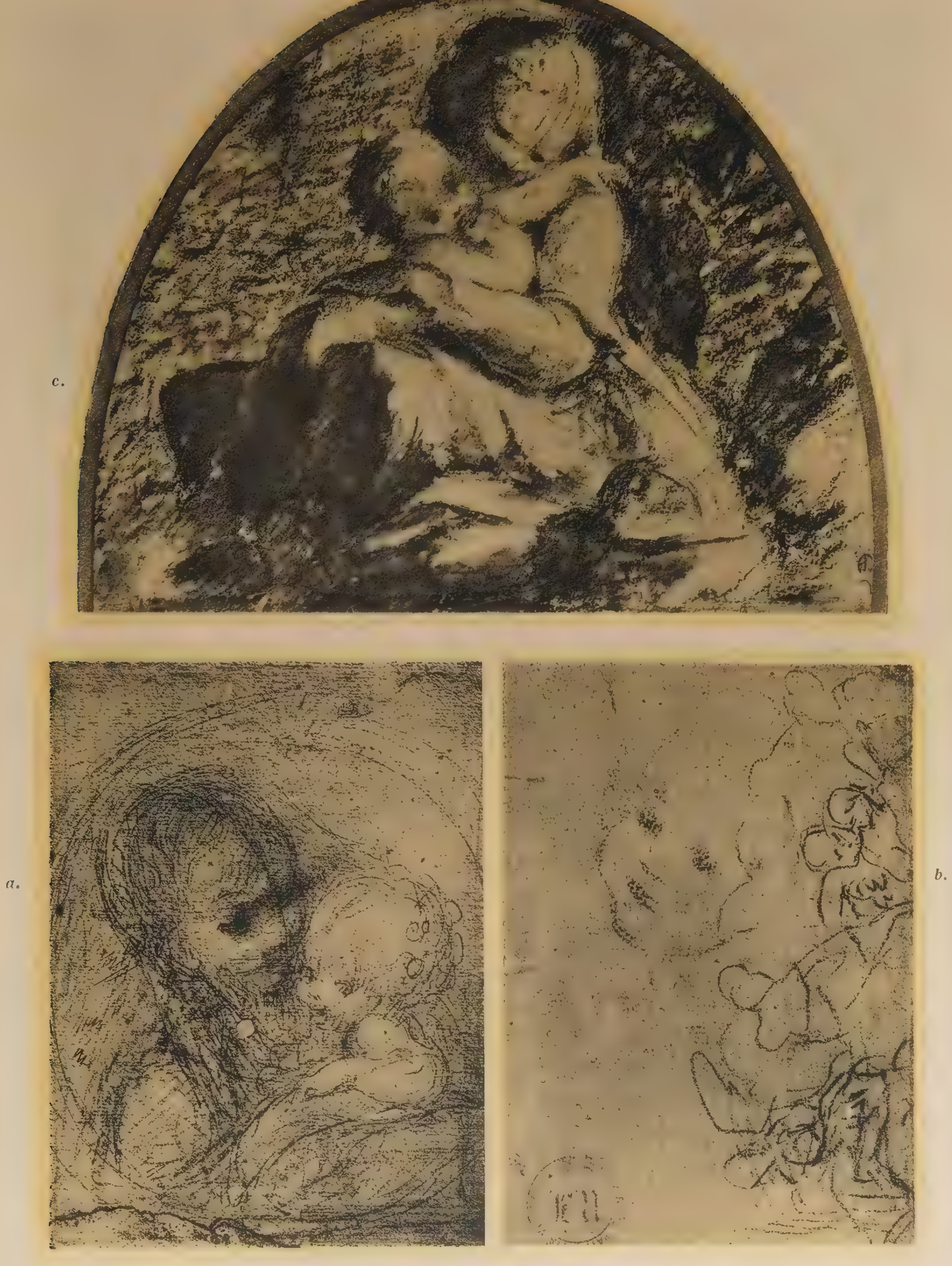
(Photo. Alinari)



CCLIV *a.* THE MADONNA OF THE ANNUNCIATION. *(Correggio ?)*
Paris, Louvre



b. THE ANGEL *(Photo. Alinari)*
London, British Museum



CCLV

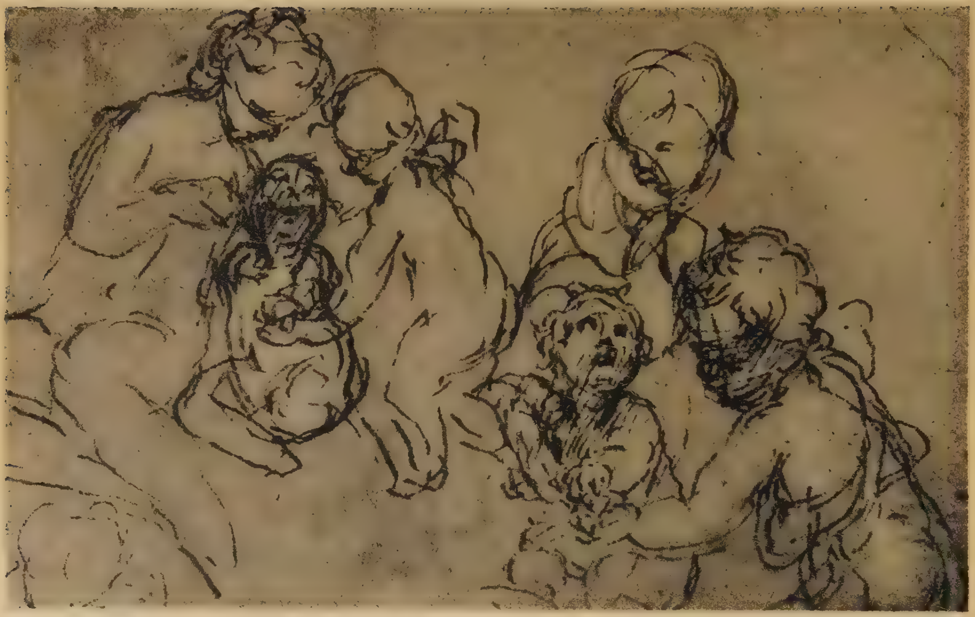
a. THE MADONNA AND CHILD
Milan, [illegible]bini Collection

b. SKETCH FOR THE MADONNA OF THE BOWL
London, Oppenheimer Collection

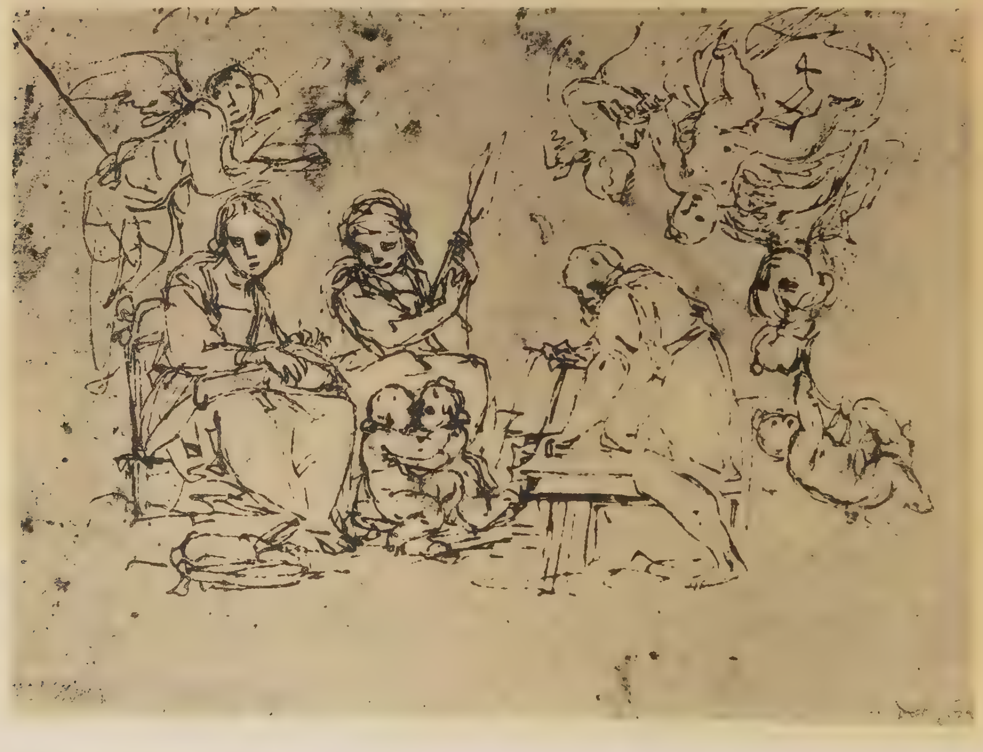
c. THE MADONNA OF THE LADDER
London, British Museum

(Photo. Anderson)

a.



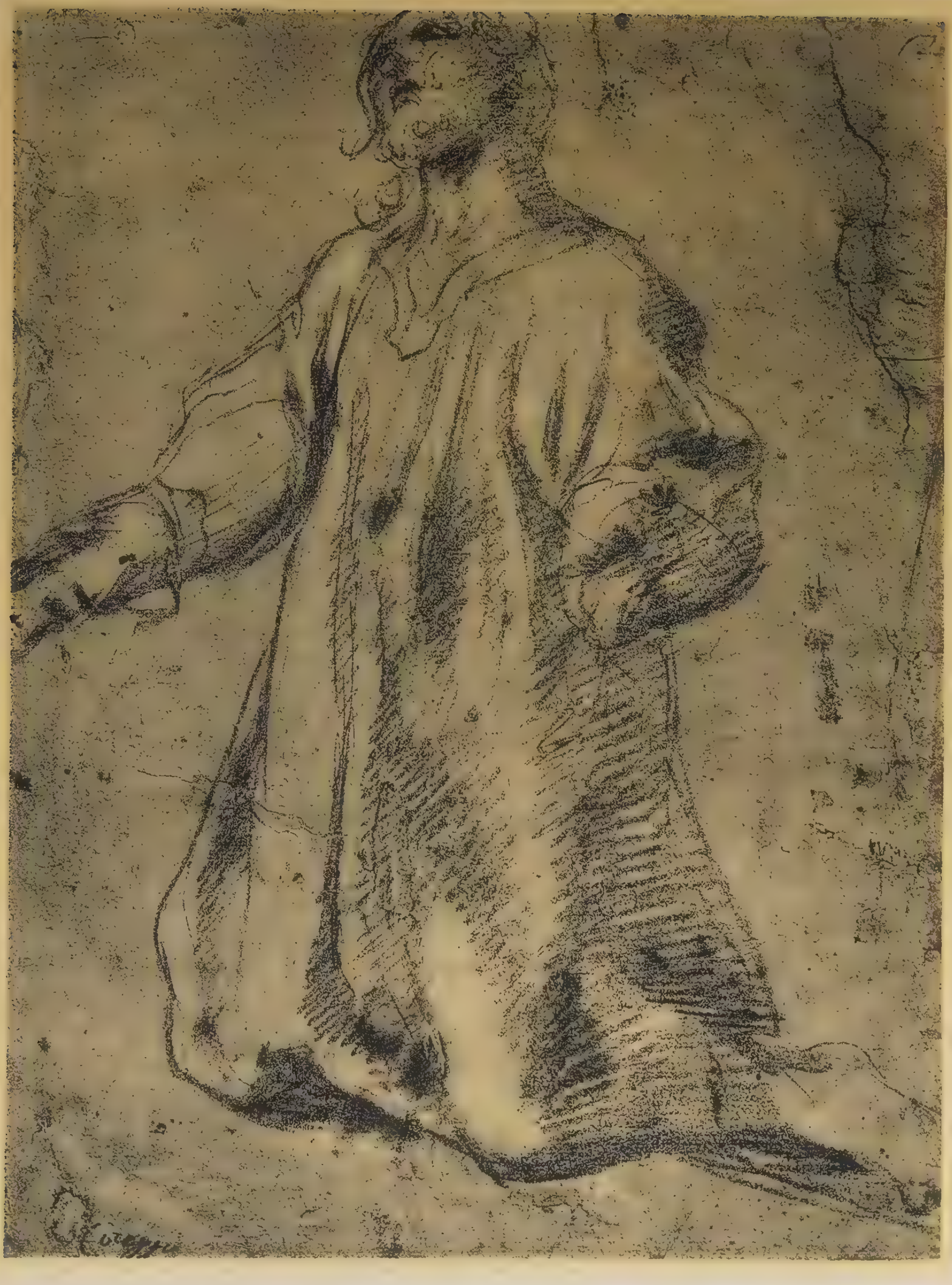
b.



CCLV.

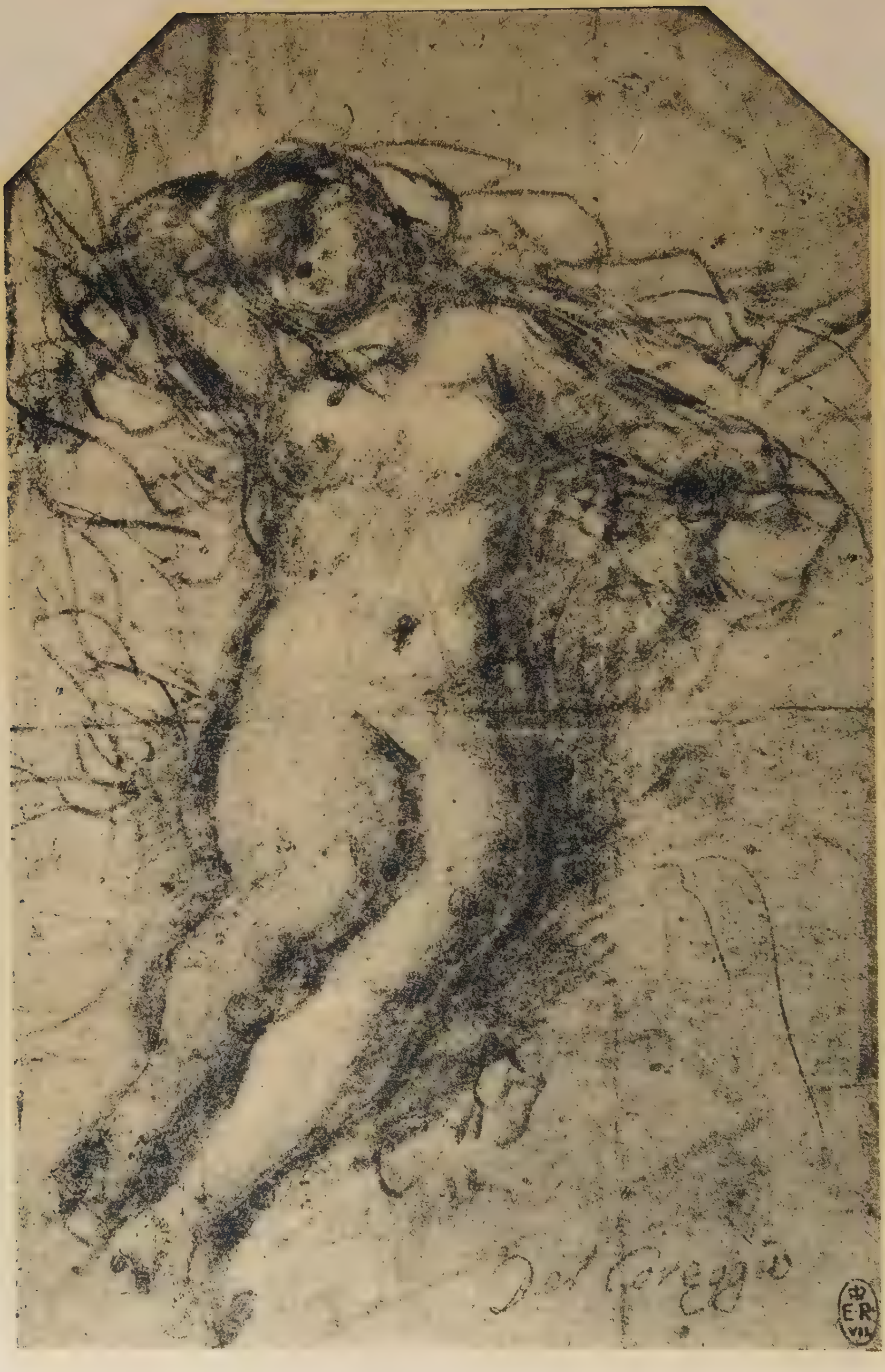
a. SKETCH. PERHAPS FOR THE MADONNA FEEDING HER CHILD
New Haven, U. S. A., School of Fine Art

b. SKETCH FOR THE MADONNA OF THE BASKET
Vienna, Albertina library



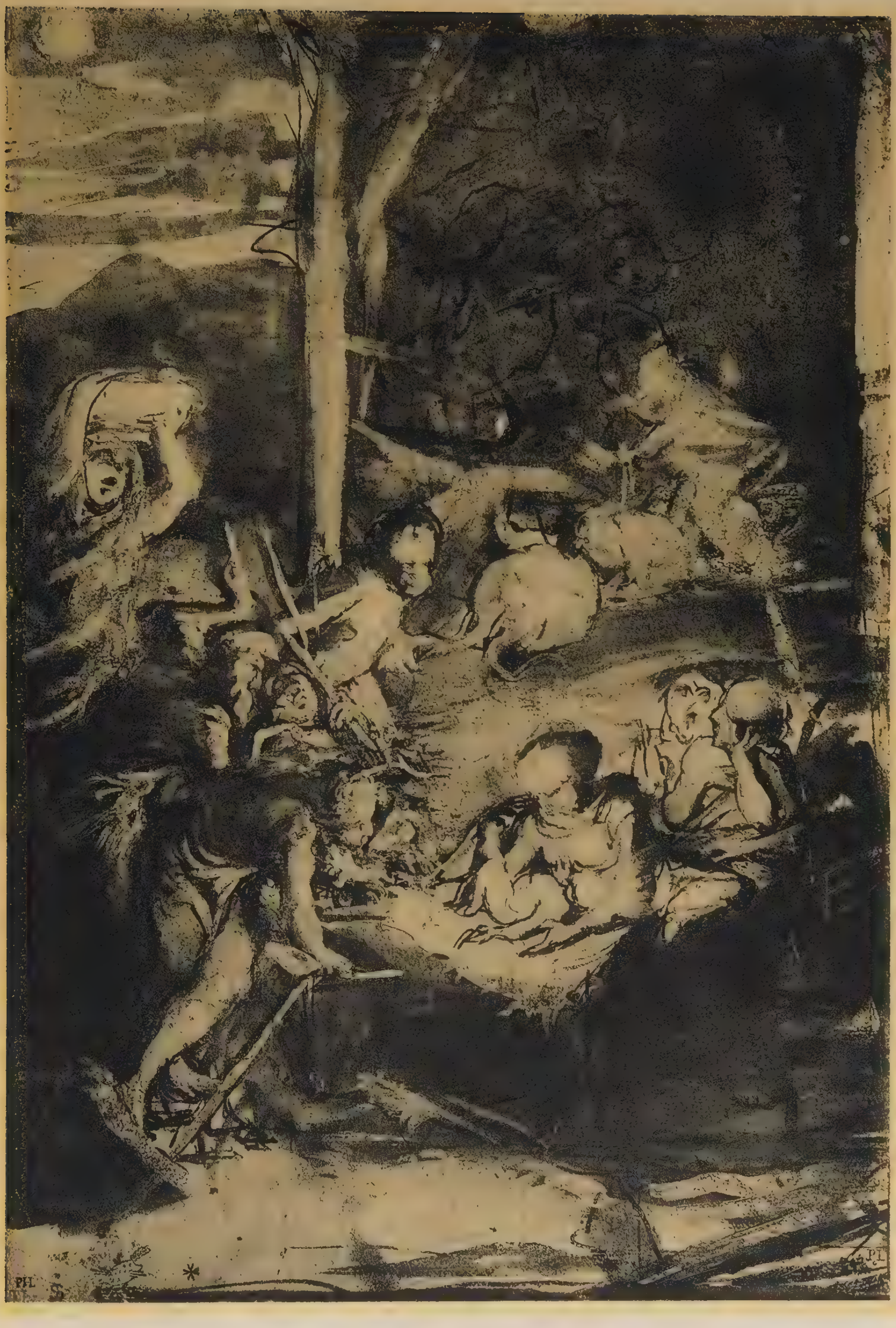
CCLVII Drawing for CHRIST IN THE GARDEN OF OLIVES

London, British Museum



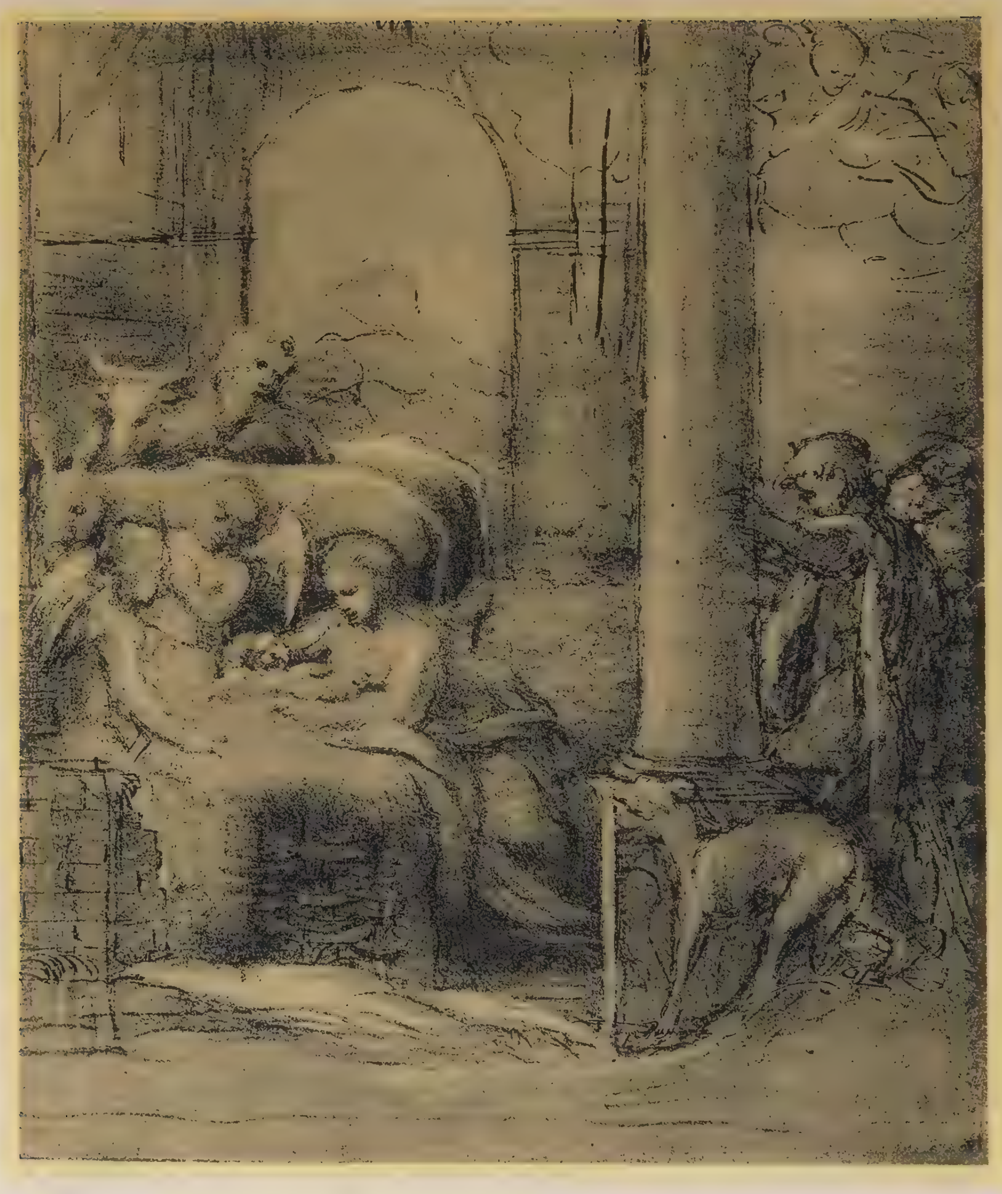
CCLVIII

Drawing for ANTIOPE
Royal Library, Windsor Castle



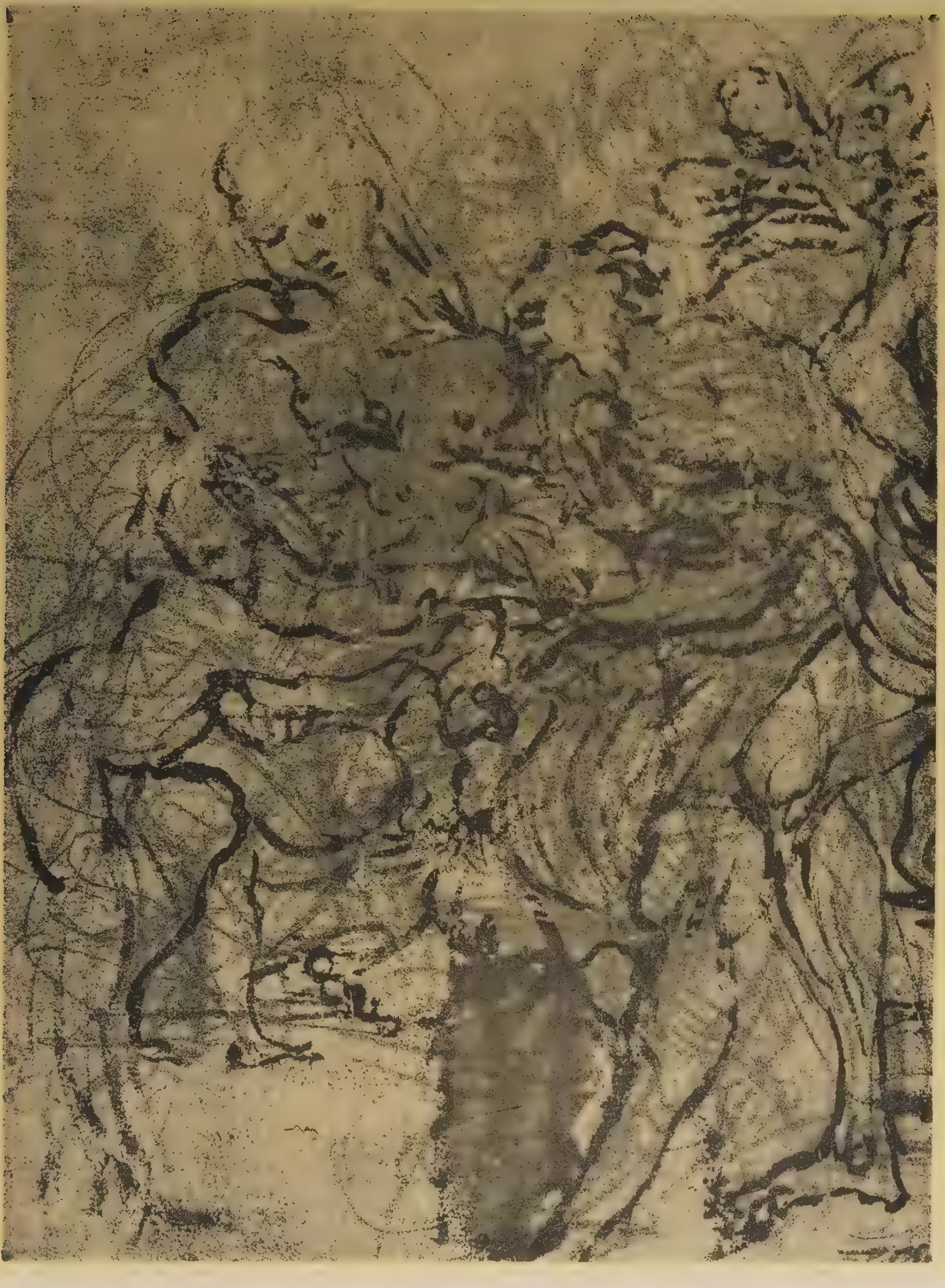
CCLIX DRAWING FOR "NIGHT" *(Photo. Anderson)*

London, British Museum



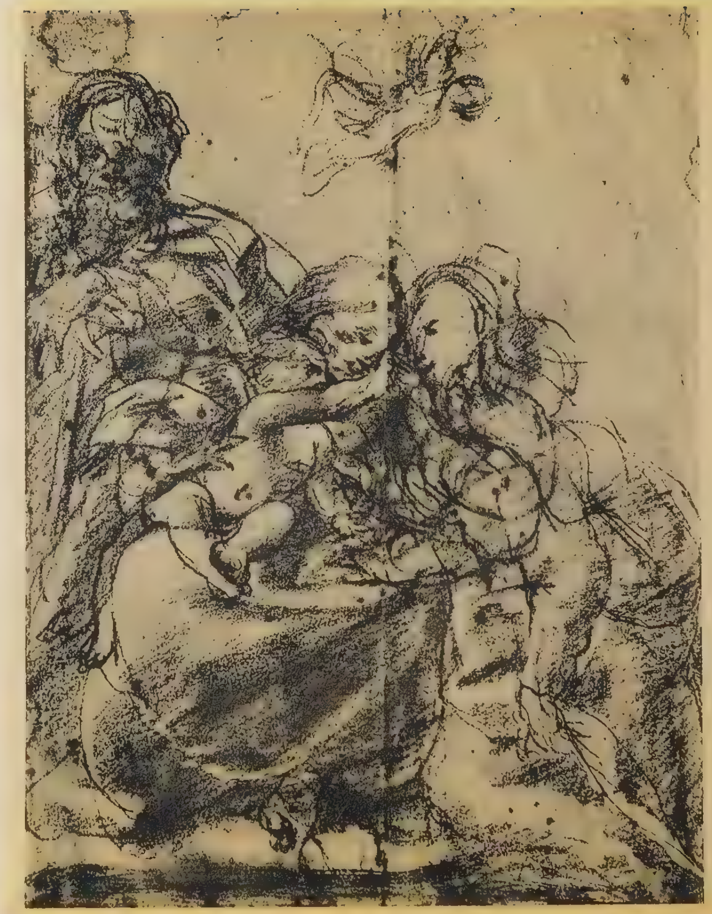
CCLX

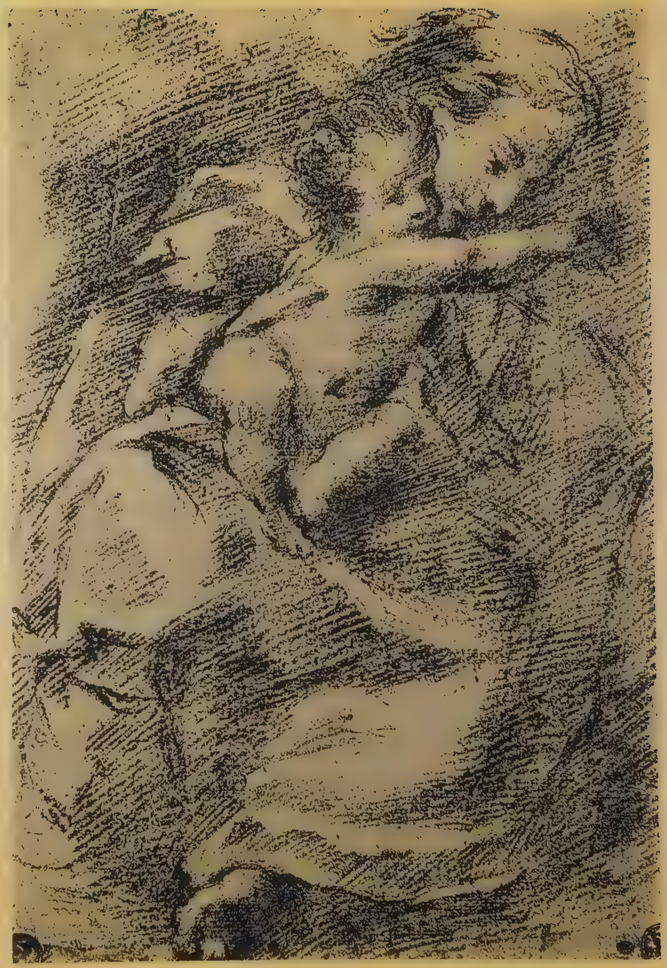
Drawing for THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS
London, Wilton House



CCLXI

SKETCH FOR THE MADONNA OF ST. JEROME
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



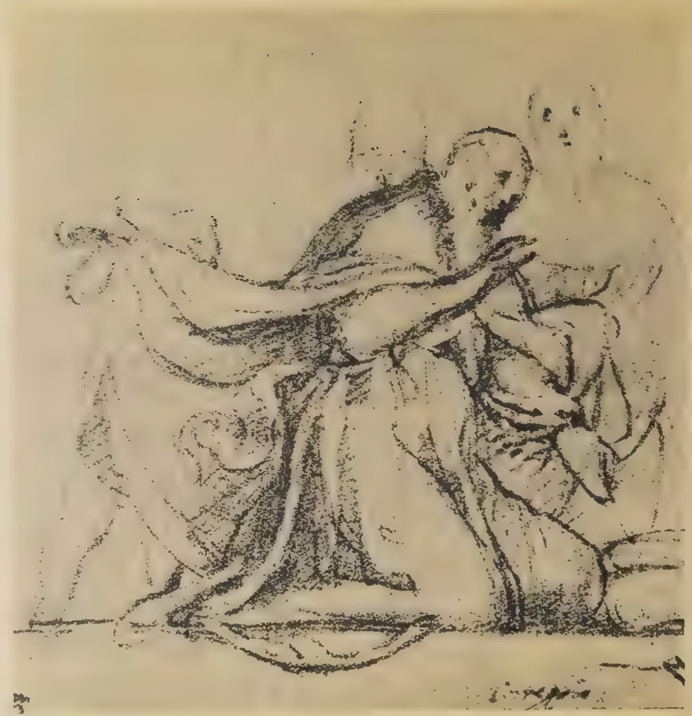


CCLXII

a. STUDY FOR A SACRED PICTURE
Weimar, Museum

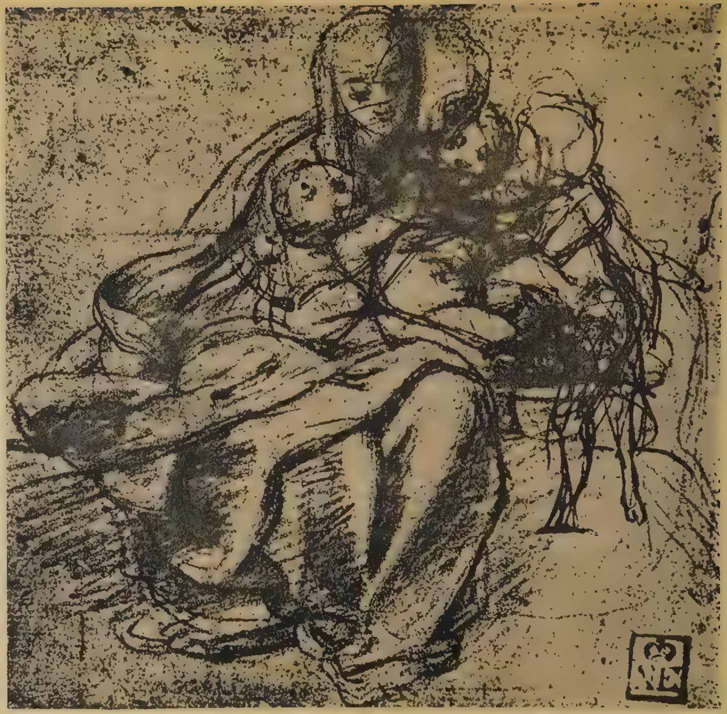
b. THE MADONNA AND CHILD
Paris, Louvre

(Photo. Alinari)

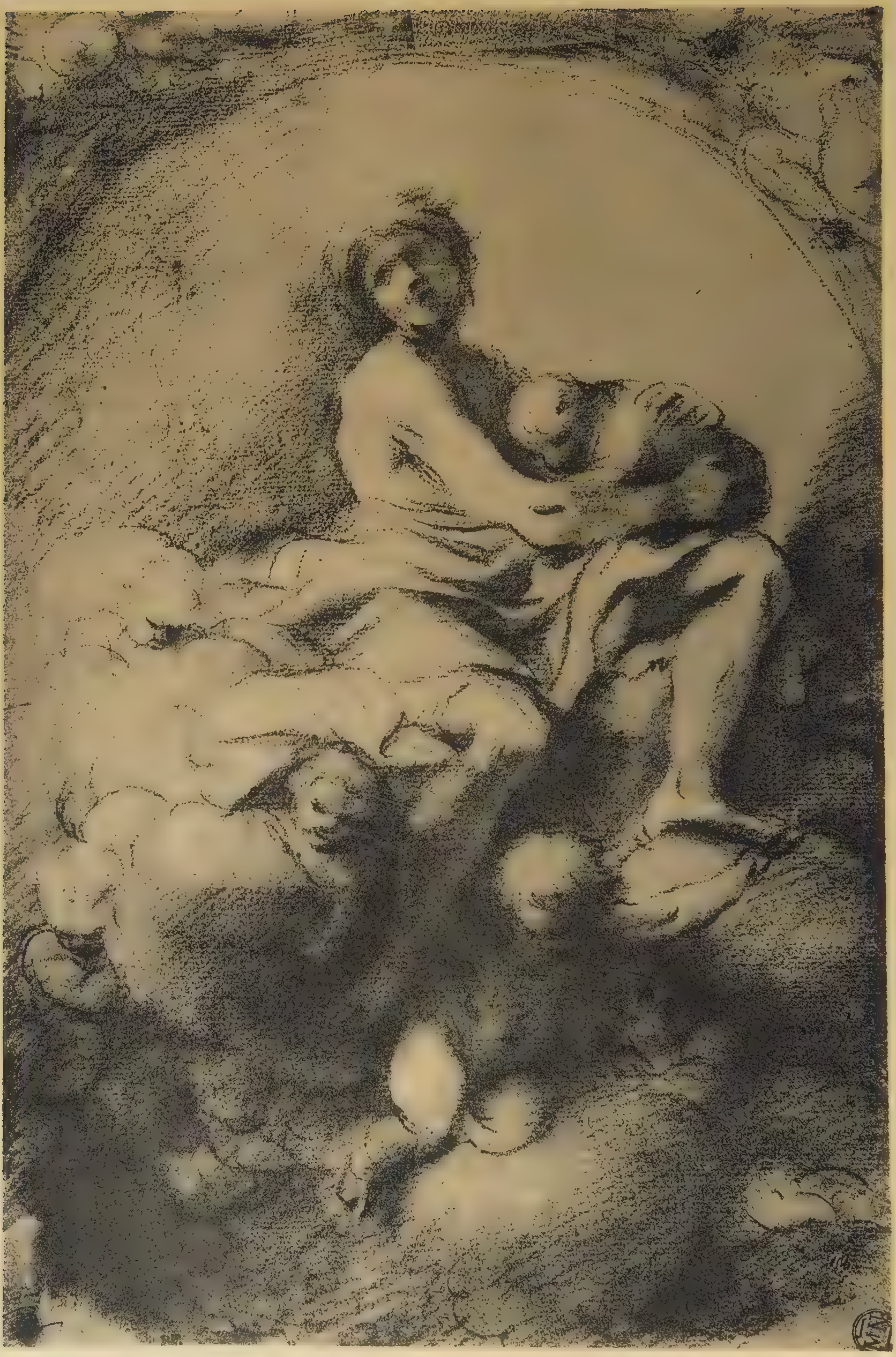


CCLXIII

a. DRAWING OF A KNEELING BISHOP
Chatsworth, Collection of the Duke of Devonshire



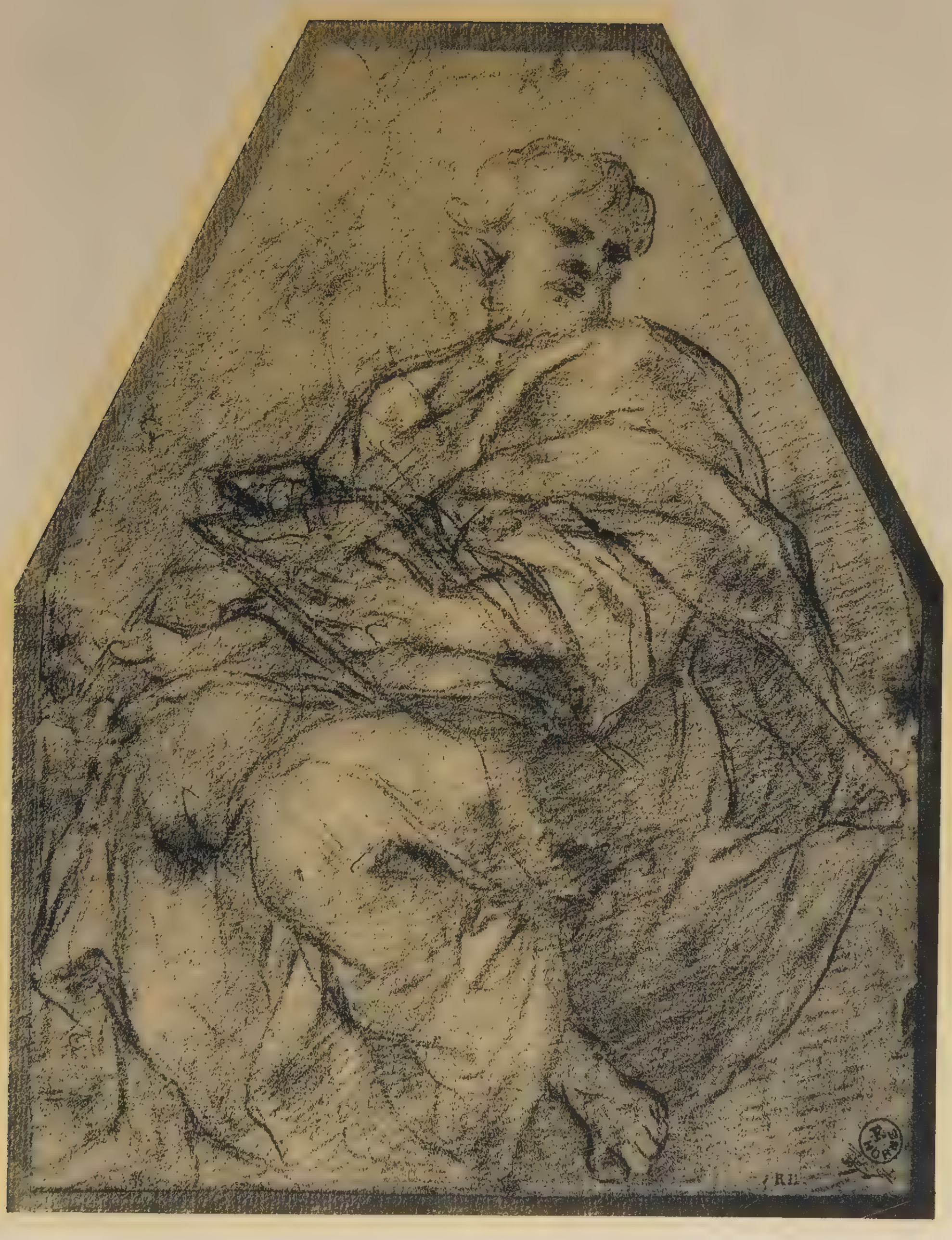
b. THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS
Budapest, Art Gallery



CCLXIV

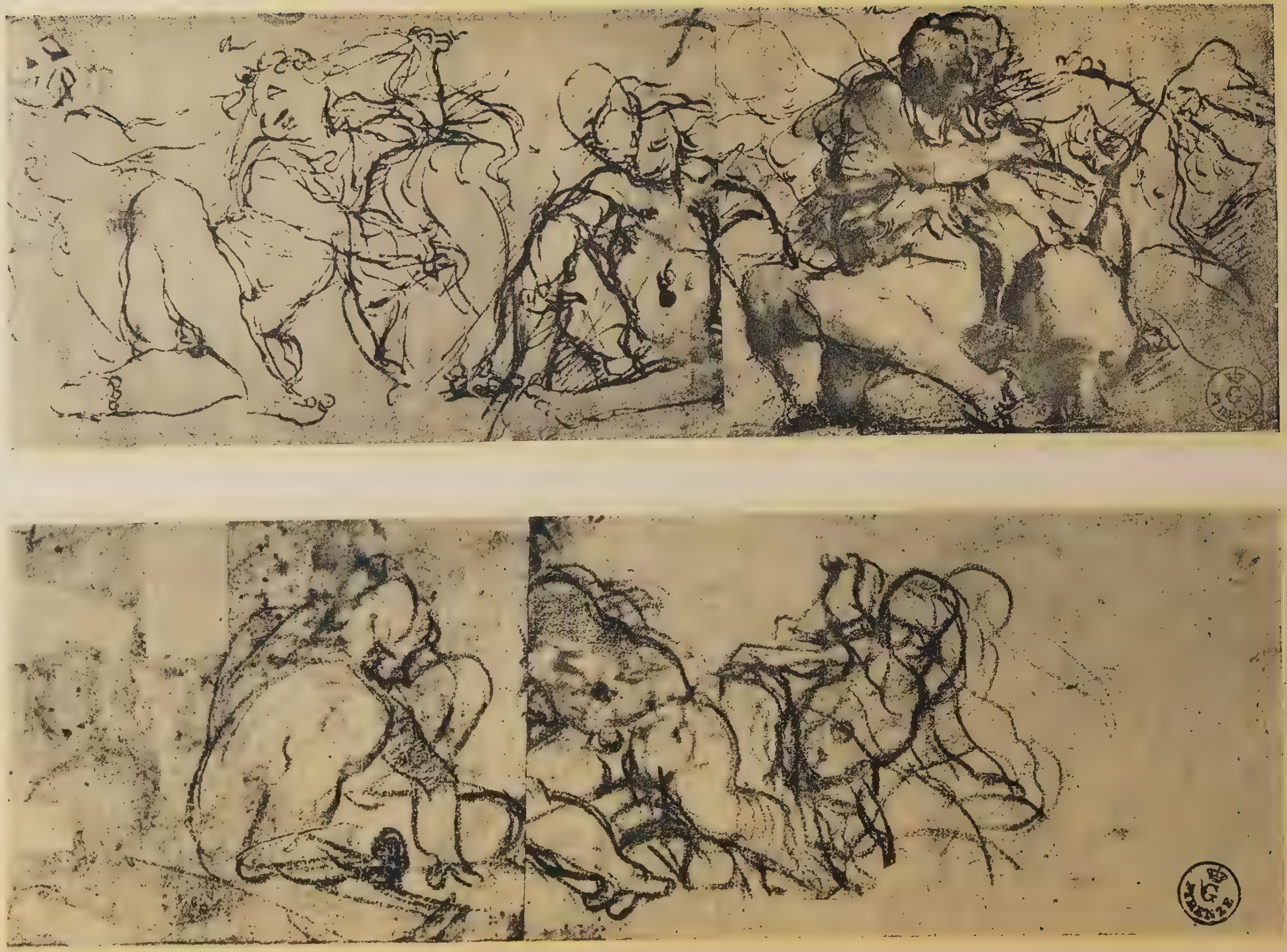
Sketch for ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST
for one of the pendentives of the cupola of Parma Cathedral
Paris, Louvre

(Photo. Alinari)



CCLXV

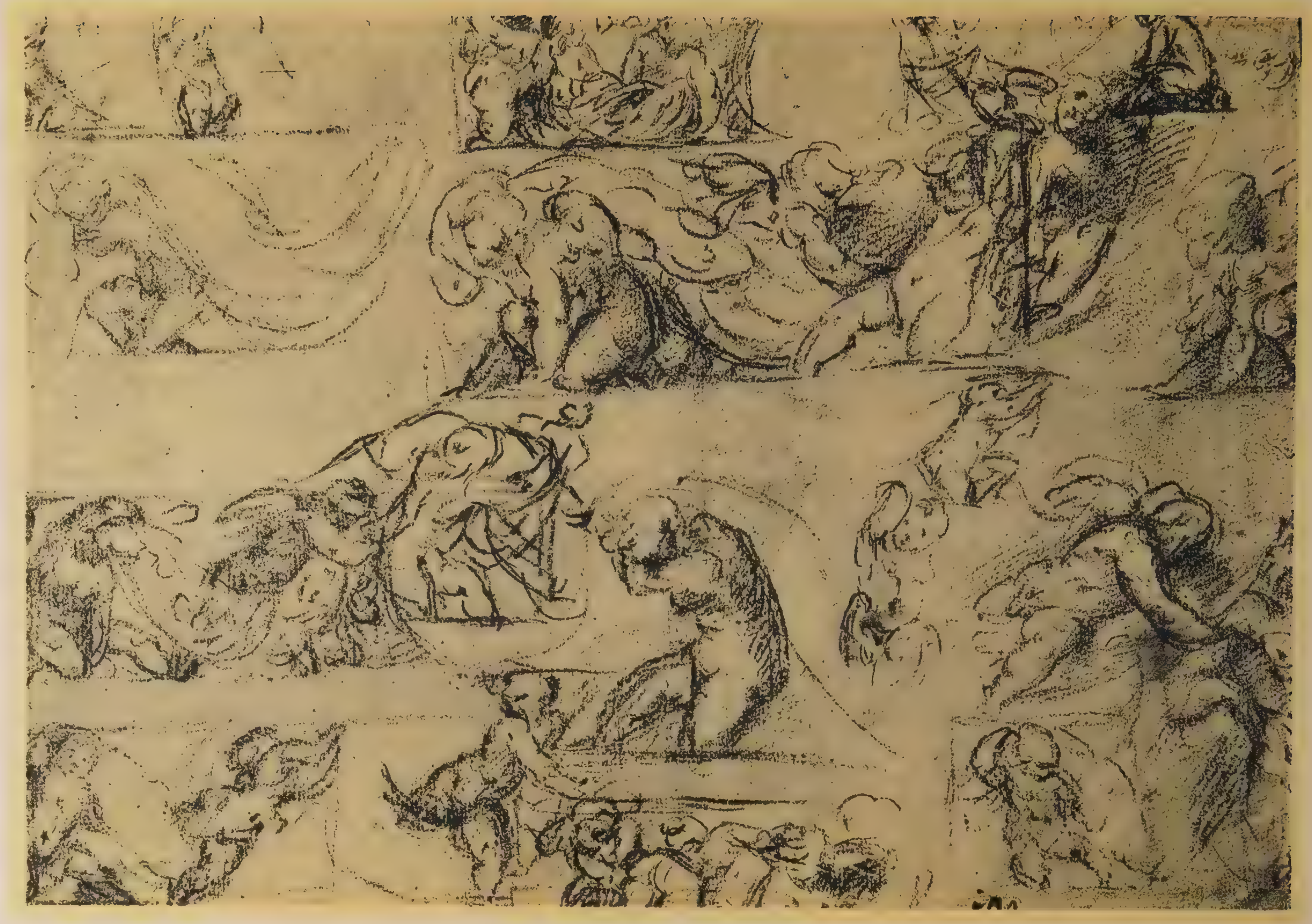
STUDY FOR A SAINT
Berlin, Grahl Collection



CCLXVI

SKETCH FOR A FRIEZE
Florence, Uffizi Gallery

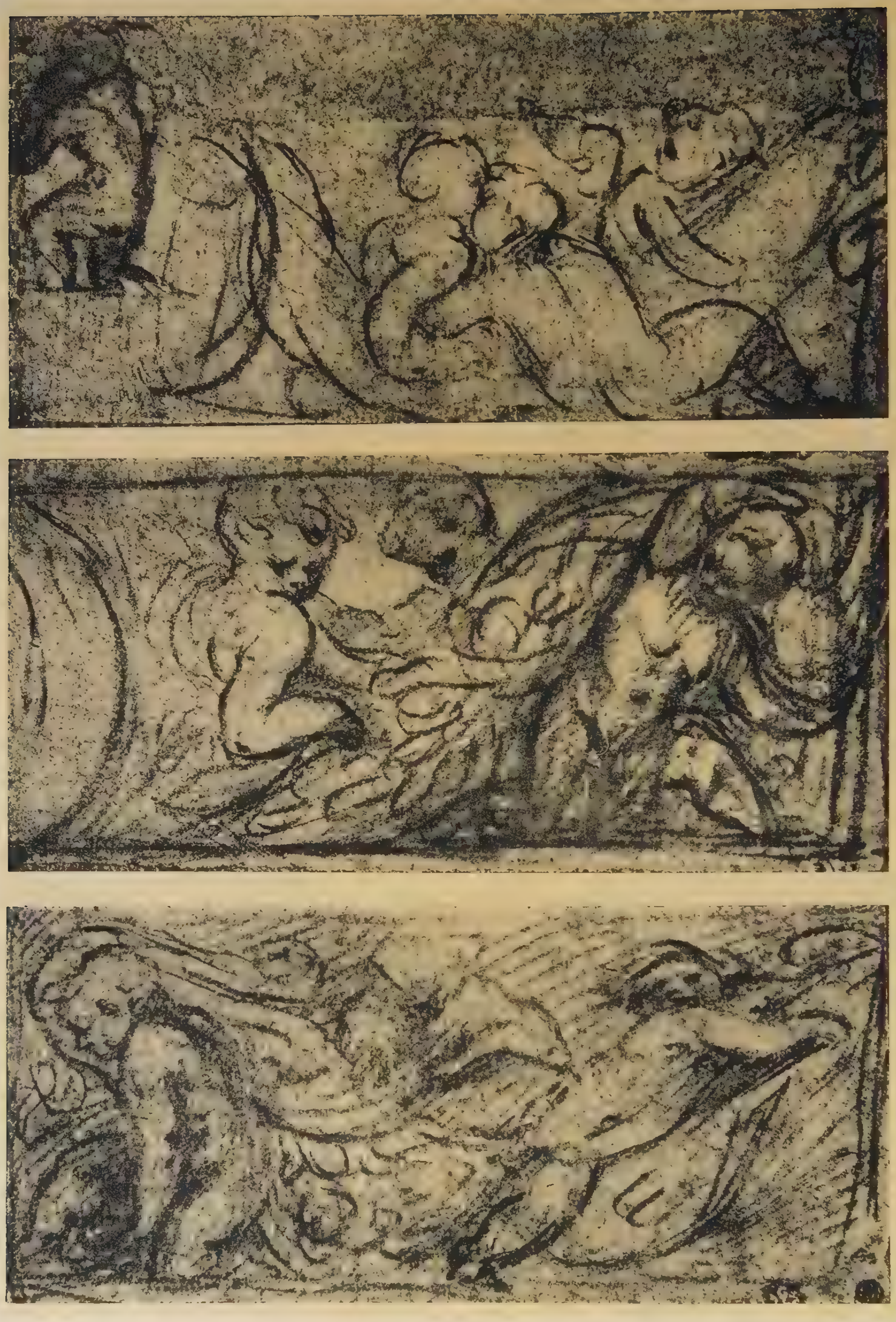
(Photo. Royal Conservatory, Florence)



CCLXVII

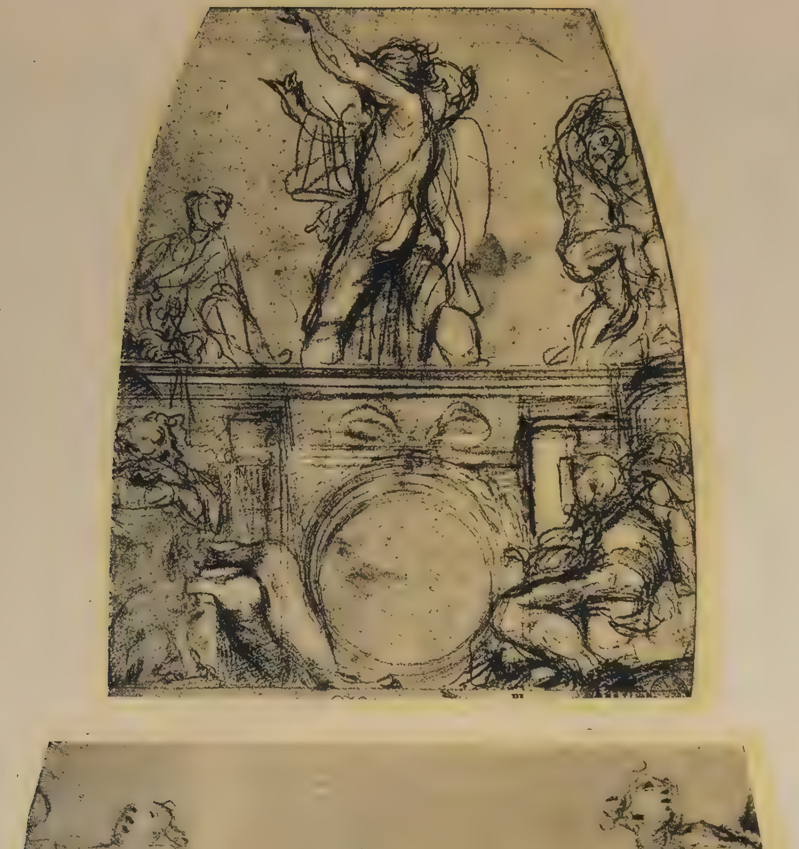
SKETCH FOR A FRIEZE

Royal Library, Windsor Castle



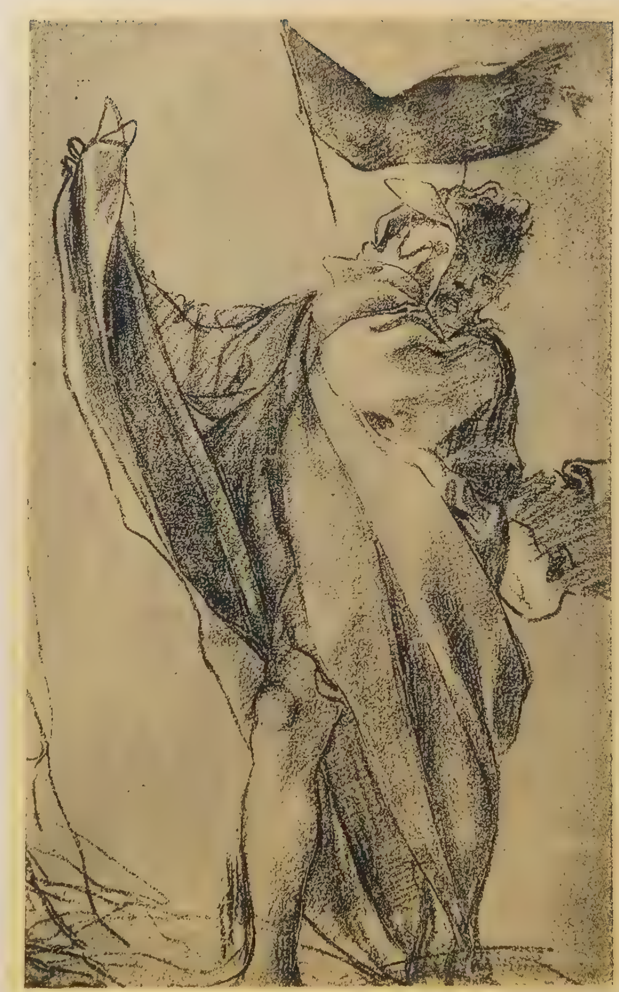
CCLXVIII

SKETCHES FOR A FRIEZE
Paris, Louvre

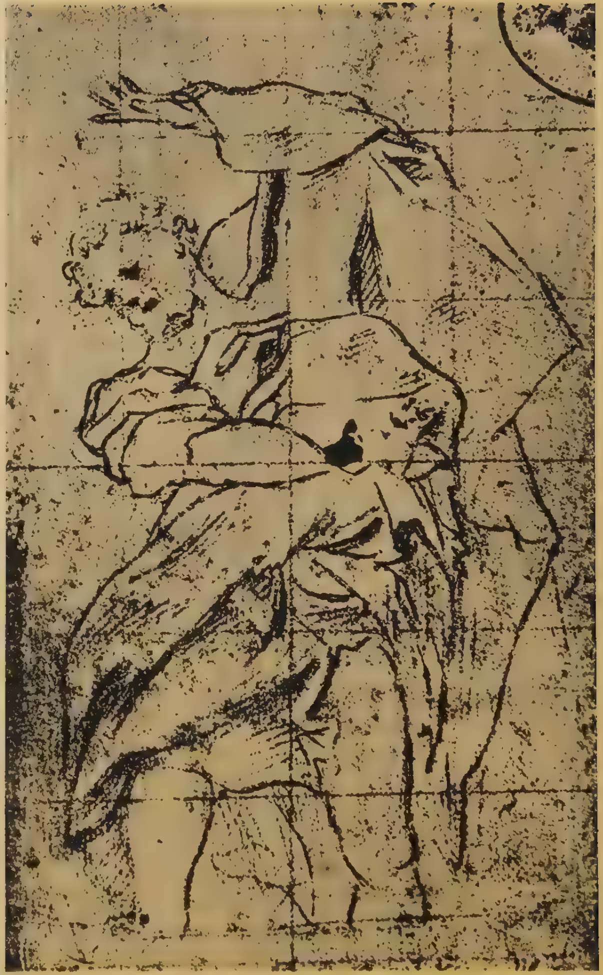

Del Correggio

CCLXIX Studies for the Drum of the Cupola of Parma Cathedral

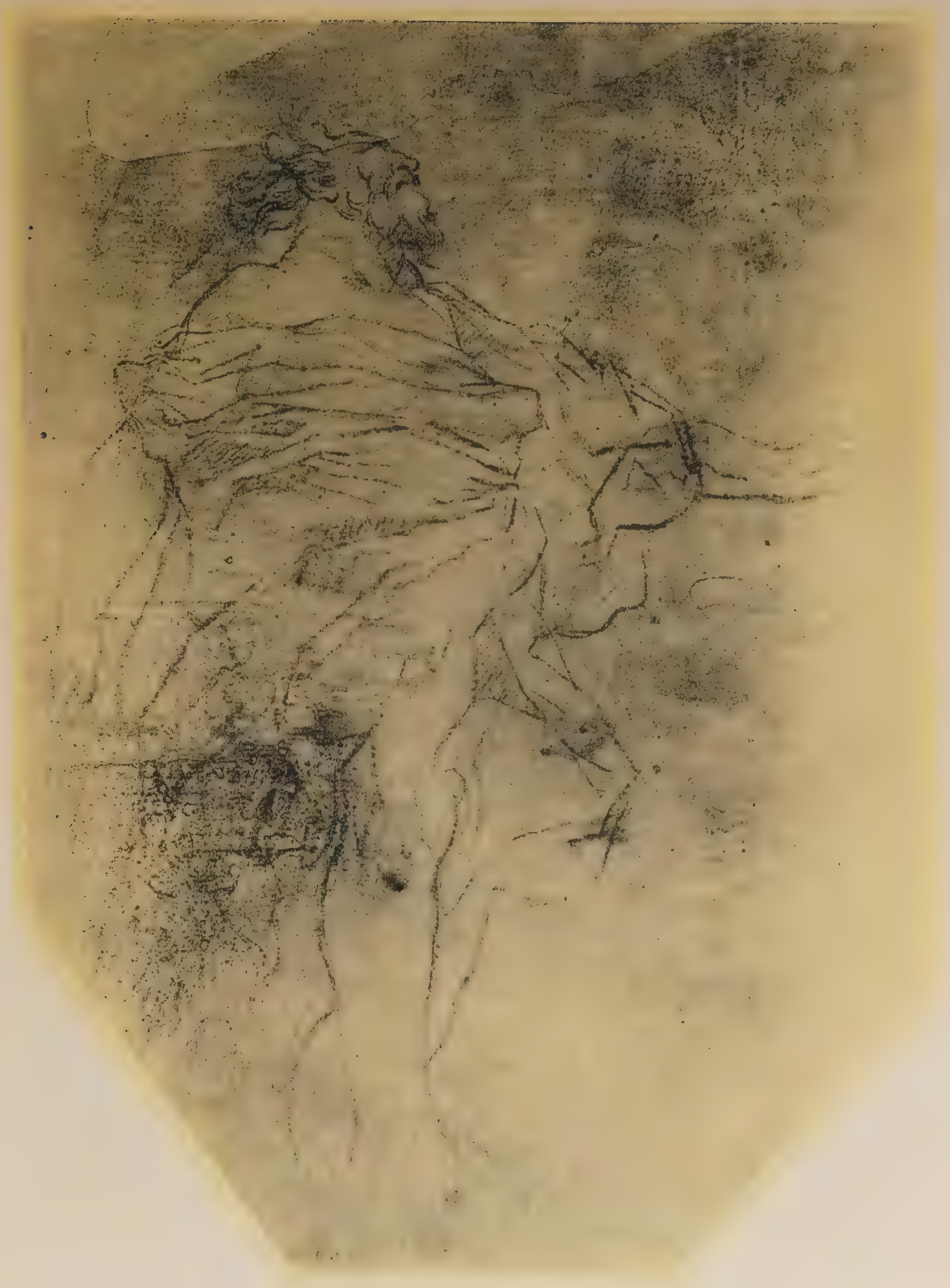
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



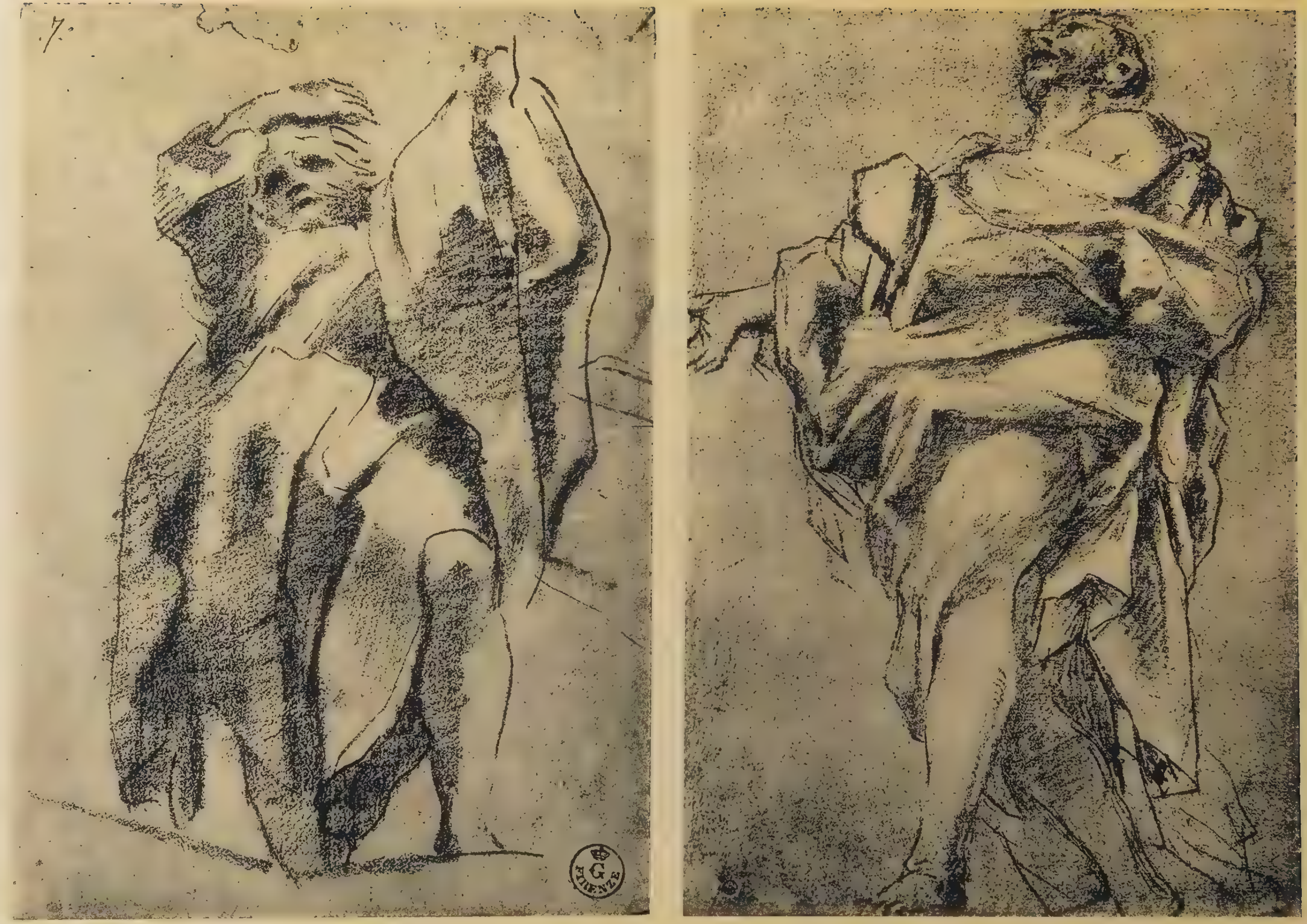
CCLXX *a.* Sketch of an APOSTLE for the cupola of Parma Cathedral
Vienna, Albertina Library



b. Sketch of an APOSTLE for the cupola of Parma Cathedral
Lisbon, Museum



CCLXXI Sketch of an APOSTLE for the cupola of Parma Cathedral
Princeton University, New Jersey, U. S. A.

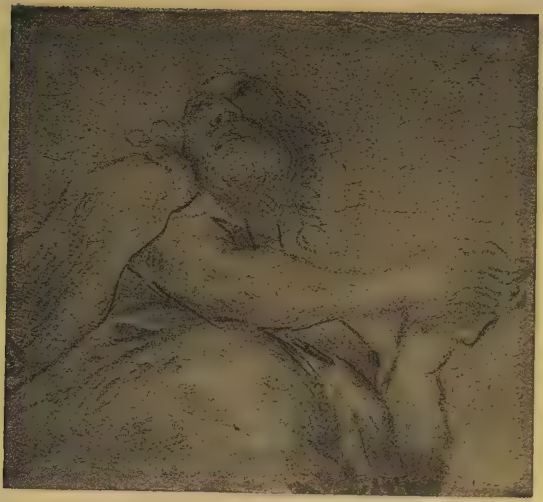


CCLXXII *a.* Sketch of an APOSTLE for the cupola of Parma Cathedral
Florence, Uffizi Gallery

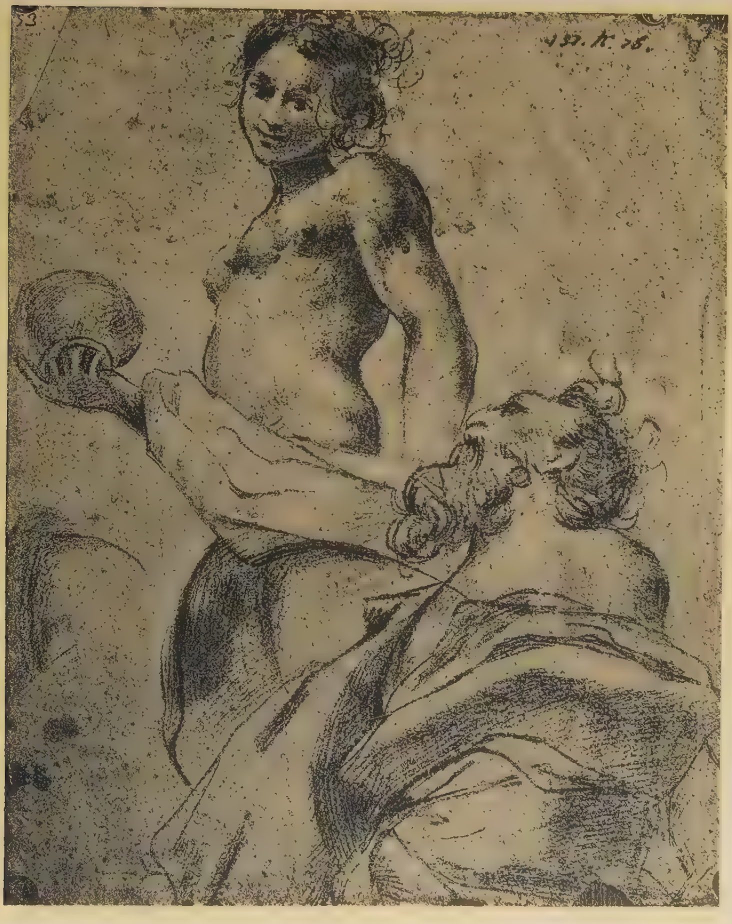
b. Sketch of an APOSTLE for the cupola of Parma Cathedral
Formerly in the E. W. Collection, sold by auction at Amsterdam in 1926

(Photo. Royal Conservatory Florence)

a.



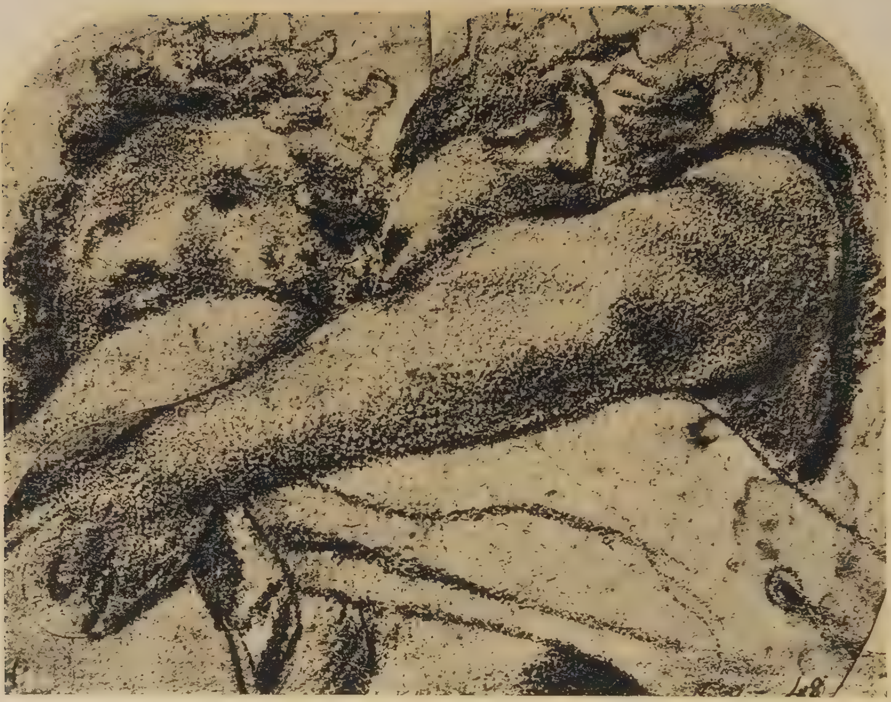
b.



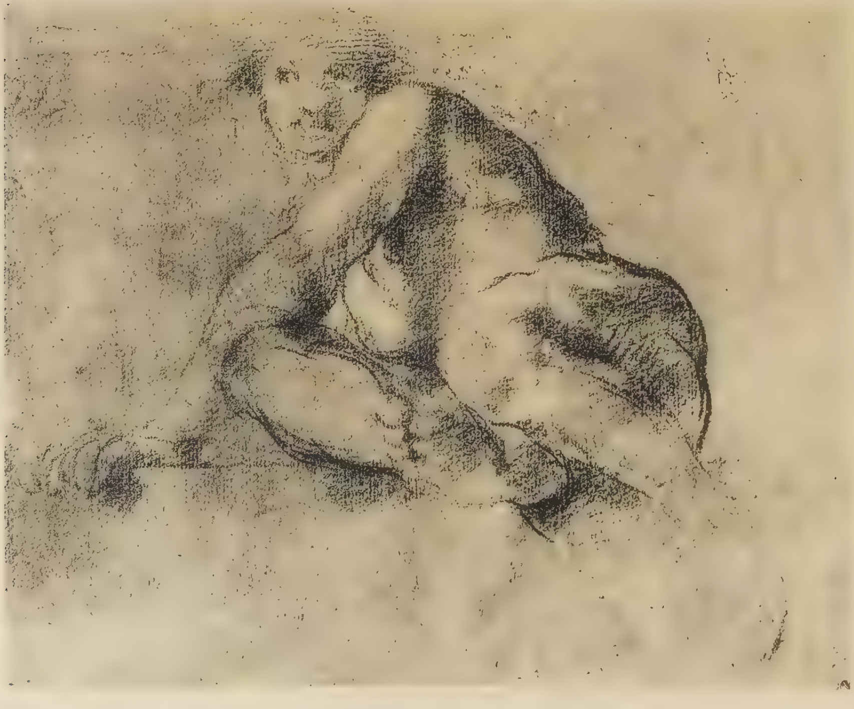
CCLXXIII *a*. Drawing of an APOSTLE for the cupola of Parma Cathedral
London, Oppenheimer Collection

b. AN APOSTLE AND AN ADOLESCENT *(Photo. M. P. I.)*
Drawing for the cupola of Parma Cathedral
Modena, Este Gallery

a.



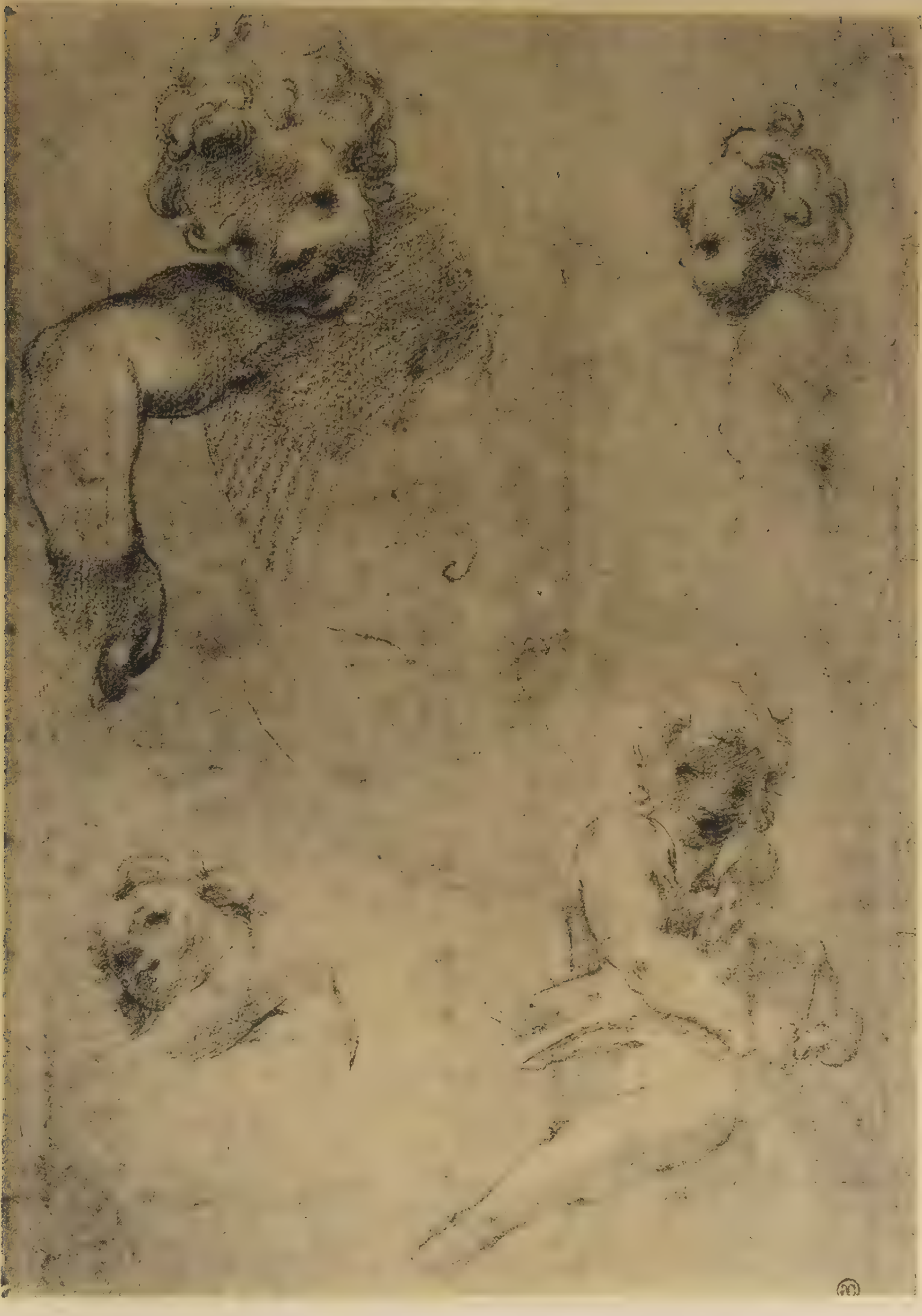
b.



CCLXXIV

a. DRAWING FOR THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL
Lisbon, Museum

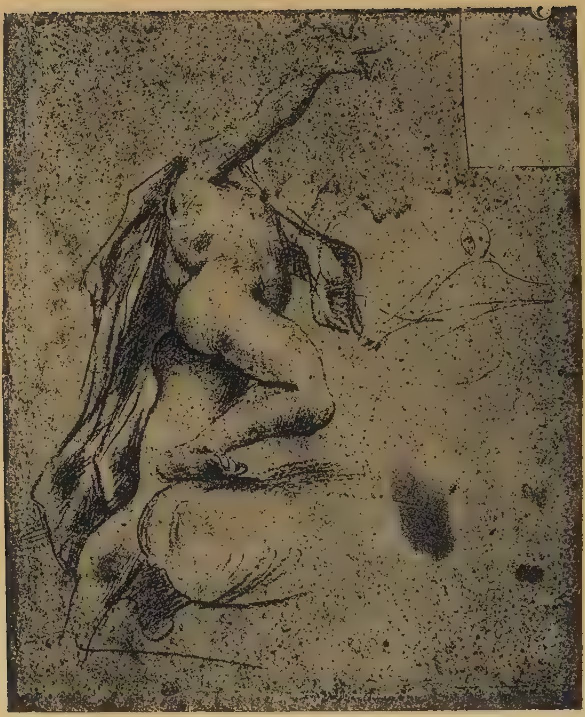
b. DRAWING FOR A FIGURE OF AN ADOLESCENT, FOR THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL
Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A., Collection of F. I. Mather



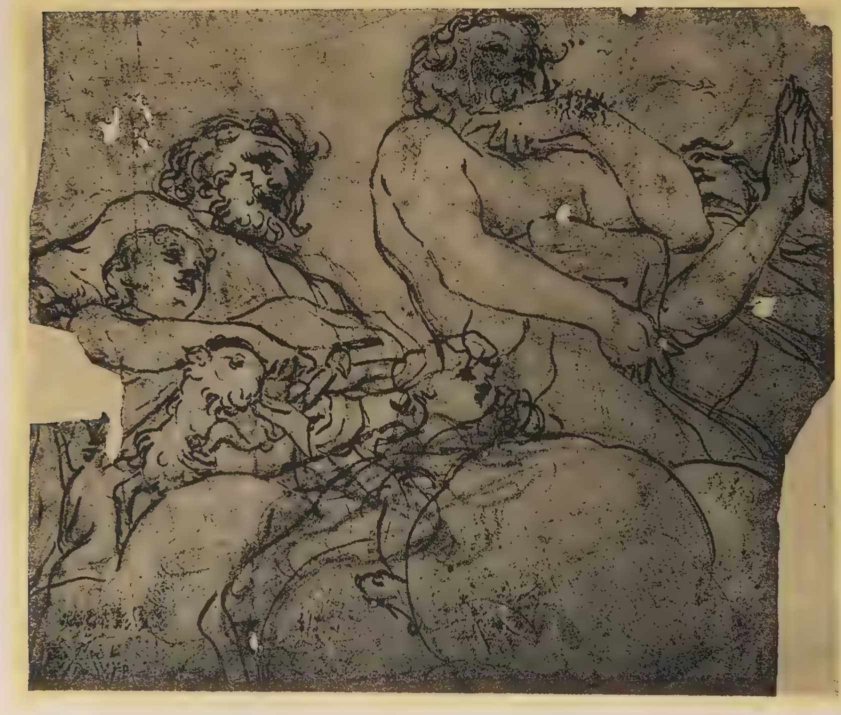
CCLXXV ADOLESCENTS AND AN ANGEL. DRAWING FOR THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL

Royal Library, Windsor Castle

a.

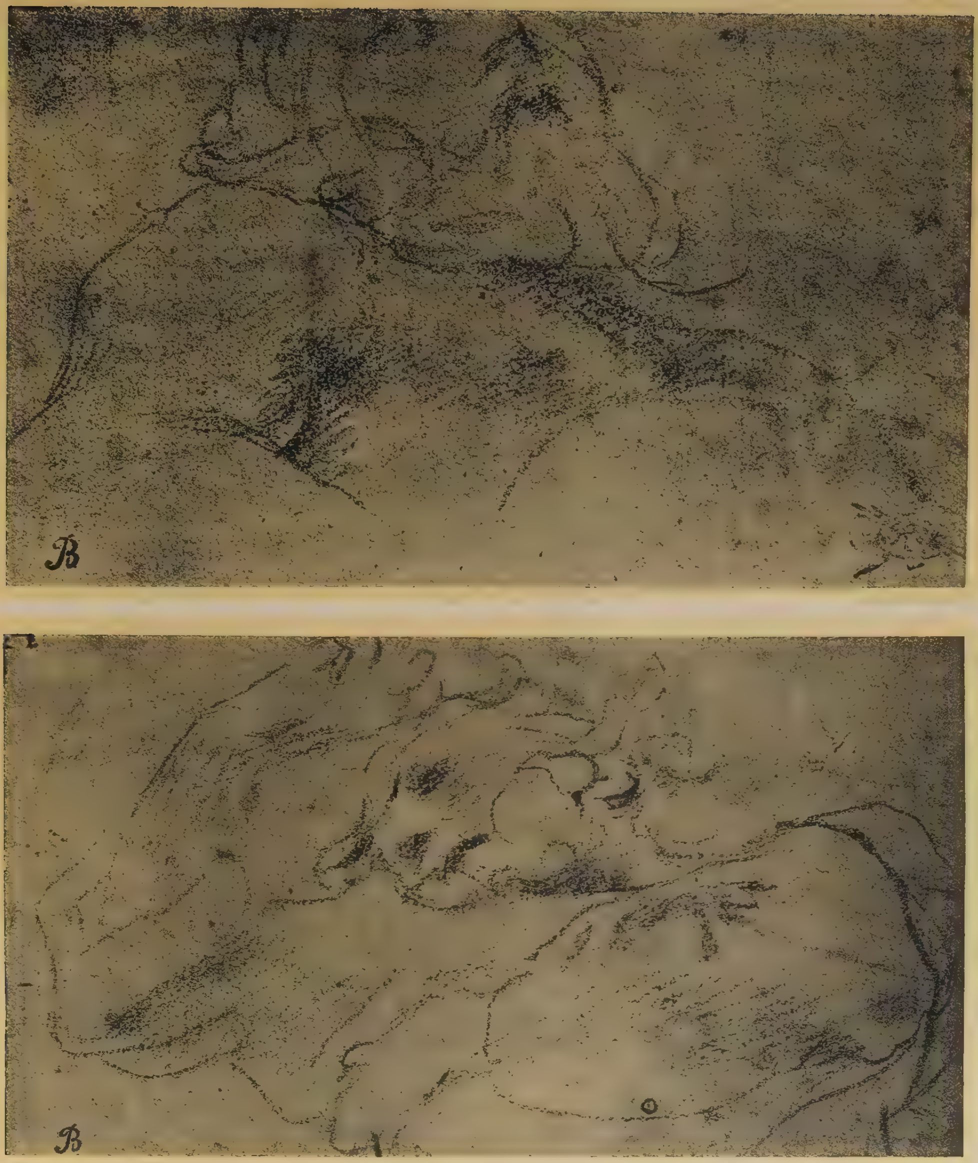


b.



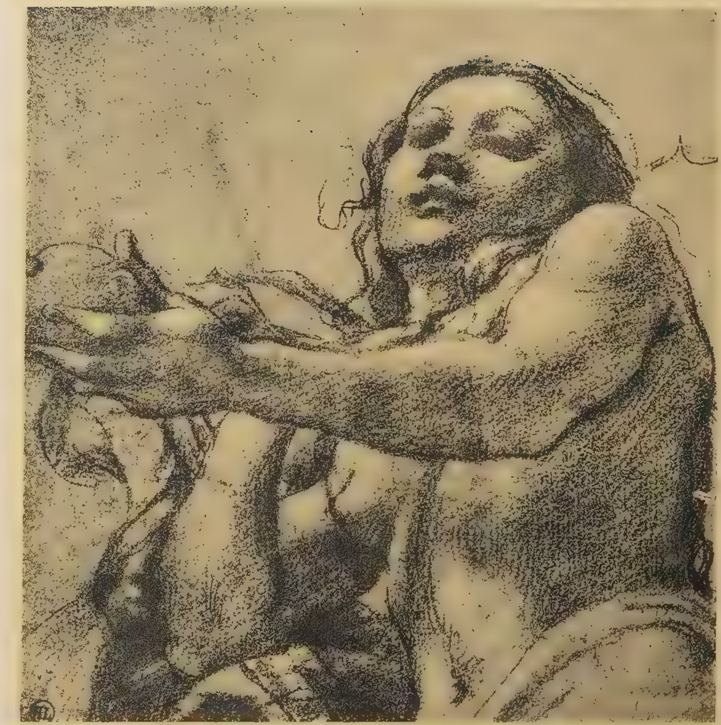
CCLXXVI *a.* Study of a NUDE, perhaps for the cupola of Parma Cathedral
Modena, Este Gallery

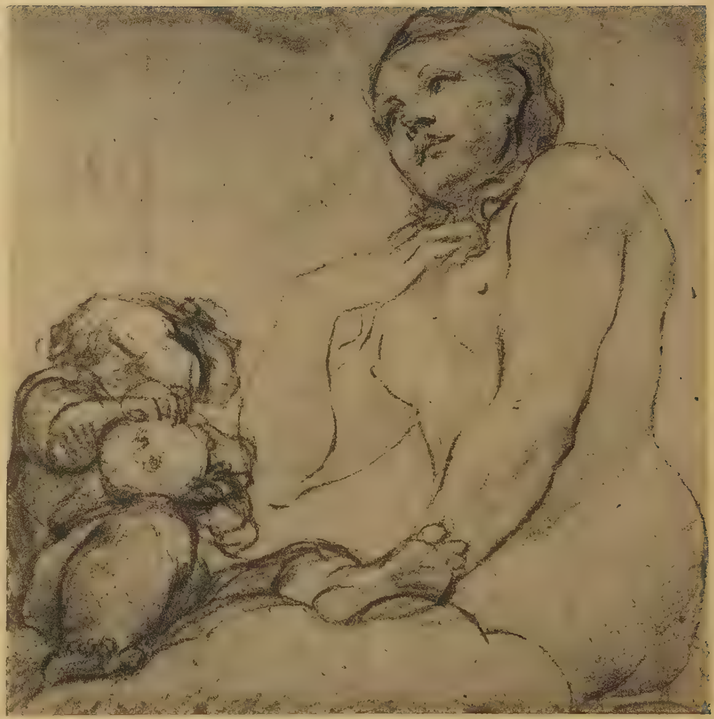
b. ADAM, ABRAHAM, AND ISAAC. Drawing for the cupola of Parma Cathedral
Royal Library, Windsor Castle



CCLXXVII Sketches of an APOSTLE for the cupola of Parma Cathedral

London, Oppenheimer Collection



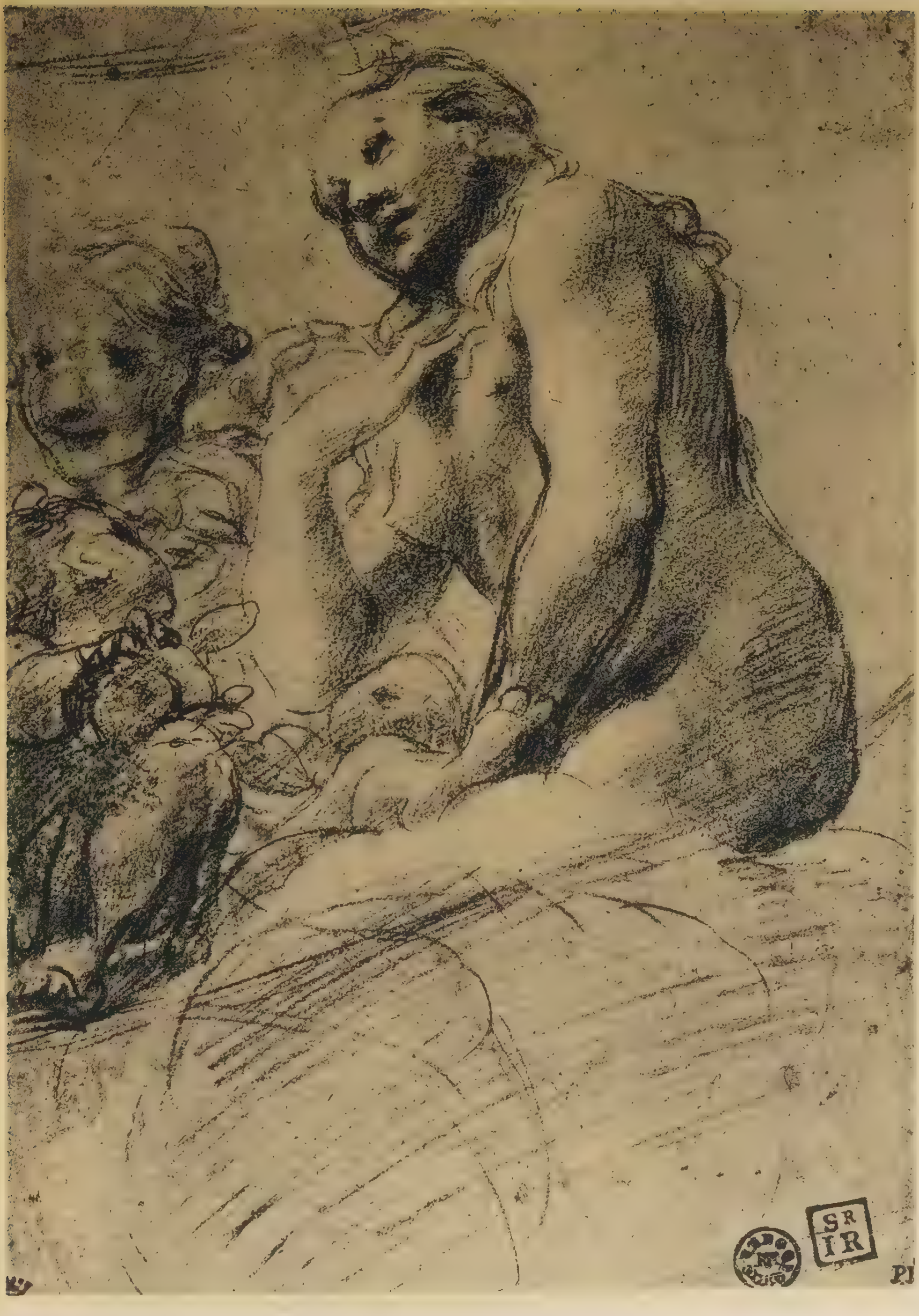


(Photo Alinari)

CCLXXVIII

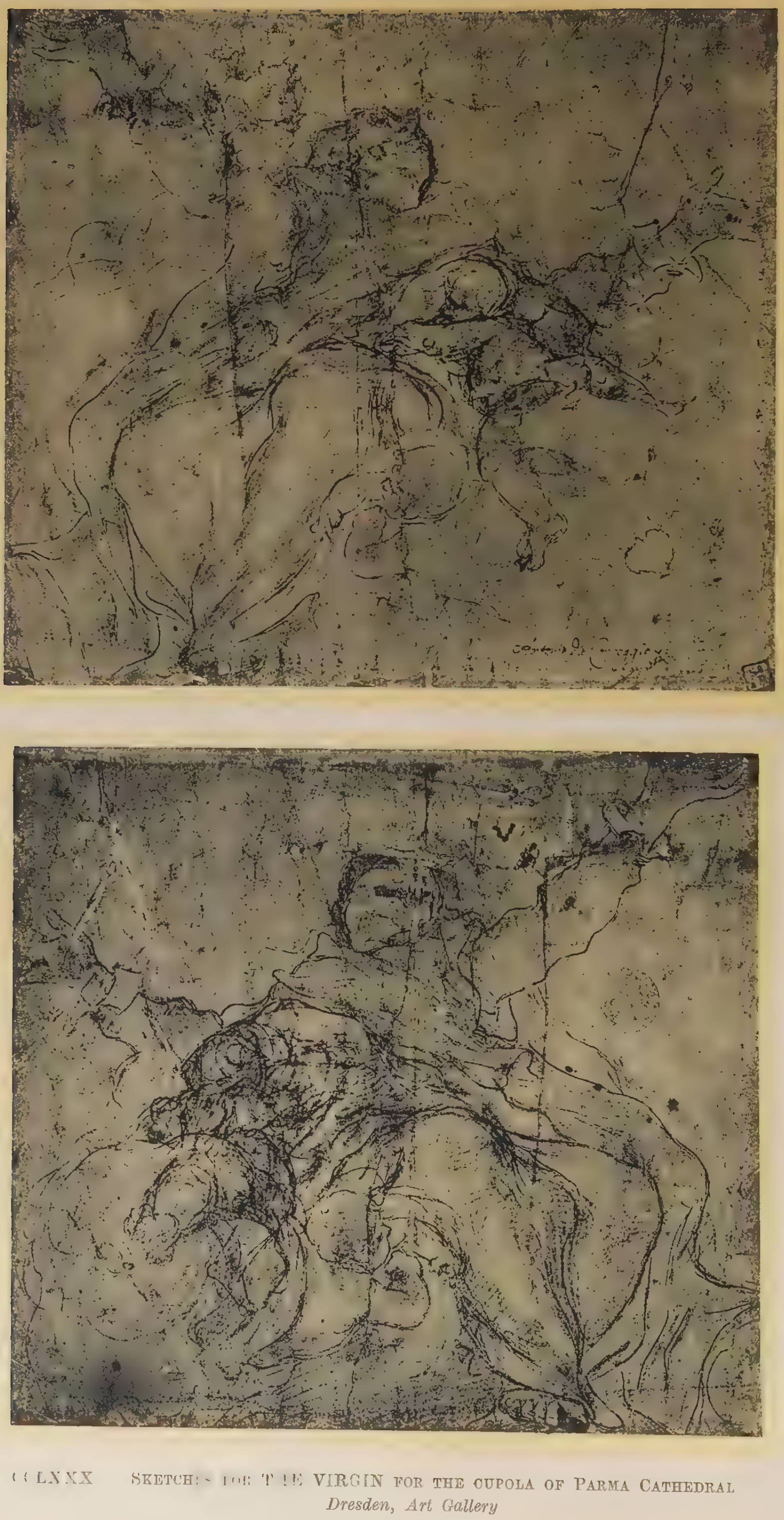
a. EVE. DRAWING FOR THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL
Paris, Louvre

b. EVE. DRAWING FOR THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL
Haarlem, Teyler Museum

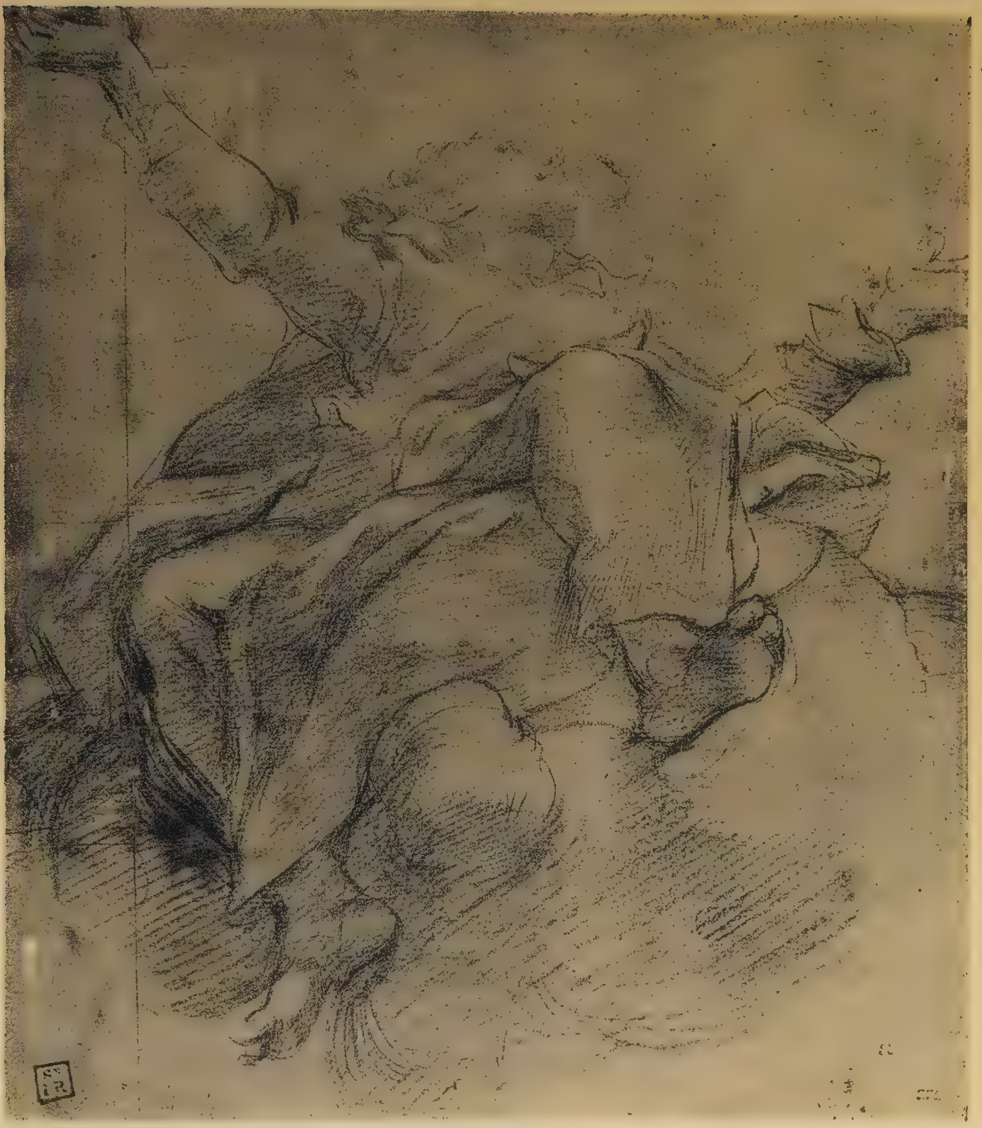


CCLXXIX

EVE. DRAWING FOR THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL
London, British Museum

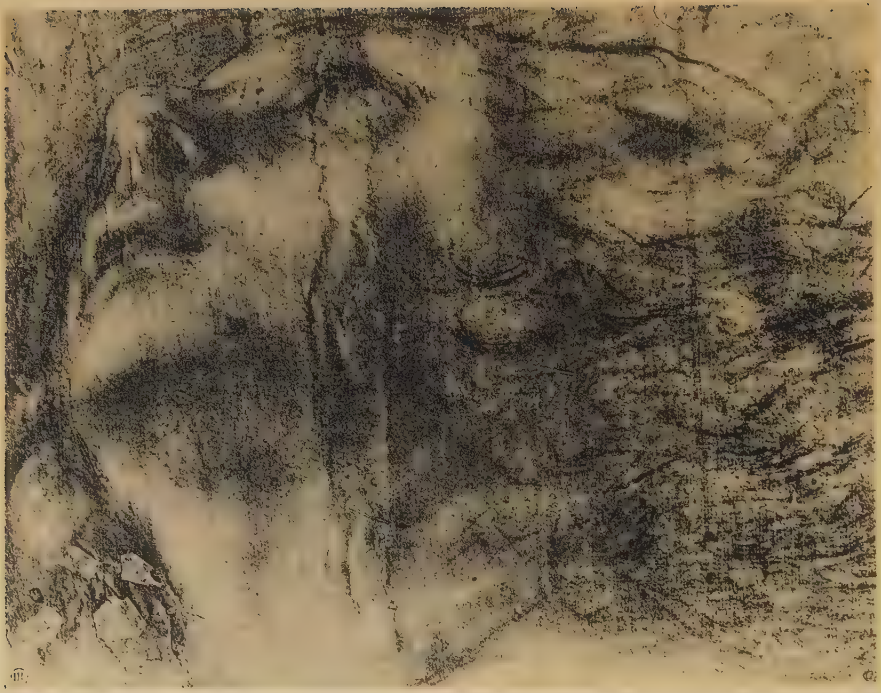


CCLXXX SKETCHES FOR THE VIRGIN FOR THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL
Dresden, Art Gallery



CCLXXXI DRAWING FOR THE VIRGIN FOR THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL
London, British Museum

a.



b.

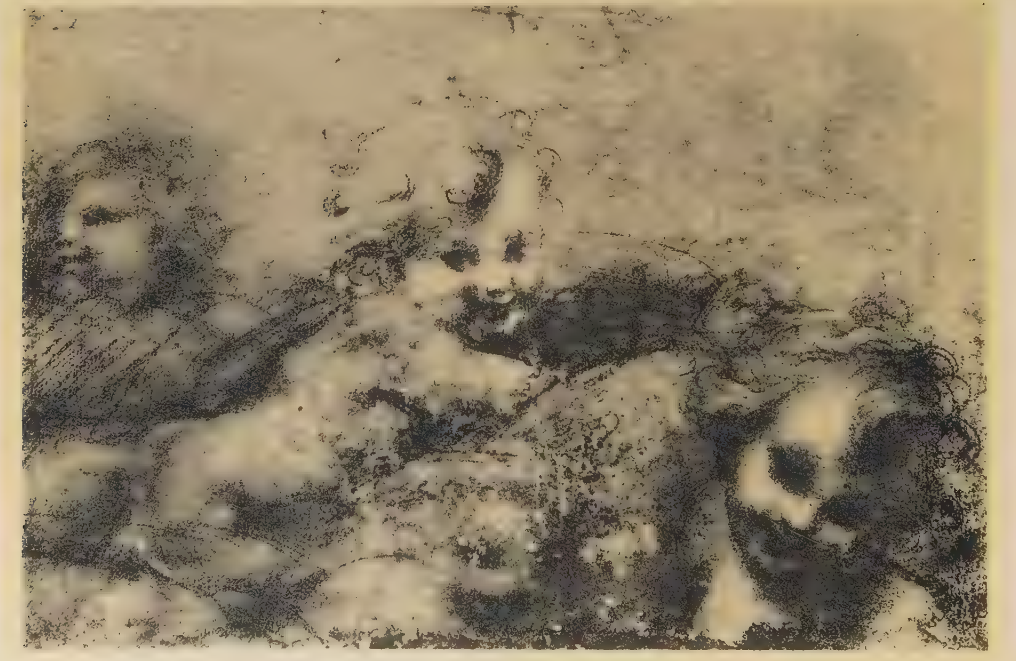
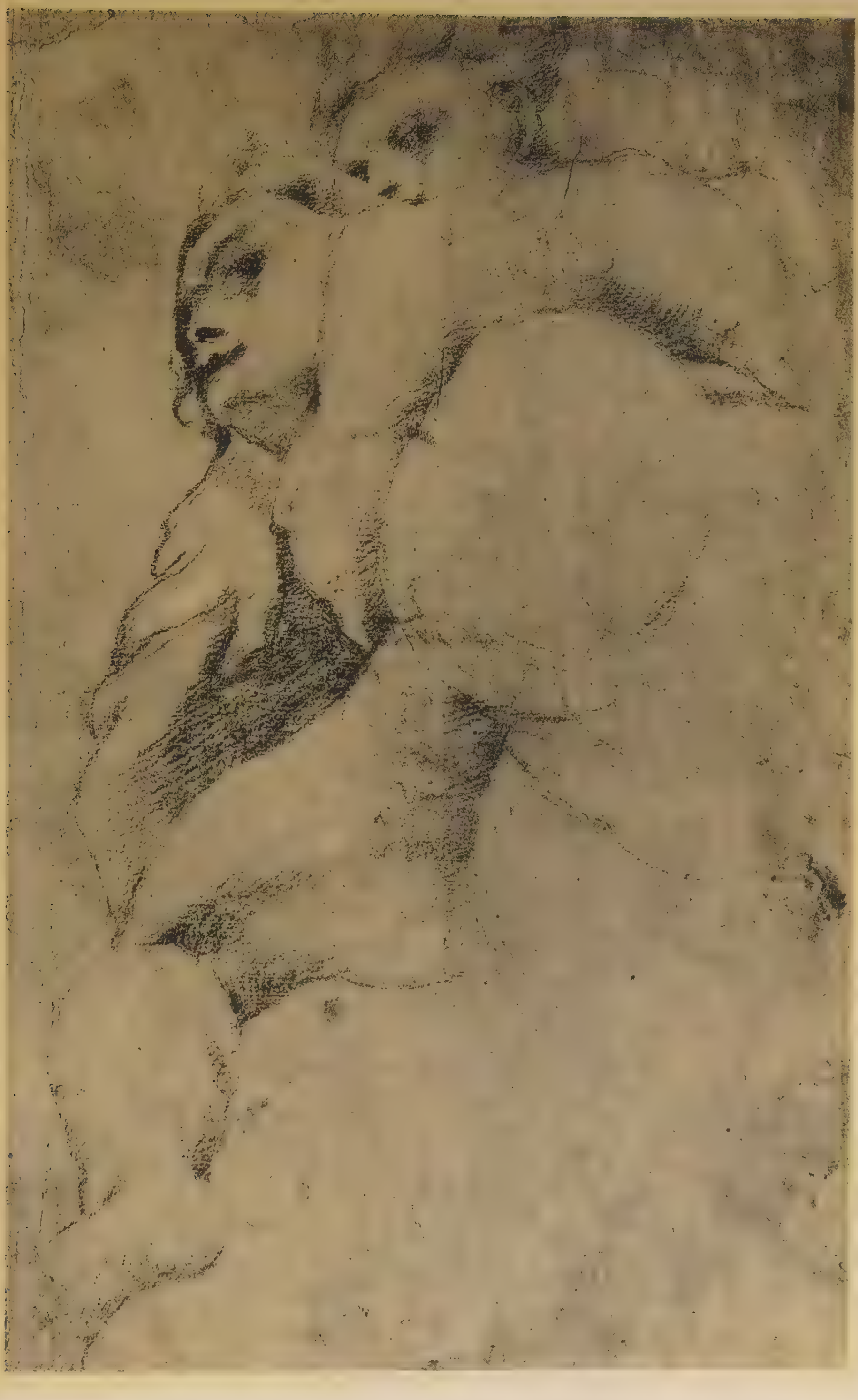


PLATE XXII a. HEAD OF THE VIRGIN. DRAWING FOR THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL
Paris, School of Fine Arts

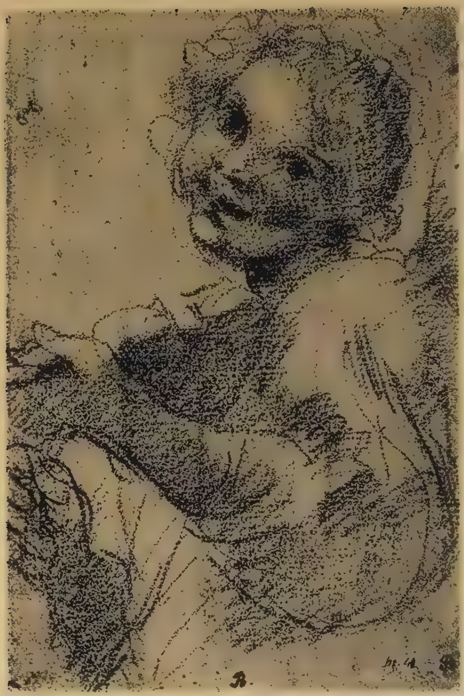
b. PUTTI. DRAWING FOR THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL
Berlin, Weisbach Collection



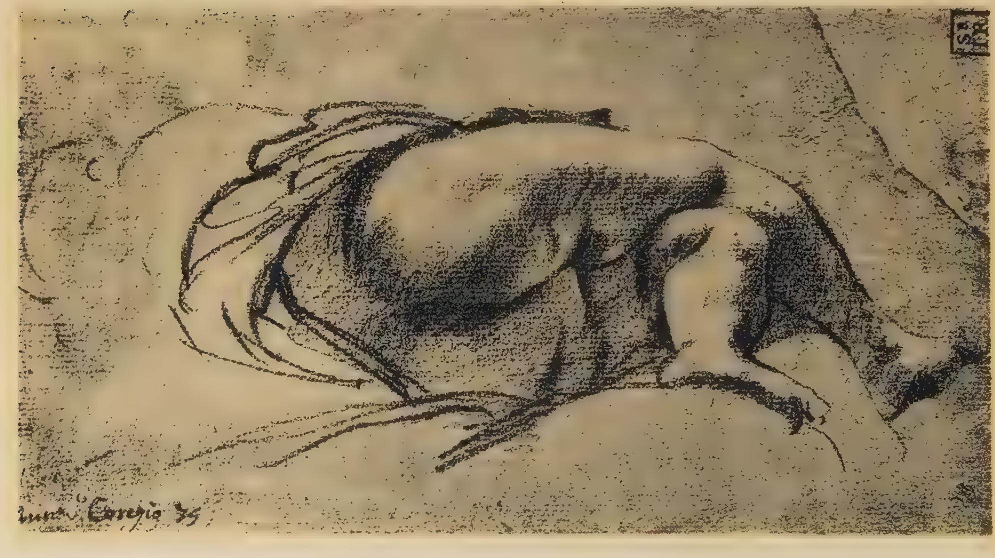
CCLXXXIII ANGELS. DRAWING FOR THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL

Madrid, Royal Library

a.



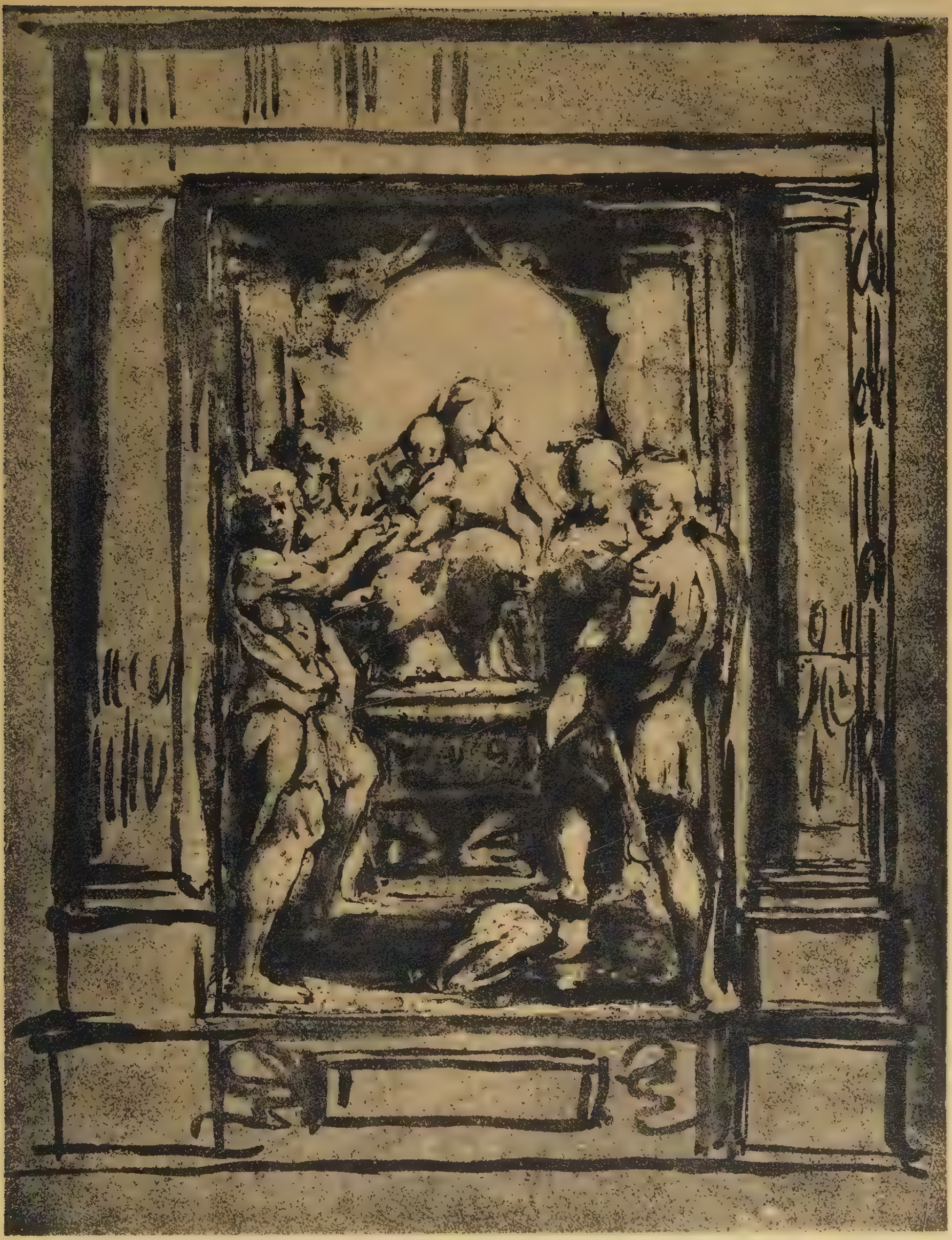
b.



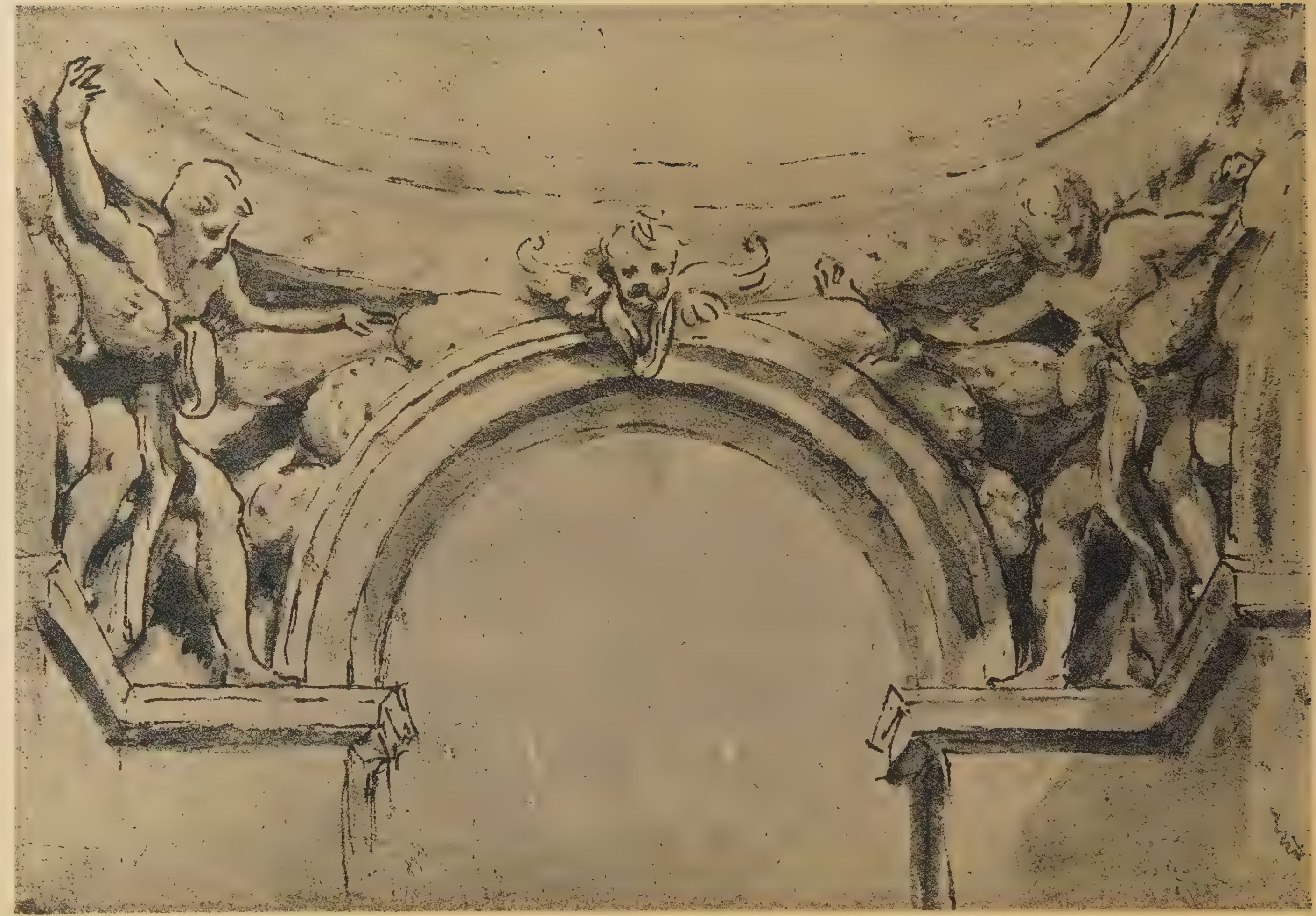
CCLXXXIV

a. ANGEL PLAYING AN INSTRUMENT
London, Oppenheimer Collection

b. STUDY OF A NUDE FOR AN ANGEL OF THE CUPOLA OF PARMA CATHEDRAL (*Photo. Anderson*)
London, British Museum

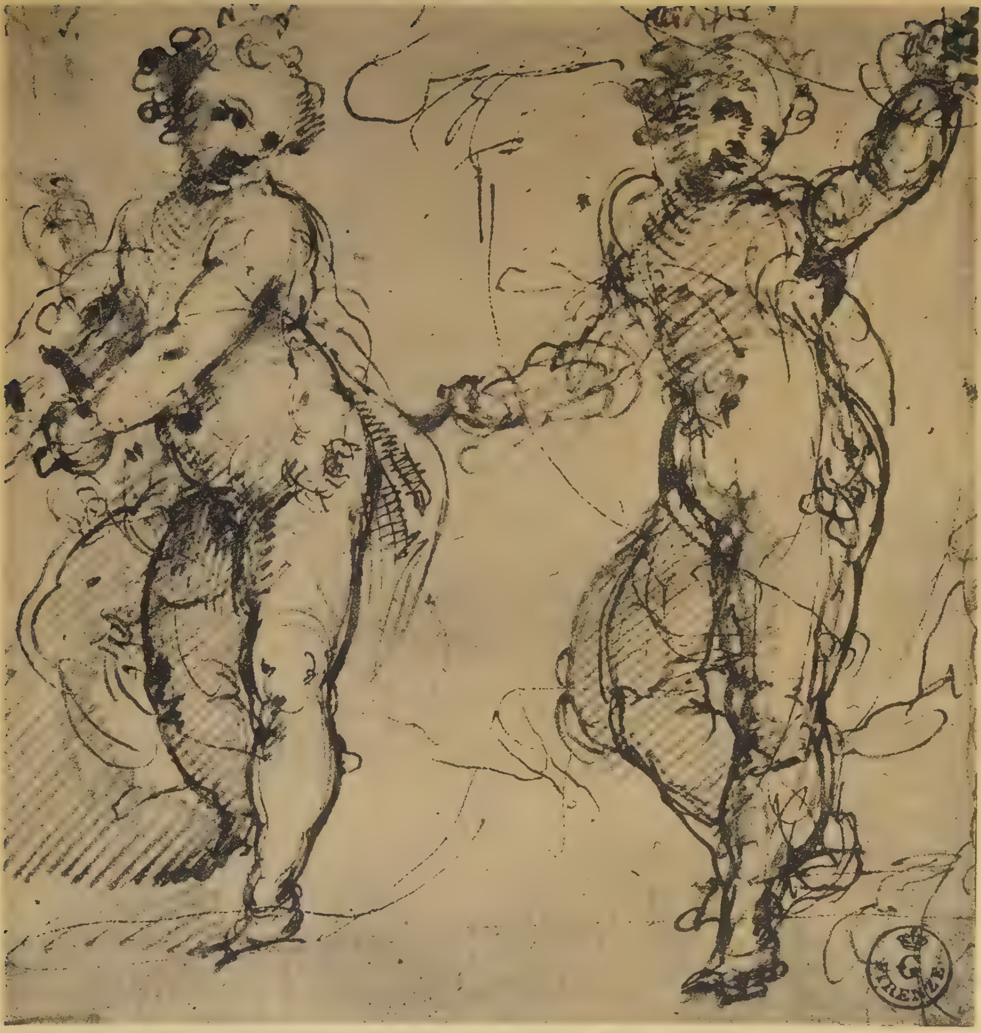


CCLXXXV Drawing for the Madonna of St. George
Dresden, Art Gallery



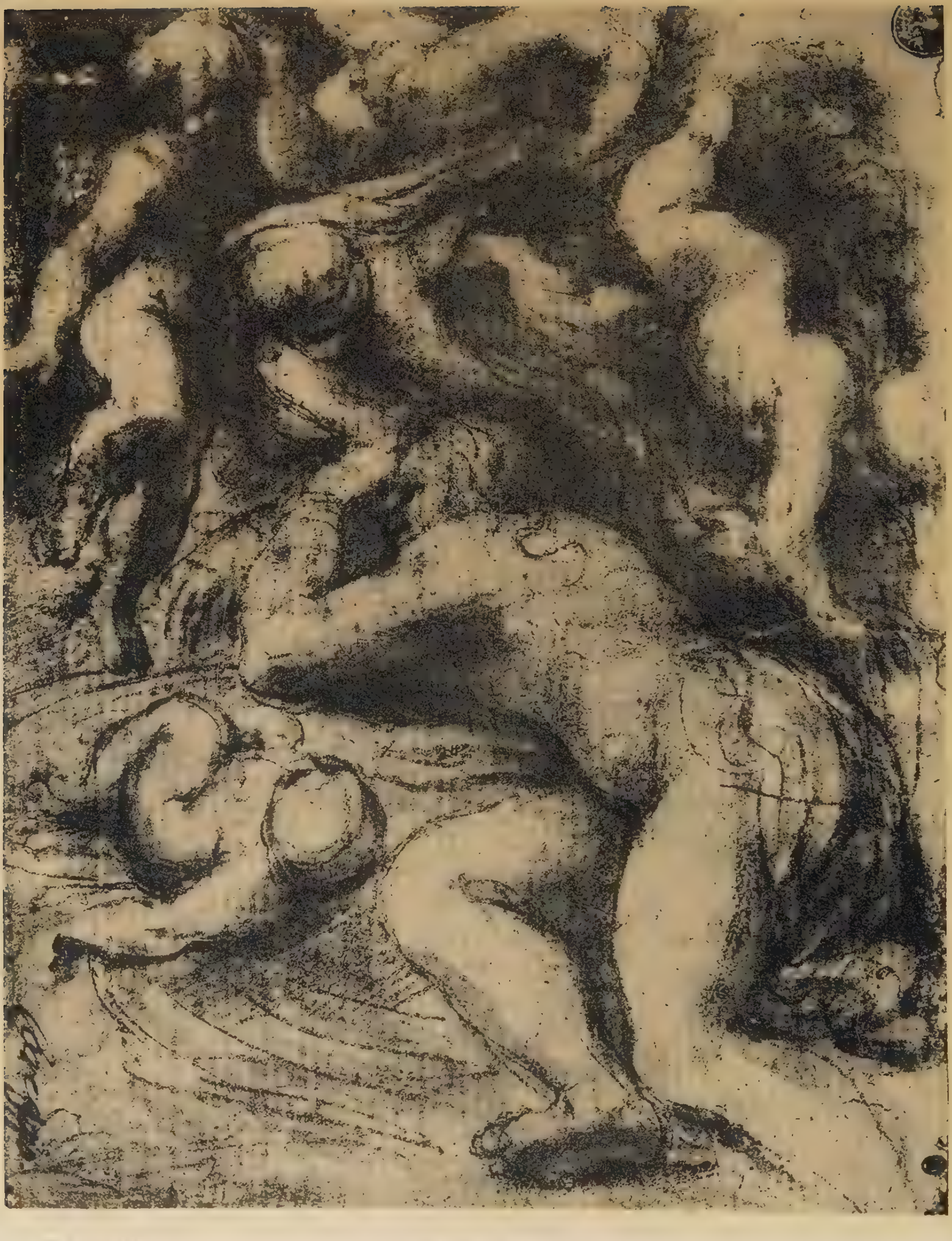
CCLXXXVI

DRAWING FOR THE MADONNA OF ST. GEORGE
London, British Museum



CCLXXXVII Study of putti for the MADONNA OF ST. GEORGE
Florence, Uffizi Gallery

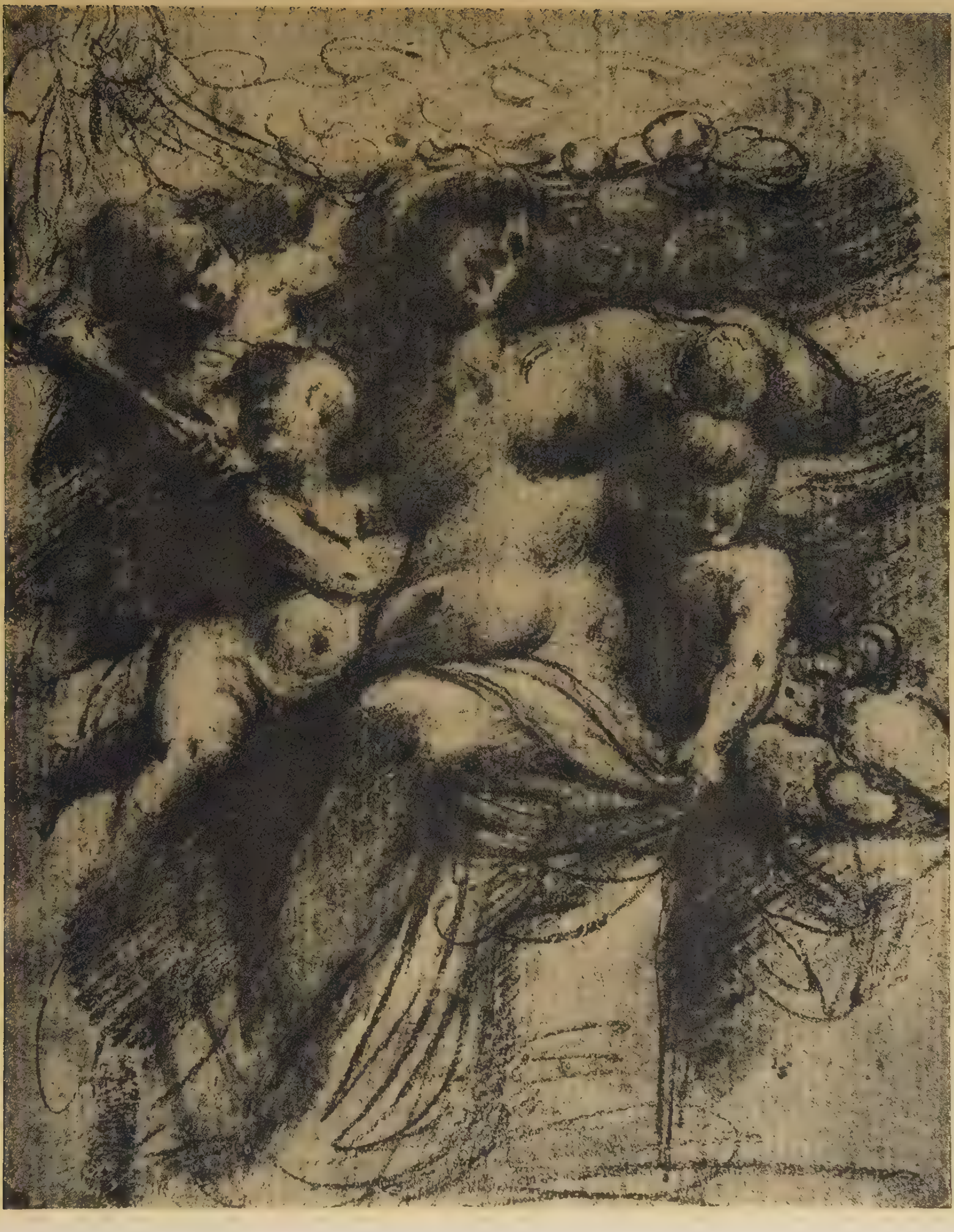
(Photo. Royal Conservatory, Florence)



CCLXXXVIII

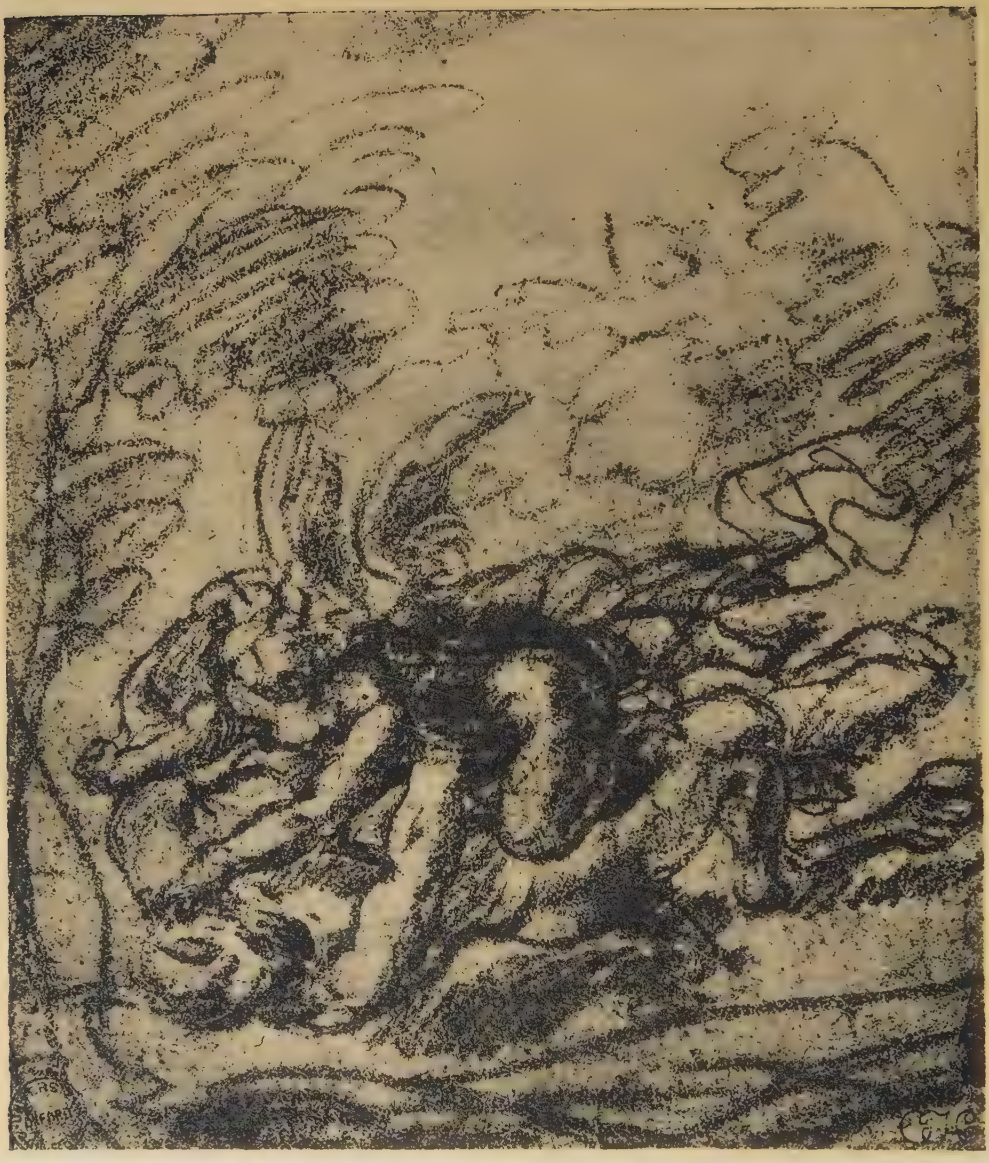
DRAWING OF NIGHT
Paris, Louvre

(Photo. Alinari)



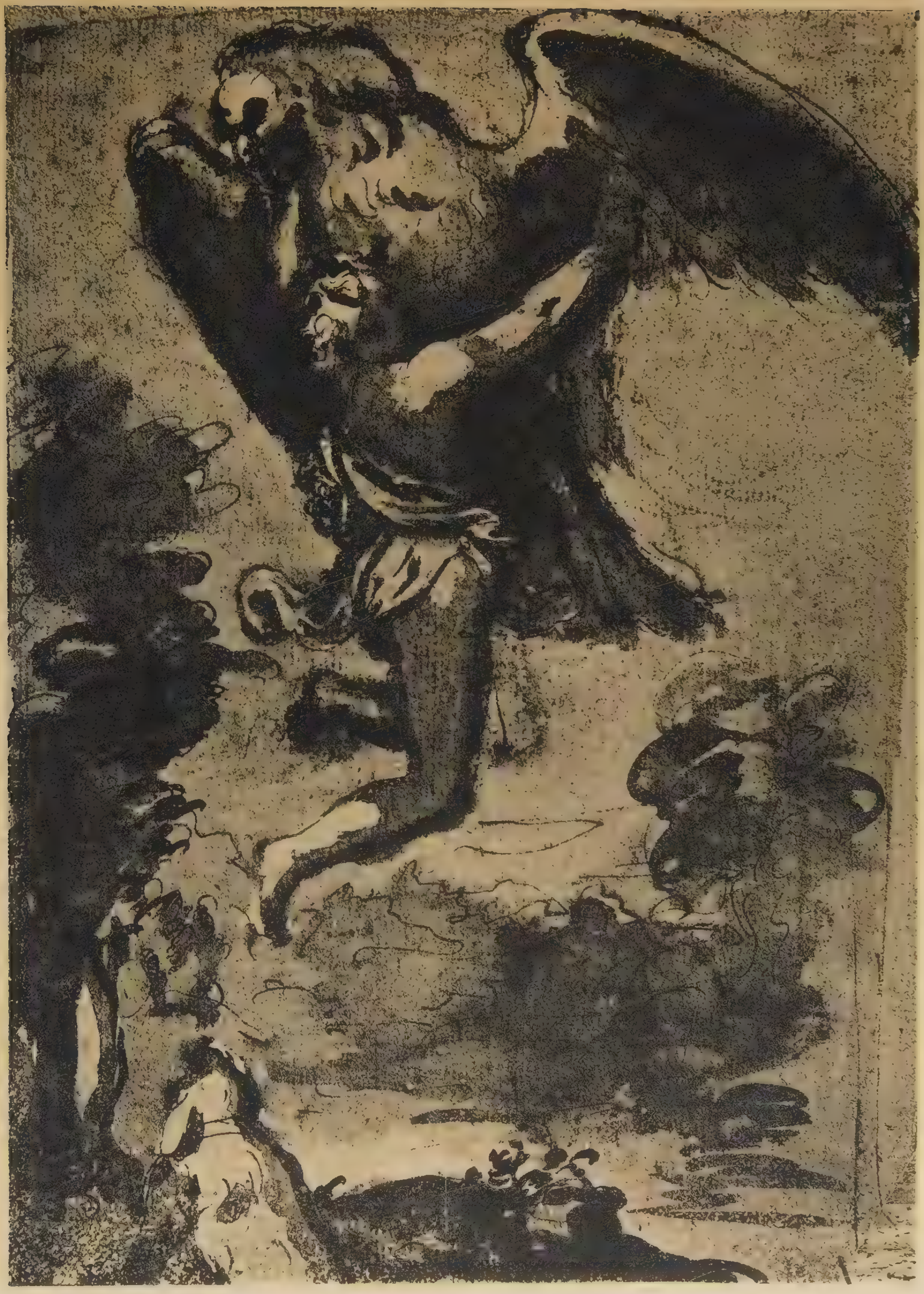
CCLXXXIX Drawing of DAY (Photo. Anderson)

Paris, Louvre



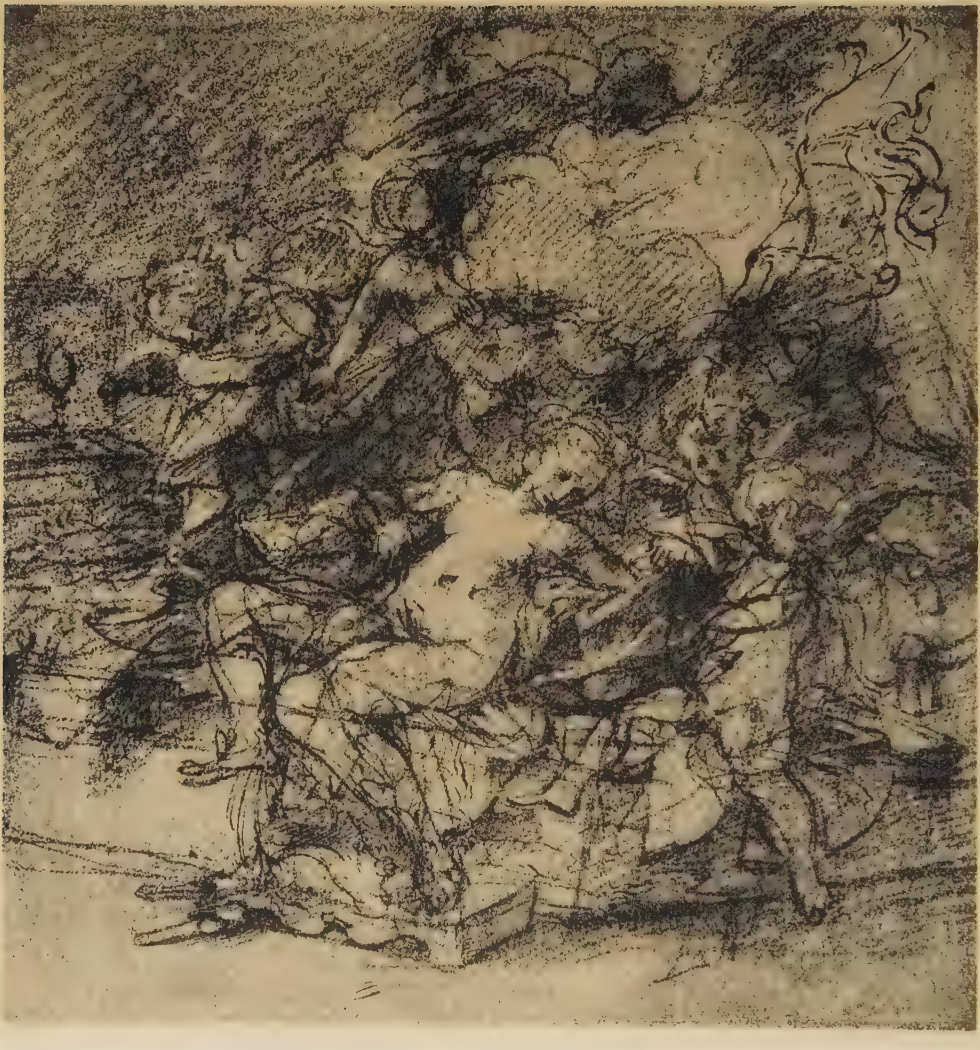
CCXC

CUPID FELLING A SATYR. DRAWING
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



CCXCI

SKETCH FOR GANYMEDE
Weimar, Grand Ducal Collection



CCXCII

Drawing for DANAË
Royal Library, Windsor Castle

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Ricci, Corrado, 1858-1934.

Correggio

Correggio

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